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The nature of appropriation: Eric Linklater's 'Juan in America'

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Rachel Marsh

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The Nature of Appropriation:
Eric Linklater's *Juan in America*

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2011

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I declare that I am the author of this thesis; that, unless otherwise stated in the text, all references cited have been consulted by me; that, except for those parts of work which are declared in this thesis to be based upon joint research, the work which this thesis records is mine; and that it has not been previously presented or accepted for a higher degree.

Rachel Marsh
Submitted 30 March 2011

ABSTRACT

The objective of this thesis is to investigate the numerous influences which shaped Eric Linklater's *Juan in America* (1931) and show how these influences work together to create a unified satirical text. *Juan in America* pays homage to Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-1824) through appropriation, intertextuality and allusion, and Linklater's interpretation of Byron and his work will be a focus of this investigation. The early twentieth century Byron scholar, Frederick Beaty, suggests in *Byron the Satirist* (1985) that ability, temperament and use of raw materials – such as response to society and literary tradition – are the best guide to understanding Byron's satire, and it is through these elements that a comparison between *Don Juan* and *Juan in America* will be made. After thoroughly comparing both texts, this thesis will use theories from adaptation studies to determine the appropriative relationship between the two texts. This dissertation will also suggest that the act of appropriation can extend beyond literary transposition, and that 'raw materials' – which Beaty states to be influences from history, memory, and culture – can also be appropriated for satirical purpose. These elements will be investigated using concepts from the disciplines of autobiography, history and anthropology. Finally, Linklater was influenced by various literary traditions evident in the work of satirists, transatlantic authors and his peers. These areas of literature will be put into context against *Juan in America* using ideas from comparative literature studies. Because both *Juan in America* and *Don Juan* are satires heavily laden with intertextual references, as well as autobiographic, historic and cultural representations, taking a multi-disciplinary approach is necessary in an investigation which hopes to uncover how Linklater interacts with his surroundings to create a unique form of satire.

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INTRODUCTION: Byronic Inspiration

I went to the Grammar School of Aberdeen, whose most famous pupil was Lord Byron. Before the school there was a statue of him in robes of flowing bronze: I read *Don Juan* and *The Vision of Judgement*, and my affection for romance was cut in two, and the other half of my mind fell far in love with wit. Dirty-fingered, we sat at our desks, – rough with deep-cut initials – and gave glum attention to *Samson Agonistes* and *The Cause of the Present Discontents*; but Byron, through the window, undid the schoolroom teaching that literature must be a solemn thing.¹

Eric Linklater affixed that shadow of Byron to himself, and pulled the silhouette of the revolutionary dandy with him from his schoolboy days, through university and into his early adulthood, so that when the time came to cast a light creating his own shadow upon literature, the image of Linklater and Byron became so intertwined that fact and fiction, persona and personality appeared to be indistinguishable.

It is this relationship between reality and invention upon which *Juan in America* (1931) is dependent. This thesis will investigate *Juan in America* as a text which supports the theory that appropriations can extend beyond transposing a narrative from one medium to another. By appropriating life, history and culture – as well as employing intertextual relationships and borrowed plots – the author can create a unique satirical voice and style.

Linklater's 1931 novel about the adventures of Juan Motley is ripe for discussion as it utilises a host of appropriated elements. *Juan in America* most certainly pays homage to Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-1824), but it also incorporates elements of history, culture and memory into one text; the fields of appropriation studies, autobiography, history, anthropology, and comparative literatures will be investigated in order to understand the author's creative process. Furthermore, my thesis will draw on the work of Frederick Beaty to interpret the text. He suggests in *Byron the Satirist* (1985) that ability, motivation,

¹ Eric Linklater, *The Man on My Back* (London: MacMillan, 1941), p. 10.

temperament and an understanding of the culture and history that Byron represented in his works are the best guide to appreciating Byron's work, and these principles will be used to understand how *Juan in America* employs various elements of appropriation while still maintaining a unique voice. Beaty discusses satire by considering several factors: the world in which the satire was formed, the author's mindset, the culture which is being satirised, literary tradition and public reaction. Beaty recognises that the multifaceted nature of Byron's satire provides an excellent template for an investigation of *Juan in America*.

Linklater was a talented, prolific and insightful author, who captured the zeitgeist of a culture through his writing. Linklater questioned humanity, often without judgement, and used his own life experiences as examples of an imperfect world. Simon W. Hall in *The History of Orkney Literature* (2010) states, 'Linklater's fiction comprises a curiously hybrid mix, ranging from picaresque adventure novels located within Scotland and abroad, through pastiche saga, crime novels and comedies, to war literature which is wildly comic in some books and deadly serious in others.'² Linklater's approach to creating literature is not dissimilar to Byron's technique, which is why Beaty's *Byron the Satirist* provides a useful guide when investigating *Juan in America*. As *Juan in America* employs elements of history, culture and memory, Beaty's concepts of ability, motivation, temperament and raw materials³ help direct this investigation towards comprehending Linklater's novel. The ultimate aim of this thesis is to investigate the numerous ingredients that went into *Juan in America*, and to understand how each separate element works together to create a unified text.

² Simon W. Hall, *The History of Orkney Literature* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2010), p. 80.

³ A further discussion of Beaty's work and how this investigation applies his principles can be found starting on page 25.

Yet, while this investigation is guided by an understanding of the author's ability, temperament and motivation, as well as his use of raw materials, it is important to start at the natural point for any intertextual work: the relationship between the appropriator and the appropriated. Much of *Juan in America* is inspired by *Don Juan*; Linklater's youthful fascination with Byron should not be considered abnormal: 'How can anyone read quietly and simply when it is drummed into his ears that Byron is the voice of Revolution, or the spirit of 1848, or the one modern English poet who is recognised over all the Continent?'⁴ A propensity for writing and creativity may have come naturally to Linklater, but – when one shares a history, or even something as mediocre as a school desk, with a writer whose existence illuminated a path of adventure and rebellion and whose life is still the topic of gossip even a century after his death – it is hardly surprising that Byronic impressions upon young Linklater lasted well into adulthood.

Through the falsification of documents,⁵ Linklater was engaged in the First World War at the age of sixteen. He became a sniper in The Black Watch, but he was shot in the head⁶ and consequently discharged from battle. After the War, Linklater studied medicine at the University of Aberdeen, but found that he had difficulties with medicine so he transferred

⁴ W.P. Ker, *Collected Essays of W. P. Ker*, ed. by Charles Whibley (London: MacMillan and Co, 1925), p. 207.

⁵ Linklater was originally turned down from service because he was short sighted, but he protested his desire to go to war, and Captain James Stewart of the Royal Army Medical Corps passed him fit. In *Fanfare for a Tin Hat** Linklater states, 'Hastily I made adjustments to my medical record – I improved the quality of my eyesight and added a year to my age – and with all the authority of an Orderly Corporal appended my name to the detail.' This story is wrought with discrepancies, as we are unsure if Linklater changed the file himself or if Captain Stewart changed his file. Either way, thus began Linklater's longstanding tradition of embellishing the truth. *Eric Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat: A Third Essay in Autobiography* (London: MacMillan, 1970), pp. 51-52.

⁶ His last autobiography is titled *Fanfare for a Tin Hat* in recognition of the helmet he was wearing when shot in the head. He saved the helmet, complete with bullet hole, as a reminder that he could have been one of the thousands killed in World War One.

to Kings College to read English. He published a poem called ‘Don Juan – Lamb’ (21 January 1920) in the *Alma Mater*,⁷ which is further evidence of Linklater’s early admiration for Byron. The poem plays with the idea of the first-person narrator taking on the persona of Don Juan who attempts flirtations with female students.⁸ Written in *ottava rima*, the poem appropriates both the technique and character of the Byron poem. Parnell describes Linklater’s poem as ‘capturing the tone [of *Don Juan*] with felicity’, and correctly highlights the link between ‘The Lamb’ and the Byronic verse:

The humorous tone of the stanza, with its mock-apology for the hero’s preference for dancing rather than his medical studies, and the lexical jokes – ‘movements syncopatedly euplastic’ for ‘dancing’ with the ingenious and unexpected rhymes such words lead to – are persuasively like those of the original; so is Don Juan’s response when he fails to persuade the lovely Phyllis to accompany him to a great festive occasion – a Cinder – ‘a spoonatorium, in point of fact’.⁹

The poem is autobiographical in nature with the protagonist holding a history similar to the author – ‘a Lamb,/ An intellectual nonentity.../ Of course, he fought in France for four odd years –/ But Profs have such bad memories, poor dears!’¹⁰ Yet, despite similarities with the author, Don Juan of ‘The Lamb’ succeeds with the ladies where Linklater may have failed, allowing for a self-mocking of his romantic abilities:

Don Juan mused. He know that suicide
 Though orthodox, was just a shade old-fashioned.
 He knew ’twas quite plebian to deride
 And sneer at love with bitterness impassioned;
 And after all, what use is foolish pride?
 For girls, thank God! as yet are quite unratedioned.
 So Juan, wise, too, in his generation,
 Asked Gwladys¹¹, who accepted with elation.¹²

⁷ A ‘Lamb’ is a term used for a first year medical student at the University of Aberdeen.

⁸ Michael Parnell, *Eric Linklater: A Critical Biography* (London: John Murray, 1984), p. 62.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁰ Eric Linklater, ‘The Lamb’, *Alma Mater* (21 January 1920) cited in Parnell, p. 62. (Note that this quotation is cited exactly as Parnell references the poem, and the forward slashes do not necessarily indicate line breaks.)

¹¹ Note the use of the Welsh form of Gwladys (English form, Gladys). Perhaps this is a nod to Linklater’s Welsh birth, or he is referencing the tale of Saint Gwladys who was abducted by Gwynllyw and then subsequently fought over by King Arthur.

¹² Linklater, ‘The Lamb’ cited in Parnell, p. 62.

Linklater's affinity for Byron is also found in the short story 'The Prison of Cooch Parwanee', which could supply further information for the *Juan in America* back story. In this work of short fiction, the protagonist is 'Thomas Motley – a great-uncle of the better-known Juan Motley [...].'¹³ References to Byron and his work abound in Linklater's short stories, dramas, poems and novels, showing that, over time, Linklater's regard for Byron grew beyond a boyhood fascination.

After finishing his degree, Linklater took a job in India with the *Bombay Times*. This position lasted for two years but, growing tired of the environment, he made his way back to Scotland where he began teaching at his alma mater. His first autobiography, *Man on My Back* (1941), discusses this teaching appointment and highlights his abiding love for poetry. After years of being away from Byron's statue, a passion for literature remained:

They [the students] had far too much to plague their memories without my adding tedious elucidation of the political allegory in the *Faerie Queen* or notes on the prosody of Milton, so ignoring its scholastic interest and saying nothing of its vatic speech, I began by declaring that of the several purposes of poetry the first was entertainment [...] and as it appeared anomalous to make entertainment utilitarian or compulsory, [...] Poetry for pleasure was my motto, and we tattled about such oddities as Skelton, and cantered through Ballads and romped with the Romantics. Likely enough I did no good to my young women [students], but neither did I do anything to fortify their association of English literature with the smell of the schoolroom and fear of the examination hall.¹⁴

Early in his career, Linklater began formulating a style influenced by his favourite literature, authors that he respected, neoclassical elements¹⁵ and the frivolity of Byron.

Byron's shadow had been cast across Linklater; therefore, it is not surprising that the next event in Linklater's life would lead to *Juan in America*. Not long after teaching at

¹³ Eric Linklater, 'The Prison of Cooch Parwanee' in *God Likes Them Plain* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), p. 127.

¹⁴ Linklater, *The Man on My Back*, pp. 176-77.

¹⁵ Linklater discusses his Sixth Form teacher's preference for lecturing on Greek and Roman mythology and literatures in *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 44.

Aberdeen University, Linklater travelled to America, where he found a correlation between his own escapades and Don Juan's travels. Linklater came to the United States as a Commonwealth Fellow, where he was to undertake paid academic study and research for two years. In a statement that seems more of Juan Motley than of Eric Linklater, he admitted to applying for the position as a cure for his wanderlust:

I had great difficulty in thinking of anything that would be scholarly enough to satisfy the Committee, yet not obviously beyond the capacity. I proposed after much thought a study of the growth of middle-class comedy in the Jacobean theatre, and did all I could to arm myself with the conviction that desire to explicate this matter was dominant in my mind and decisive to my future.¹⁶

Linklater secured an interview for the post:

‘Tell me, Mr. Linklater, about your primary motive in applying for a Fellowship. Which is more important in your mind, the desire to do this particular piece of work, or the desire to see America?’

I hesitated only a moment, and hoarsely answered, ‘The desire to see America.’¹⁷

This answer must have been sufficient as Linklater secured the research post. In a similar manner to Byron's aimless wandering about the European Continent, once in America – according to his own accounts – Linklater spent little time in study, and instead used the two years to play ethnologist.

Either Linklater's candid personality put his benefactors at ease, thus securing him the position of Commonwealth Fellow, or the story of the interview is mere exaggeration for entertaining effect and Linklater received the Fellowship based on merit. The latter situation is the most likely. Exaggeration for the purpose of entertainment is a recurring stylistic device used in Linklater's autobiographies, biographies and fictions. In these the demarcation between reality and fiction becomes less and less obvious.

¹⁶ Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 180.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

Linklater followed Byron's lead and the separation of autobiography from fiction became a negligible detail. Linklater's portrayal of reality relies on exaggeration; the same can be said of Byron's representations of his own life. The common phrase, 'truth is stranger than fiction', originates from Byron's *Don Juan*:

'Tis strange – but true; for Truth is always strange,
 Stranger than Fiction: if it could be told,
 How much would novels gain by the exchange!
 How differently the world would men behold! [XIV: 101, 1-4] ¹⁸

We believe we know Byron well through reading his letters, his texts and historic documents that sit in libraries and archives, and yet despite these resources, contradictions regarding his life are numerous and also of his own making. Byron is also a character of his own imagination. The separation between the author and the person he allowed the world to see is negligible, and we can never be sure what is real and what is constructed:

[...] are we labouring under our own illusions, responding to a portrait we have half-created? The slippage between life and art persists, even as the biographical facts have become more numerous and secure. Byron's life is the quintessential problem for biography, because it contains at its core that practice of fictionalization which is believed to 'taint' the genre.¹⁹

Beginning early in his career, Byron was susceptible to negative criticism, receiving harsh reviews from his peers, yet he rose to the status of a public celebrity nonetheless. Byron's celebrity status and the controversial nature of his writing is still a matter of debate: '[...] biographies of Byron often seem haunted by the sense that they must be written not simply to establish facts but to render justice, either to Byron or to those who opposed him.'²⁰ Byron

¹⁸ Baron George Gordon Byron, 'Don Juan' in *Lord Byron: The Major Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 818.

(Note, that unless otherwise stated, it is this McGann edition of 'Don Juan' that is being referenced.)

¹⁹ Paul Douglass, 'Byron's life and his biographies' in *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*, ed. by Drummond Bone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 7-26 (p. 25).

²⁰ Douglass, p. 24.

was famously disliked by a number of his Romantic contemporaries. A letter from Coleridge dated 1822 states:

It seems to my ear, that there is a sad want of harmony in Lord Byron's verses. Is it not unnatural to be always connecting very great intellectual power with utter depravity? Does such a combination often really exist *in rerum naturâ*?²¹

Reiterating the already noted quotation by Paul Douglass – ‘Byron’s life is the quintessential problem for biography, because it contains at its core that practice of fictionalization which is believed to “taint” the genre’²² – Byron was not an innocent bystander to the whispers and jibes. He created a persona of himself that fed the celebrity machine. From *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (1812-1818) to *Don Juan*, the perceived life of Byron was fodder for the gossip which he initiated himself:

In fact he often encouraged speculation: for example, by specifically denying that he was romantically involved with the woman he had rescued at gunpoint from being ceremoniously drowned in the sea at Pireaus for adultery, an incident on which *The Giaour* was based. The very refutation, of course, sparked rumours that the hero of the poem *was* based on the poet himself.²³

Byron manipulated his readers and controlled the public, leading them to believe he was a specific type of man. Caroline Franklin discusses his ‘Authorial persona’:

Hours of Idleness was a derivative and unimpressive debut in terms of the quality of its poetry. However, it does provide evidence that right from the beginning Byron used writing to shape a sense of self, and to deploy the figure of the author as a source of authority.²⁴

This control of his readers was maintained by intermingling fact and make-believe in his fictions. Andrew Nicholson writes beautifully about the validity of such an enterprise:

²¹ Coleridge's *Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. by T.M. Raysor (London: Harvard University Press, 1936) p. 401 cited in Andrew Rutherford, *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 1995), p. 265.

²² See footnote 19.

²³ Caroline Franklin, *Byron: A Literary Life* (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 2000), p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

For, unlike metaphor, simile or allegory, it [Byron's prose] suggests that what others have thought and created and written has exactly the same force and authority as what others have done (fact as fiction, fiction as fact): life *and* art, history *and* literature embody experimental truth. This in turn reflects on the status of the poem and the values it promotes: it too is claiming the same equality, the same truth. Such multiple ventriloquism – other considerations apart – breeds a sort of kindness: each platform, each voice, each mask tolerates the other, bound together by the poet himself who has distributed himself amongst them. By enshrining these disparate elements in a single work, the whole manoeuvre itself becomes an illustrative act of forbearance that looks forward to the polyphonic carnival of language in *Don Juan*.²⁵

Just as Byron dabbled with fictionalisation, Linklater's tendency for misplaced truths is found throughout his autobiographies and public statements. While Linklater never achieved the celebrity status of Byron, during his lifetime he was a notable literary figure. He was asked regularly by both BBC radio and television to contribute his opinion on various subjects; he published and lectured frequently on public matters and his books regularly made the Book of the Month. While Linklater never acted in a manner which would instigate 'celebrity gossip', thus suggesting that Linklater's approach to self promotion was more casual than Byron's, he does however take cues from Byron by blurring non-fiction and fiction.

Linklater embellishes for the beauty of being a raconteur; he questions the importance of truth and places entertainment above fact. Linklater's most noted deception is regarding his place of birth. In truth, he was born in 1898 in Penarth, Wales. However, until his final autobiography, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat* (1970), the general public believed that he had been born in Dounby, Orkney, where he lived until moving to Aberdeen during his Grammar school years. He did, as previously stated, attend Aberdeen Grammar school but this was after

²⁵ Andrew Nicholson, 'Byron's Prose' in *The Cambridge Companion to Byron* ed. by Drummond Bone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 186-206 (p. 191).

the family moved from Wales. In his last autobiography, he finally confesses, ‘I was born in Penarth, of which I have no memory, for while I was still an infant – or perhaps a little older – we moved to a new, protruding limb of the city of Cardiff.’²⁶ In 1970, he defended the misnomer of his place of birth in a letter to W.R. Aitken: ‘I have never said that I was born in Orkney, but my close connection with the islands prompted that assumption.’²⁷ While Linklater chose to reveal his Welsh birthplace, he also creates elaborate ancestral links to Viking kings. Hall discusses Linklater’s created lineage and the ‘fanfare’ he used to describe his life:

Linklater goes to flamboyant lengths in *Fanfare for a Tin Hat* to establish his Viking credentials and his connection with Earl Thorfinn the Mighty [...] Linklater chooses a Viking superhero as his ancestor and obscures his precise genealogy behind a playful smokescreen.²⁸

There is never remorse in his exaggerations; and he, at times, appears to relish reminding the reader that any part of his texts could be a falsification: that all is not as it appears. He openly blurs lines between fact and fiction in his work, and through his many protestations, he calls attention to the autobiographical elements of his own work. In a preface to the original printing of *Magnus Merriman* (1934), Linklater objects to similarities drawn between himself and the character Magnus Merriman; yet he still acknowledges various parallels with his own experiences:

²⁶ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 28.

²⁷ Parnell, p. 1.

²⁸ Hall, p. 68.

In *Magnus Merriman*, I have been so indiscreet as to let my hero contest a Parliamentary by-election when I myself have but recently recovered from such an experience. And in view of previous misunderstanding I desire to state that Merriman's adventure in Kinlucy is not a replica of mine in an actual constituency [...] that Merriman is one person and I, thank heaven, am quite a different person: that Merriman's friends, acquaintances, and enemies are his own and not mine. I have written a novel: I have not filled a photograph-album or published confessions of a misspent life.²⁹

Curiously, current printings of *Magnus Merriman* do not contain the 'admonition'. Instead, the back of the 1990 Canongate reprint reads: 'With details based on Linklater's own experiences in an East Fife by-election in 1933.'³⁰

Perhaps this habit of falsifying reality began during his life as a journalist. According to *Man on My Back*, while employed at the *Bombay Times*, a tropical illness caused a large percentage of the editorial staff to be bedridden. With most members of staff unavailable, battlefield promotions were made and quickly Linklater's status rose quickly, as did his daily copywriting output. This provided Linklater with a fast-paced environment, albeit in an office setting. However, the obligation for truth in journalism eventually grew tiring and he was repeatedly reprimanded for spinning a story. The tedium of reporting on reality became too much and he took to writing novels:

I was already on the fringe of the dreadful obsession which, for the last dozen years or more, has sat upon my shoulders, governed my life, falsified my hopes, ruined my digestion, and given me more pain and pleasure than anything else on earth. The need of making from homiletic imagination a series of visible and articulated things called novels: that was the boot that kicked me, yard by yard, from *being's* blissful state.³¹

Despite making a conscious decision to follow a career in fiction, during the course of his life Linklater wrote over fifty histories, essays and articles, plus three autobiographies. Yet, even

²⁹ Eric Linklater, *Magnus Merriman* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), Preface

³⁰ Eric Linklater, *Magnus Merriman* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1990)

³¹ Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 120.

in these nonfiction falsifications were added for the reader's enjoyment. In *Men on My Back*, he describes a bon voyage party for a mentor retiring from the *Bombay Times* named O'Halloran. Linklater paints a picture of camaraderie and merriment, only to end the story with O'Halloran catching sunstroke and dying. Yet, before the reader can grieve too long, he adds:

That was the story, but the truth was less simple. O'Halloran didn't die, nor had he taken a sunstroke. On the day after the picnic he quietly drew his last pay and disappeared. None of us ever saw him again. He went back to his wandering, for at fifty-eight the inconclusiveness of his life was yet incomplete.

I ought to have told the truth about him. Had I been an artist, I supposed I would have done. But I am a carpenter.³²

Linklater does not find importance in delineating between fact and fiction, an accusation which can equally be placed at Byron's door. Andrew Nicholson says of Byron's prose, '[...] interweaving of fact and fiction – with little indication of there being any distinction between the two; the one prompting the other and together abiding in harmony – is extraordinarily revealing of the mind that creates it.'³³

Byron, a complicated author who devised a complicated hero, who was static and dynamic and who used truth and fiction, brought scandal and, what some believed to be shame, to himself; yet gossip fuelled his career and his legend. He felt obliged to defend himself, as do his biographers, but the pressure of fame and an unusual lifestyle created a persona of rebellion and excitement. Byron's mastery of the epic poem and his radical persona, spoke to Linklater first in childhood and then later in his adult life. As Linklater manipulates his own image in fact and fiction, appropriations of Byron and his work are used in *Juan in America*. Early in his career, when Linklater was forming a voice and a style, Byron's work provided a useful model for creating satire.

³² Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 101.

³³ Nicholson, p. 101.

CHAPTER ONE: Interpreting Mimetic Fiction

You shape out your projected story and try to imagine it as a whole. The ideal thing of course is to combine story with something of a theme. [...] And then quite unscrupulously you pick-up odds and ends from people you've known. Either a tone of voice, or the shape of a nose, or the look of a pair of eyes, or a habit. A habit of speech. And quite without knowing how you do it all, you gradually accumulate a sufficient amount of material – or so you think – to present a character, and then you have to give it speech. And that is really fascinating. But all that occurs before the business of writing. Before you sit down in front of a piece of paper with a pen or pencil and start scribbling.³⁴

Linklater describes his writing method, which is none too different than the process by which most authors create a novel, poem or any form of creative endeavour, as a slow process of appropriation. When an author actively appropriates, he/she works simultaneously to rewrite and retell single and then multiple events, memories, influences and fictional ideas, until 'without knowing how you do it all, you gradually accumulate a sufficient amount of material'.³⁵ This is adaptation in its purest form, which Julie Sanders, in *Adaptation and Appropriation* (2006), elaborates as follows:

[...] there is a further parallel mode of appropriation that uses as its raw material not literary or artistic matter but the 'real' matter of facts, of historical events and personalities [...] consciously appropriating the known facts of a particular event or of a particular life in order to shape their fiction.³⁶

The author is not necessarily aware of the individual processes by which he/she writes and creates; instead, it is the critic who categorises the appropriative elements within the fiction. For the critic, this compartmentalisation has become commonplace; a single subject is investigated before moving on to the next concept. By offering techniques and theories for each part, the critic is then able to support the entire argument.

³⁴ *Stone in the Heather*, dir. by Laurence Henson (British Universities Film & Video Council, 1976)

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2006), pp. 138-139.

The objective of this investigation is to determine which influences shaped the creation of *Juan in America*, and how these influences were incorporated to create a single satirical text. This investigation shall act critically, dismantling the text in an attempt to understand how all the parts fit together. In order to do this, and to do justice to the texts' referencing of life, memory, history, culture and literature, this study will be informed by several different disciplines, beginning with a discussion of adaptation theory. From *Juan in America's* title to the family tree placed at the front of the book, to characters and plot points that are similar to *Don Juan*, the novel regularly references Byron's *Don Juan* and appears to be substantially linked to the epic poem. However, through a discussion of adaptation theory, my investigation can determine if *Juan in America* is indeed a clear *adaptation* of *Don Juan* or if it should be characterised as something else, such as an intertextual appropriation. These discussions can best be understood using theories and methodologies based in the following disciplines: adaptation studies, autobiografictions, autobiography, history, anthropology and comparative literatures. Chapter One will introduce these disciplines and their primary theories in reference to how they may have influenced Linklater's creation of the text. Additionally, this chapter will discuss devices which will be used later in the thesis to understand the source text, raw materials, the author, and *Juan in America*.

Chapter Two shall make comparisons between the narratives, protagonists and narrators of *Juan in America* and *Don Juan*, and shall then compare Linklater and Byron's ability, temperament and motivation to evaluate Byron's influence upon Linklater's work and the putative adaptive nature of the secondary text. Once it has been determined to what extent Linklater appropriates *Don Juan*, this investigation will then turn to other elements, or 'raw materials', that are represented in *Juan in America*. 'Raw materials' as a tool to create satire

was first introduced by Frederick Beatty. Chapter Three shall investigate the numerous 'raw materials' that were used to create the text, such as impressions of Byron, autobiographic references, cultural representations, historic contexts, and literary influence.

Juan in America is a novel which interacts with a source text, a literary history, cultural perceptions of another society, concepts of memory and history. Each of these elements are appropriated from life and rewritten into a work of fiction, in a manner that brings verisimilitude. The text is both intertextual and adaptive, which is why such investigations should begin with fundamental theories and methodologies of appropriation studies.

Appropriation Studies: Making Comparisons

At its most basic, an adaptation is the essence of a source text replicated into another form. This is certainly a starting point for the most common of contemporary adaptations – literature to film. When discussing adaptation theories, what often comes to the foreground is the adaptation of literature into film, and most certainly this is the typical path which adaptation studies have taken. However, many of the ideas which have found a home in film studies are applicable to understanding a literary-to-literary adaptation; the intertextual nature of appropriation theory allows the field to interact with text-to-text adaptations.

In its simplest form, adaptation studies investigates the ways in which major plot points and character attributes from a source text are replicated in another work or changed and rearranged to fit the new form. However, most adaptation scholars will agree that investigating an adaptation using basic comparisons is unhelpful and can lead to what Robert Stam calls 'fidelity discourse'.

'Fidelity discourse' evaluates the success or failure of an adaptation on its 'fidelity' to the original source; deviations thus lead to a devaluation of the secondary form. Stam argues that unhelpful '[t]erms like "infidelity," "betrayal," "deformation," "violation," "bastardization," "vulgarization," and "desecration" proliferate in adaptation discourse.'³⁷ 'Fidelity discourse' in adaptation studies can be traced to Virginia Woolf's 1926 essay *The Cinema* in which she states that an 'alliance' between literature and film is 'unnatural',³⁸ and debates the validity of adaptations. George Bluestone's *Novels into Film* (1957) encourages fidelity discourse by emphasising the differences between film and the written word.³⁹ A forerunner of the school of adaptation theory, this 'compare and contrast' methodology continued for nearly fifty years. Robert B. Ray argues that Bluestone's ideology leads to characterising the appropriating medium as a 'true' or 'untrue' representation; Bluestone's ideology led a generation of adaptation theorists to rely on 'dead end' and 'useless' comparisons as well as 'trite suppositions'.⁴⁰

Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan in *Adaptations: From text to screen, screen to text* (1999) argue 'that adaptations are not derided as sycophantic, derivative, and therefore inferior'.⁴¹ Whelehan continues to state that, historically, when making comparisons between an original text and its appropriated form, adaptation scholars often feel it necessary to discuss literary and film adaptations and then argue for the 'better' medium. This discussion of

³⁷ Robert Stam, 'Introduction: The Theory and Practice of Adaptation', in *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation*, ed. by Alessandra Raengo and Robert Stam (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 1-52 (p. 3).

³⁸ Virginia Woolf, 'The Cinema', in *Woolf Online: An Electronic Edition and Commentary of Virginia Woolf's 'Time Passes'*, ed. by Julia Briggs (2008) <<http://www.woolfonline.com/?q=essays/cinema/full>> [accessed 10 August 2010].

³⁹ George Bluestone, *Novels into Film: The Metamorphosis of Fiction into Cinema* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1957).

⁴⁰ Robert B. Ray, *How a Film Theory Got Lost and Other Mysteries in Film Studies* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001), pp. 39, 46.

⁴¹ Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, *Adaptations: From text to screen, screen to text* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 1999), pp. 1-2.

adaptation – as the tendency to see the transition of a story from one medium (literature) to another (film) as derivative – may be part of the reason why adaptations are interpreted as inferior. Cartmell argues that because of constraints placed on a medium such as film, certain adjustments must be made when adapting into that form, ‘such as pruning culturally anachronistic features, trimming sophisticated narrative strategies into a recognizable popular film genre’.⁴² According to Cartmell, the necessary differences between a novel and ‘its film version results in an almost unconscious prioritizing of the fictional origin over the resulting film’.⁴³

Linda Hutcheon reminds us that adaptations need not only occur as films, and she dedicates several chapters of her book, *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006), to other forms such as television to film, film to television, and adaptations into gaming. Moreover, she reminds the reader that adaptations extend beyond modern technology and can be put into historic context:

If you think adaptation can be understood by using novels and films alone, you’re wrong. The Victorians had a habit of adapting just about everything – and in just about every possible direction; the stories of poems, novels, plays, operas, paintings, songs, dances, and *tableaux vivants* were constantly being adapted from one medium to another and then back again.⁴⁴

Additionally, while the Victorians may have exploited the form of adaptation, it is also important to note that the very act of adaptation has always been a prominent force in storytelling. The retelling of oral myth into the written word is a mainstay of early literary texts; a case in point is the Don Giovanni myth, which not only lies at the heart of Byron’s

⁴² Cartmell and Whelehan, p. 4.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁴ Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2006), p. xi.

Don Juan but also has been reproduced in various forms numerous times, and which also appears in Byron's work.⁴⁵

If these necessary differences of story-telling are somewhat more obvious in a literature-to-film adaptation, a similar argument can be made for adapting written texts. Linklater's appropriation of Byron's epic poem into a novel is a scenario in which the secondary text must make additions or subtractions from the source text based on genre. Adaptation theory as a part of a larger film studies umbrella is quite useful to this thesis. As stated, one of the primary tasks will be to determine if *Juan in America* is indeed an adaptation of Byron's *Don Juan*, and much of the work in contemporary adaptation theory will help with this investigation. Sanders explains how the repeated rewriting of themes, narratives, heroes, and styles over the course of literary history provides scholars with a plethora of choice when studying adaptations, whether within a traditional media or in celluloid or even digital form:

[...] it is the very endurance and survival of the source text that enables the ongoing process of juxtaposed readings that are crucial to the cultural operations of adaptation, and the ongoing experiences of pleasure for the reader or spectator in tracing the intertextual relationships. It is this inherent sense of play, produced in part by the activation of our informed sense of similarity and difference between the texts being invoked, and the connected interplay of expectation and surprise, that for me lies at the heart of the experience of adaptation and appropriation.⁴⁶

Furthermore, while it may be tempting to lean towards an evaluative judgement when discussing written adaptations, this thesis will primarily rely on adaptation theorists who are

⁴⁵ A further discussion of the history of the Don Giovanni theme can be found on page 159, which suggests that the original Don Giovanni myth dates back to 310 - 241 BC. Additionally, the origin of some myths are difficult to trace, as is the Don Giovanni theme, and often those who adapt a story that is a part of the public psyche may not search for the myth's source. Instead, the author would use recent variations of the story as well as memories of the tale. It is likely that Byron approached *Don Juan* in this manner; while Linklater's connection to Byron suggests that his adaptive approach was based on primarily on Byron's version of *Don Juan*, as opposed to others such as Mozart's opera of 1787.

⁴⁶ Sanders, p. 25.

pushing away from the ‘fidelity discourse’. Hutcheon, Stam, and Cartmell and Whelehan argue that source material need not destroy the secondary text (or vice versa), with Julie Sanders arguing: ‘Adaptation studies are [...] not about making polarized value judgements, but about analysing process, ideology, and methodology.’⁴⁷

Saunders references ‘adaptation’ and ‘appropriation’ separately. The terms ‘appropriation’ and ‘adaptation’ may appear to have varying degrees of intertextual purpose, but appropriations tend to be less explicit and more embedded in their relationship with its precursor.⁴⁸ However, even when the relationship between the texts is not as obvious, in an appropriation, there might be a political or ethical commitment which shapes the appropriator’s reinterpretation.⁴⁹ Primarily, the relationship between two texts changes significantly when the appropriation is more than a few fragmentary allusions and instead acts as a more cohesive or sustained reworking. This is the point at which appropriations become classified into subsets such as ‘adaptation’. Linda Hutcheon discusses the field of text-to-film adaptations primarily; however, many of her concepts are broad enough to apply to a text-to-text adaptation. She argues that all adaptations must adhere to three criteria in order to be classified as an ‘adaptation’: have an ‘acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works’, be ‘a creative *and* interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging’, and act as ‘an *extended* intertextual engagement with the adapted work.’⁵⁰

Hutcheon’s model seems to be based on that of Geoffrey Wagner’s in *The Novel and the Cinema* (1975), which argues that there are three categories of adaptation: transposition, commentary and analogy. Wagner states that ‘transposition’ is the process in which the source

⁴⁷ Sanders, p. 20

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁵⁰ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 8.

material is transposed to its new medium; whereas, ‘commentary’ is the process in which the source text is altered in some form. Finally, ‘analogy’ is the point in which the new work departs from the original and becomes its own entity.⁵¹ This is quite similar to Hutcheon’s model, which forces the critic to look at the relationship between the two texts, but, unlike Hutcheon, Wagner’s theory also uncovers the process in which the secondary text moves away from the first. Both Hutcheon and Wagner’s models can work quite well in conjunction with one another and, especially, when added to Sanders’ argument that even if a text has fulfilled a set of rules – such as those above – its relationship with the original text may not be so simple. Sanders argues that:

Appropriation frequently affects a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain. This may or may not involve a generic shift, and it may still require the intellectual juxtaposition of (at least) one text against another that we have suggested is central to the reading and spectating experience of adaptation.⁵²

Therefore, in conjunction with Hutcheon and Wagner’s ideas of what constitutes an ‘adaptation’, the source material must be equally scrutinized, especially as ‘the appropriated text or texts are not always as clearly signalled or acknowledged as in the adaptive process. They may occur in far less straightforward context than is evident’.⁵³

In order to further understand the delicate relationship between primary texts and the source material, Sanders argues that, ‘[t]he spectator or reader must be able to participate in the play of similarity and difference perceived between the original, source, or inspiration to appreciate fully the reshaping or rewriting undertaken by the adaptive text.’⁵⁴ Sanders argues that not only does understanding the canon from which the source text is derived influence the

⁵¹ Geoffrey Atheling Wagner, *The Novel and the Cinema* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975), p. 231.

⁵² Sanders, p. 26.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

interpretation, but there are particular forms of source material, such as myth, fairy tale, and folklore ‘which by their very nature depend on a communality of understanding.’⁵⁵ She argues that ‘cross-cultural, often cross-historical’ readerships participate not only in an aspect of appropriation, but also are sources for community knowledge.⁵⁶ Therefore, it is imperative that this study acknowledges the reader’s relationship with the source material – even if this relationship is fleeting or partial. This applies to Linklater’s *Juan in America*. With the name of the protagonist in the title and a prelude to the novel setting the tone, readers will have a preconceived notion that the Don Juan myth is present, and thus carry an expectation of the novel’s link to *Don Juan*.

On this same note, the author must too become the spectator. Much of this is not only important to the question ‘Is *Juan in America* an adaption of *Don Juan*?’, but also to understand how the novel is an appropriation of life, memory, history and culture. Later in this dissertation, the interaction of the text with the larger Don Giovanni myth will be investigated, as will the author’s interaction with both the source text and the text he is creating.

Sanders argues that the author of the secondary text should, of course, be actively aware that he/she is adapting a text; however, according to Sanders, the act may require more than a passing knowledge of the original text. She argues that the adaptor must find pleasure in, ‘assessing the similarities and differences between texts, between source and imitation’.⁵⁷ It may seem an obvious statement that an author is aware that he/she is adapting a text, as opposed to stumbling across a plot or narrative that is commonplace in another

⁵⁵ Sanders, 45.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 45.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

work. However, Sanders continues by expanding her statement: ‘it requires prior knowledge of the text(s) being assimilated, absorbed, reworked, and refashioned by the adaptive process.’⁵⁸ She is arguing that the interaction between the author and source material must be intentional. As discussed in the Introduction, Linklater openly comments on his enthusiasm for Byron’s work and his connection to Byron through Aberdeen. However, the investigation of *Juan in America* as an adaptation of *Don Juan* cannot end here. By continuing to interpret the text using methods suggested by Hutcheon, Wagner, and Sanders the relationship the appropriating text holds with the source material and the adaptation’s intention – to honour, to parody, to recreate, or even to misinterpret – can be understood.

Harold Bloom speaks specifically of misinterpretation in his seminal text, *Anxiety of Influence* (1973). While there are some aspects of Bloom’s theory that may be applicable, such as his statement that, ‘[...] poetic influence need not make poets less original; as often it makes them more original, though not therefore necessarily better.’⁵⁹ The general acceptance of influence by a source text is what appropriation studies are founded upon; however, his attachment, ‘not therefore necessarily better’, should be nothing more than a qualifying statement. Just because an author interprets does not mean he/she is any better (or, in the mind of many critics, any worse) than the source material. However, the addendum, ‘though not therefore necessarily better’, is larger than a mere cautionary tactic. Bloom states that ‘influence’ is ‘*Influenza* – an astral disease’, from which poets must protect their work by ‘misreading’ their predecessors.⁶⁰ For Bloom, ‘*poetic influence [...] always proceeds by misinterpretation*’.⁶¹ Misinterpretation suggests judgement and implies that an author can be

⁵⁸ Sanders, p. 120.

⁵⁹ Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

wrongly influenced, read incorrectly, or even actively and consciously degrade their influential source material. Bloom reveals his rationale behind the statement ‘not therefore necessarily better’ when he concludes: ‘My concern is only with strong poets, major figures with the persistence to wrestle with their strong precursors, even to the death. Weaker talents idealize; figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves.’⁶² Bloom’s ideology seems quite similar to discussions of Bluestone’s ‘fidelity discourse’ in film adaptation studies.

As the study of *Don Juan* and *Juan in America*’s relationship wishes to excise concepts of ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘strong’, ‘weak’, ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ from the investigation, and instead look at what elements are used to create a text without passing judgement, Bloom’s work will not be taken into consideration. Initially this thesis shall explore *Juan in America* by comparing it to *Don Juan* in order to determine if it is an adaptation, appropriation or merely an intertextual reference to Byron’s epic poem. However, not only will this thesis discuss Linklater’s relationship to Byron and *Don Juan*, but it will also investigate other noted textual influences. The literary heritage from which Linklater draws shall be excavated, along with how he blends fact and fiction by appropriating memory, history, and cultures. Frederick Beaty’s discussion of the author and the reader’s relationships with the text, as well as outside factors will be used in order to fully understand Byron’s work. In order to understand what other aspects of life, memory, history and culture were appropriated to create the text, we must turn to Frederick Beaty’s examination of satire.

⁶¹ Bloom, p. 30.

⁶² Ibid., p. 5.

Satiric Form: Beaty's Principles of Satire

It has been argued that: 'Beaty systematically, accurately, and succinctly lays out the evidence of Byron's dedication to satire throughout his life as a poet, economically balancing an exploration of his motivations, his antecedents and models, and the occasions of particular works with analyses of his mastery of the technical resources of successful satire.'⁶³ Beaty's premise for interpreting Byron provides an appropriate template for understanding satirists in general, in that he examines the author's ability, motivations to write, and interactions with the world. Additionally, Beaty is not simply a scholar studying Byron but also an eminent critic of the satiric, ironic and comedic form.

Charles Knight in *The Literature of Satire* (2004) argues that satire is not necessarily a genre but a 'frame of mind'; satire comprises of:

[...] complex and even paradoxical qualities. Like Democritus, the satirist is a skeptical and bemused observer. Like the jester portraying Democritus, he may be a trickster, an agent as well as an observer, proclaiming truths disguised as lies and directing the action to bring about the ends he has proclaimed [...] these tricks may engage the ironies of reader or view involvement. The satirist is on one hand the dispassionate observer of humanity and, on the other, the irate attacker of particular individuals. His mode of both observation and attack is representation.⁶⁴

Knight describes the satirist as an individual who reflects the world through tricks and lies so that observations and representation of opposing viewpoints may be presented back to humanity. Knight's suggestion that the satirist is engaged with both the world as well as the reader suggests that for the satire to be truly understood, the reader must understand the underlying sentiment of what is being stated in the text. Therefore, can a text be satirical if the reader 'does not get it'?

⁶³ Donald H. Reiman, 'Review of *Byron the Satirist* by Frederick L. Beaty', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 42, 2 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Sep., 1987), pp. 228-229.

⁶⁴ Charles Knight, *The Literature of Satire* (West Nyack, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 3.

Knight answers this question by debating classification:

There are satiric novels [...] and there are novels that are satires [...] but the distinctions between the two are approximate and subjective, depending in large part on how the generic energies of the text strike a particular reader in a particular reading. The question is not usually whether the identification is correct but whether it generates interesting ideas about the work identified or fruitfully extends and idea of satire and its function.⁶⁵

‘[G]enerates interesting ideas about the work identified’ suggests that the reader must engage with the text in order for it to be a satire, and that the aim of the text is to elicit a response from the reader regarding the ideas placed within the work. In order to facilitate this understanding and to truly comprehend the satiric nature of the text, it is helpful for the reader to know the author’s world and, at times, even the author. Furthermore, it is Beaty’s discussion of Byron – not simply as an author, but also as a satirist, and his interactions with his environment – that make his understanding of Byron applicable to this thesis’ investigation of *Juan in America*.

Beaty delves into how the genre and form of satire, irony and comedy work with the author’s intentions. In *The Ironic World of Evelyn Waugh: A Study in Eight Novels* (1992), Beaty uncovers how theme, plot, and character can shape irony, and that by understanding the ironic nature of the text, the reader can gather a better appreciation of Waugh’s work as a whole. In *Byron the Satirist*, Beaty states: ‘It is the purpose of this study to investigate the numerous ingredients of personality and external circumstance that went into his poetry and to follow the strands as they mix in varying combinations (and with varying success) throughout his satires.’⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Knight, p. 14.

⁶⁶ Beaty, p. 1.

Beaty's thesis statement gives this investigation a template to work from for two reasons. First, if *Juan in America* is an adaptation, or even a conscious appropriation of *Don Juan*, Linklater would need to know the author's work and life in order to adapt it. When pairing Beaty's thesis statement, 'investigate the numerous ingredients of personality and external circumstance that went into his poetry', with Saunder's argument that an adapting author must assess 'the similarities and differences between texts, between source and imitation',⁶⁷ it serves to show that in order to adapt a satire one must be a critic of it. Second, Linklater, in order to write a satire, must be a critic of the world and of his own life.

This investigation additionally hopes to uncover not just Linklater's relationship with Byron and *Don Juan*, but also representations and appropriations of life, history, memory and culture through a text that mixes fact and fiction. Beaty argues that Byron's satirical voice is reliant on the author's intentions and his interactions with the world around him:

Analysing the growth of Byron's satiric identity is comparable to exploring the intricate paths of a maze, for the process through which Byron became an accomplished satirist is a complexity of many facets and an intertwining of many strands. One must consider his native ability, his motivation, his temperament, and the raw materials – such as the state of society and the traditions of literature – with which he had to work.⁶⁸

Beaty's first attribute, 'ability', is reliant upon the interpretation of the reader. Byron's ability as an author was a regular topic of discussion by his peers, which, in turn, had a large effect on the Byronic style. Byron's temperament, or the temperament of his persona, reacted in a specific way towards both negative and positive criticism, which shaped his satires into a specific voice. Byron interacted with the world around him, or the 'raw materials', thus pushing him to write in a specific manner. Chapter Two shall investigate and compare

⁶⁷ See footnote 57.

⁶⁸ Beaty, p. 1.

Linklater's ability, motivation and temperament in conjunction with Byron's. It will also question how much of *Juan in America* was formed as a response to *Don Juan*, and how much of the novel departs from the source material to become its own entity through the appropriation of 'raw materials', thus allowing this investigation to respond to Wagner's suggestion that in the final stages of an adaptation it becomes original.⁶⁹ In fact, whether or not *Juan in America* is an adaptation of *Don Juan* may become secondary, because it is his appropriation of 'raw materials' – as found in 'the state of society and the traditions of literature' – which allow Linklater's text to become its own satire outside of its relationship to *Don Juan*.

As the 'state of society' has a large influence upon *Juan in America* as a satiric text, this investigation shall incorporate concepts of anthropology to understand how Linklater viewed the world at large. Additionally as Linklater placed personal accounts within the fictional work, the disciplines of autobiography and history will be also be discussed.

Autobiografiction: The Fictional Self

Beaty stated that in order for Byron to succeed as a satirist, he would need to 'create an interesting and convincing persona',⁷⁰ and the introduction to this thesis briefly discusses Linklater and Byron's propensity for embellishment in their lives, thus creating their respective public personas. The blending of fact and fiction is prevalent throughout the majority of their texts, with both authors replicating aspects of their life, adjusting memories to fit that of their personas, and then placing these elements within the confines of fiction.

⁶⁹ Wagner, p. 231.

⁷⁰ Beaty, p. 1.

Linklater shares exaggerated similarities with many of his protagonists. His first novel, *White Maa's Saga* (1929), portrays the character Peter Flett, a young medical student at the University of Inverdoon (a thinly veiled combination of Aberdeen and Inverness). Flett and Linklater were both medical students and they both called Orkney home. Parnell finds similarities between the protagonist of *White Maa's Saga* and its author:

Peter is a reluctant medical student, just after the First World War; he has a strong-minded sister in Orkney; his sailor father was killed in 1916; he is a boxer and something of a man's man, but is also trying to make sense of his relationship with women; he loves to talk, and fight, and sail, and make love. So far, so like his creator.⁷¹

Additionally, the protagonist of *Magnus Merriman*, like Linklater, is a former journalist who had lived and worked abroad. Merriman worked in America, but travelled through India returning with a book about India; Linklater worked in India, but travelled through America returning with a book about that country. Saturday Keith (*Poet's Pub*, 1929), Magnus Merriman (*Magnus Merriman*), Peter Flett (*White Maa's Saga*), and Tony Chisholm (*Dark of Summer*, 1956) are examples of some of Linklater's protagonists who were soldiers in World War One, plus Magnus Merriman and Juan Motley travelled extensively as did Linklater. Also, as the title suggests, both Juan Motley and Eric Linklater spent several years in America. Of Linklater's protagonists, Saturday Keith (*Poet's Pub*, 1929), Magnus Merriman (*Magnus Merriman*), Stephen Sorely (*Ripeness is All*, 1935), Albyn (*A Spell for Old Bones*, 1949) and Hector MacRae (*The Merry Muse*, 1959) held the profession of author, but of poet,

⁷¹ Parnell, p. 102.

an art form Linklater longed to master: 'With passion in my heart and seven topics already in my head I was going to be a poet.'⁷² Yet, despite varying degree of personal success, never found a career in the profession.

Linklater endorses the protagonists of his novel with aspects of his life, thus inviting the reader to link the character and the author. It seems that Linklater was prone to both autobiographical exaggeration and creating fictional personas that were self-representational images. Also, not only do we see a picture of himself in his protagonists in his fiction, but also a portrait of the Byronic hero. Despite Parnell's description of how Peter Flett, the protagonist of *White Maa's Saga*, is similar to Linklater, Parnell continues:

But he [Peter Flett] is better-looking and more romantically/conventionally admirable than his creator. Whereas Eric was short and bespectacled, wiry rather than broad shouldered until later in life, Peter is tall and powerful. [...] Perhaps it was this sort of 'untruth' that made Eric disparage his first novel, feeling that if it was going to be about himself, then it should have eschewed such temptations to project himself as bigger and better than he thought himself to be.⁷³

Peter Flett, like many of the Linklater protagonists, exceeds the author to take on the traits of a Byronic hero.

The term 'Byronic hero' varies in scholarly usage, but some noted features are repeated throughout critical discussions. The term first occurs in 1823 in *Blackwell Magazine*: 'His Byronic muse procured for him the hand of one of our fair countrywomen',⁷⁴ but it has since come to be defined as: '[...] the tormented melancholy failure who nears success and then fails and experiences the eternal loss, the repetition of the impossibility of bliss.'⁷⁵ In addition, Regina Hewitt asserts:

⁷² Linklater, *The Man on My Back*, p. 120.

⁷³ Parnell, p. 102.

⁷⁴ 'Byronic' in *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2, 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) p. 511.

[...] the Byronic hero is an extraordinary, almost superhuman person; he is solitary not just by virtue of his superior abilities but, more importantly, by choice; he is self-aware and self-sufficient -- he cannot and will not content himself with any external imposed limits; he is responsible for his own thoughts and actions, preferring even terrible consequences to any compromise; he is always defiant, and, even when physically defeated, he is metaphysically triumphant.⁷⁶

In all of these definitions a series of descriptive terms recurs – ‘solitary [...] by choice’, ‘self-aware’, ‘self-sufficient’, ‘defiant’, and ‘triumphant’. Dotted throughout the work of Linklater, one can find in these Byronic heroes, ‘[...] an ostentatious indifference to moral laws, for the most part a mysterious past which inspires him with deep melancholy, great personal beauty, strength, and bravery, and he is an all-conquering lover.’⁷⁷

Starting with *White Maa’s Saga*, Linklater’s male protagonists, even when placed in a different setting or situation, hold Byronic characteristics. Several of Linklater’s protagonists choose marriage at the end of the text (Magnus Merriman, Tony Chisholm, and Saturday Keith) yet remain solitary creatures keeping wives and families at arm’s length. Juan Motley and Peter Flett acquire friends and lovers, but abandon them quickly for a life of mobility. The Linklaterian protagonists are ‘self-sufficient’ in the extreme. They find jobs when needed and merely have to step foot in a new place before their charm, wit and physical strength secures them friendship and employment. They often float through life hoping destiny will protect them and whenever a spot of trouble appears they find a path to safety. Juan Motley travels the length and breadth of America, always finding his way forward. These protagonists are also ‘self-aware’, mocking themselves looking back at their own mistakes – satirising

⁷⁵ Deborah Lutz, *The Dangerous Lover: Gothic Villains, Byronism, and the Nineteenth-Century Seduction Narrative*. (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University, 2006), p. 52.

⁷⁶ Regina Hewitt, ‘Torquato Tasso — a Byronic hero?’, *Neophilologus*, 71, 3, Netherlands: Springer Press (July 1987), p. 431.

⁷⁷ Extract from George E. B. Saintsbury, *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature (1780-1895)* orig 1896 cited in Rutherford, *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage*, p. 477.

themselves as much as others. They are 'defiant' and 'triumphant': Tony Chisholm remains alive during war, Juan avoids being fatally shot and Peter Flett – literally – gets away with murder. The characters themselves embody the Byronic vision: a search for a happiness never found, the transparency of actions, the desire to be seduced and the blank canvas on which to show the world. In this manner, Linklater portrays himself and his protagonists as Byronic Heroes.

Linklater plays with reality in several ways. He changes the circumstances of his life to portray the part of a dashing hero, leaving out certain aspects and adding other details. Then he incorporates factual information, true anecdotes and historic events into fictitious texts, forcing the reader to make connections between the author, the protagonist, a persona and other fictitious characters. Through these 'autobiografictional' techniques, Linklater blurs the line between fact and fiction.

The term 'autobiografiction' does not roll off the tongue easily, but it best describes the mixture of fact and fiction as employed by both Byron and Linklater: '[...] minor literary form which stands between those two extremes'.⁷⁸ 'Autobiografiction' is often used in reference to post-modernist and contemporary literatures that blur the lines between biography and fiction.⁷⁹ Max Saunders, researching Modern 'autobiografictional' literatures, observes that the phrase was used by Stephen Reynolds in 1906. Reynolds compares

⁷⁸ Max Saunders, 'Autobiografiction: Experimental Life-Writing from the Turn of the Century to Modernism', *Literature Compass*, 6, 5, Blackwells Publishing Online (September 2009), p. 1045.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1041.

autobiographical fiction and unreliable autobiography: ‘The phrase autobiographical fiction is mainly reserved for fiction with a good deal of the writer’s own life in it, or for those lapses from fact which occur in most autobiographies.’⁸⁰ Reynolds thus unwittingly supplies a definition which certainly pertains to Linklater – an author who misrepresents himself in his autobiographies and places autobiographical episodes into his fictions. Saunders suggests that while the phrase has come into limited literary use in the last one-hundred years, the genre of ‘autobiografiction’ reaches back to the inception of the novel in such texts as *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759-1769).⁸¹ He also suggests that it became a popular form with those who would have been Linklater’s peers:

Over the period from the 1870s to the 1930s, autobiography increasingly morphed into fiction. It shows that works from the end of that period, like Woolf’s *Orlando* [1928] or Stein’s *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* [1933], which plays games with the forms of biography and autobiography, are not just sports, coming out of nowhere, but are prepared for by an extraordinary fertility of experiments with life-writing over the preceding half-century: in particular, by writers like Mark Rutherford, Samuel Butler, George Gissing and Edmund Gosse, in which a marked element of fictionalization enters into autobiography.⁸²

Authors like Woolf, who used novels such as *Orlando* to parody gender constructs, would have found that the ‘autobiografictionalisation’ of a text helped to develop a stronger satire than traditional forms. As the reader takes in the work, historical accuracies and information they believe to be true about the author are presented, and the reader’s perception of reality is distorted to fit with the diegesis of the text.

It must be noted here, it is unlikely that neither Linklater nor Byron used the word ‘autobiografiction’, especially as Byron’s writing predates the term. Instead, this section of

⁸⁰ Stephen Reynolds, ‘Autobiografiction’, *Speaker*, new series, 15, 366 (6 October 1906), p. 28.

⁸¹ Saunders, p. 1045.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 1042.

my thesis hopes to have a working definition that can describe aspects of Linklater and Byron's work. Furthermore, my thesis will conduct an ongoing discussion of the autobiographic nature of Linklater and Byron's fiction, as well as aspects of their work which blend reality and invention. Additionally, while 'autobiografiction' is a beneficial term of convenience it relies on a theory of autobiography.

Autobiography: Representations of Memory

Linklater includes personal opinions and life stories in *Juan in America*, and many of these episodes are also noted in his autobiographies. He seems to be asking the reader to connect his life with the novel in the same way a reader would connect a well loved story with its adaptation. The mixing of fact and fiction is important in the creation of Linklater's satires, but if the lines between fact and fiction become blurred, and an autobiography is nothing more than recounting a story, how different is an autobiography from fiction?

According to *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* an autobiography is defined as 'An account of a person's life by him- or herself';⁸³ the depth of memoir also takes us back to 'autobiography, diary and journal'.⁸⁴ The two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. Some scholars make a distinction between 'autobiography' and 'memoir' by suggesting that an autobiography is about the experiences of a person's lifetime, while a memoir is an entertaining account of a person's emotional growth.⁸⁵ Laura

⁸³ J.A. Cuddon, 'Autobiography' in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, revised by C.E. Preston (London: Penguin Books, 1998), p. 63.

⁸⁴ 'Memoire' in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, p. 504.

⁸⁵ Ian Jack, 'Memories are made of this - and that: Re-creating the past is a necessary evil in autobiographical writing', *The Guardian*, (Saturday 8 February 2003).
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2003/feb/08/featuresreviews.guardianreview25>> [Accessed 25 January 2011].

Marcus states that the most common distinction is that autobiography is ‘the evocation of a life as a totality’, while memoirs offer only ‘an anecdotal depiction of people and events’⁸⁶. However, she adds that the distinction is often used as a formal guide for classification and in order to spark debate on intent.⁸⁷ With so many variants in opinion, this thesis will predominantly use the term ‘autobiography’.

The transcription of life experiences on to the page would not have been far from Linklater’s mind while he was writing *Juan in America*, because the year after the novel was published, he produced the first of three autobiographies, *The Man on My Back*. A memoir occurring so soon after writing *Juan in America* implies that while he was in America, he must have been thinking about, or possibly even taking notes for, his first autobiography. The same can also be said for Byron. Prior to *Don Juan*, and according to a letter from Murray dating 10 July 1818, Byron was working on what could be considered an ‘autobiografictional’ text: ‘[...] having abandoned the autobiographical novel in which, according to Hobhouse, he had, in the manner of Florian, “Adumbrated” himself as a young Spaniard named Don Juan, [...]’⁸⁸

Byron and Linklater worked on autobiographies while their minds were developing fictitious works; this may account for why so much of their lives, or the lives of their personas, became part of *Don Juan* and *Juan in America* respectively, thus pushing the boundaries between fiction and fact. As noted in the previous section ‘Autobiografiction: The Fictional Self’, Linklater created a persona that the public believed to be a truthful image: aspects of this persona were encoded upon Juan Motley. Additionally, Motley and Linklater

⁸⁶ Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical discourses: Theory, criticism, practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 3.

⁸⁷ Marcus, p. 3.

⁸⁸ Beaty, p. 105.

share life experiences. *Juan in America* has an autobiographic tone because representations of a persona that the public believed to be true were placed upon Motley. Furthermore, Linklater fills *Juan in America* with anecdotal references from his time in the United States. However, if some of the autobiographic elements within the text are representations of a persona, does that text still have autobiographic leanings, or do those representations become fictional? Also, just because a text has an autobiographic element, it is not necessarily an autobiography; how, therefore, does the autobiographic information affect the reading of *Juan in America* as a whole?

The answer to this question may actually lie in the generic boundaries between fiction and nonfiction, novel and autobiography. In 1797 William Taylor substituted the word ‘autobiography’ for the common phrase ‘self-biography’ in his review ‘Miscellanies’ in the British *Monthly Review*. However, the new term did not catch on until Robert Southey used it to describe the work of the Portuguese poet, Francisco Viera, in 1809. Karl Weintraub in *The Value of the Individual* (1978) concurs with the common assertion that the first autobiography can be attributed to Saint Augustine’s *The Confessions of Saint Augustine* (397-398), but that the form has progressed steadily until the present day.⁸⁹ Jill Conway, in *When Memory Speaks* (1999), includes a wide range of autobiographers in order to indicate the variations between autobiographic styles and historic context.⁹⁰ Conway also discusses autobiographies written by those who are not leading public figures, especially women, but

⁸⁹ Karl Joachim Weintraub, *The Value of the Individual: Self and circumstance in autobiography* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 25-26.

⁹⁰ Jill Ker Conway, *When Memory Speaks: exploring the art of autobiography* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1999).

whose self-recorded lives have provided much for the study of domestic history. She also notes the historic importance of the travelogue as autobiography.⁹¹

This is of importance to *Juan in America* because much of the ‘autobiographic’ elements found in the novel are verified using his autobiographies, which themselves hop between travelogue, autobiography, and the historic report. Furthermore, they include not just stories about his life but also contain information about wars, political debates and social histories that occurred during his lifetime. Linklater’s autobiographies cross generic boundaries between his fiction. He also included the ‘autobiographic’ elements in his nonfictions. *The Campaign in Italy* (1951) is about the Allied Campaign in Italy in which Linklater, through personal account and insightful detail, recorded Italy’s surrender in World War Two. Additionally, Linklater worked with the BBC to produce *The Prince in the Heather* (1965), a television programme and accompanying book in which Linklater physically retraced Bonnie Prince Charlie’s movements through the highlands, thus combining documentary, biography, history, and travelogue. Yet, Linklater’s autobiographies not only place him within the context of war, politics or royalty, *Man on My Back* and *Fanfare for a Tin Hat* include many self-deprecating accounts of his own life, and his nonfictions regularly give the reader a picture of daily life lived, as well as detailed accounts of broader historic events. Consequently, it can be argued that similar interdisciplinary aspects are found in his fictions, thus forcing the similarities between autobiography, nonfiction and fiction to the forefront.

⁹¹ During the early 20th century, published travelogues in which British men and women travelled to the United States to record American culture were quite popular. A discussion of this trend in relation to *Juan in America* begins on page 176.

In *Rewriting the Self* (1993), Mark Freeman notes the obvious differences between fiction and autobiography. He argues that autobiographies are ‘about things that have actually happened’ and fiction is not.⁹² However, this statement may not be as clear cut as Freeman initially suggests. In fact, the *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*⁹³ states, ‘An autobiography may be largely fictional,’ and points out Rousseau’s *Confessions* (1781-1788) as an example, thus throwing a proverbial spanner into Freeman’s succinct definition. What may prove helpful is not necessarily trying to uncover the verisimilitude within the text but instead the intent within the text.

Jill Conway argues that the history of the autobiographic form, from the *Confessions* of St. Augustine to *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* (*Le scaphandre et le papillon*) (1997) by Jean-Dominique Bauby, highlights how conventions of autobiography and cultural contexts shifted over centuries.⁹⁴ John F. Benton’s argument in ‘Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality’ (1982) concurs with this position; Benton asserts that the autobiography initially acted as a confessional used to atone for perceived sins – an idea that may have a foundation with *Confessions* of St. Augustine and parodied in Hogg’s *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). However, as both fiction and nonfiction became less interested in the relationship to God, the autobiography moved to justify one’s actions as opposed to seek forgiveness, thus leading to the contemporary autobiography.⁹⁵ Whether or not the text is an admonishment of guilt or of sin, the author may choose to use the texts as a confessional; thus

⁹² Mark Freeman, *Rewriting the Self: History, memory, narrative* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 1993), pp. 113-114.

⁹³ ‘Autobiography’ in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, p. 63.

⁹⁴ Conway, p. 182.

⁹⁵ John E. Benton, ‘Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality’ in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 263-295 (pp. 284-292).

suggesting that the mind and soul of the author is of greater importance than recounting a series of events.

Following Benton's argument, Conway states that as modern readers delve more into the mind of the author, the importance of God in the text disappears. Following this train of thought, it must be no coincidence that as literary theory quibbled over the placement of the author in the text, the pre-modern notion of the author as divinely inspired disappears, and in its place modern concepts of the subconscious become a workable aspect of autobiographic criticism. However, it should be remembered that whether the author is wishing to free him/herself from sin or guilt, or whether the critic is searching for man's interpretation of God or man's interpretation of him/herself in the text, it is the 'self' that is of importance to the autobiography.

So, what happens to the text when the 'self' is represented through a memory, and what happens when memory associated with fiction rather than autobiography? Is that memory still a truthful representation of life, or is it something else? Annie Dillard argues in 'To Fashion a text' (1987) that writing a memory is to fictionalise it: one begins to remember not the original moment but the words used to describe that moment. Even with the intent of truth and the hope of the confessional, the very action of remembering transforms truth into fiction.⁹⁶ Therefore, if all hopes of truth in memory are dashed in the very attempt at recreating that truth, Freeman's clear cut argument that autobiographies are 'about things that have actually happened' while 'fiction is not' is not tenable.

Freeman recognises Dillard's argument, and he combines the concerns of Proust and Sartre's Roquentin as a rebuttal:

⁹⁶ Annie Dillard, 'To Fashion a Text' in *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir*, ed. by William Zinsser (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), pp. 141-162 (pp. 70-71).

[...] every now and then an image – or a smell or taste or a feeling – happens along that all but transports us into the past, almost like a kind of time travel. There still remain some important questions for us to consider, however. For even if we assume that such images do exist and that they are real ‘fragments’ of the past, must we conclude that the memories subsequently formed are merely pale and shadowy replicas, unreal substitutes for reality itself? Must we conclude furthermore that the very process of enlarging our own understanding of the past via rewriting is tantamount to its deformation and, ultimately, destruction? We often suppose in retrospect that we have finally gained access to a ‘truth’ we had never known before, or that was unavailable in the flux of experience. [...] Why should we not speak of transformation rather than replacement, of reconstruction rather than deconstruction, of gain rather than loss?⁹⁷

Freeman answers these questions by arguing that a rewritten memory does not negate that memory, but instead transforms it, and it still continues to be a ‘real’ and potentially important source of information about ourselves and our past.⁹⁸ Thus by defining ‘real’ as a valid transformation of reality through perception, his differentiation between fact and fiction (as something that has happened and something that has not) remains.

With these ideas in mind, the theory that autobiography is an adaptation of memory is justifiable. John Ellis suggests in his article, ‘The Literary Adaptation: An introduction’ (1982), that ‘adaptation trades upon the memory of the novel, a memory that can derive from actual reading, or, as is more likely with a classic of literature, a generally circulated memory.’⁹⁹ Therefore, if adaptation theory recognises the validity of appropriating the novel through memory, autobiography may also follow suit. Ellis continues, ‘This adaptation consumes this memory, attempting to efface it with the presence of its own images.’¹⁰⁰ These transformed memories then become an acceptable form of appropriation. Although *Juan in America* is not classified as an autobiography, it is a collection of remodelled images: a

⁹⁷ Freeman, p. 89.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p 91.

⁹⁹ John Ellis, ‘The Literary Adaptation: an introduction’, *Screen*, 23, 1 (1982), p.3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

remodelled image of *Don Juan*, of history and of other cultures. Therefore, the remodelling of one's own memories seems fitting. Additionally, restating Freeman's discussion of memory, transformation does not negate the validity of the memory, thus allowing the text to stand as an historic account of the self. *Juan in America* transforms both a memory and a text, thus highlighting the continuity of appropriation across schools and genres.

As modern autobiography moves away from the confessional, Freeman states that the contemporary act of creating a narrative from one's own life experiences can have two outcomes: the life of wonderfully remembered moments or the need to remember moments. He argues that the first outcome is a set of adventurous memories, 'filled with great events of one sort or another, culminat[ing], as a function of the value conferred upon it, [...] it's clearly been well worth the trek, one might say'; this results in looking forward in time so that these memories may be preserved for the future.¹⁰¹ The second outcome has a need for the memory to be recorded in order to understand the past.¹⁰²

When combining the first sort of outcome (writing for the purpose of recording an act or feeling) with the concept just discussed (writing a memory as a transformative act), it may be best to look back at Sartre's protagonist Roquentin:¹⁰³

'[...] for the most banal event to become an adventure, you must (and this is enough) begin to recount it. This is what fools people: a man is always a teller of tales, he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others, he sees everything that happens to him through them; and he tries to live his own life as if he were telling a story. [...] you have to choose: live or tell.'¹⁰⁴

A memory modified to depict the excitement that was felt – or should have been felt – says more about society, culture and history than perhaps the most true-to-life representation. As

¹⁰¹ Freeman, p. 92.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁰³ *Nausea* (1959) a novel that straddles fact and fiction, in which Sartre questions the importance of biography while recreating his life and thoughts through fiction.

¹⁰⁴ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Nausea*, trans. by Lloyd Alexander (New York, NY: New Directions Publishing, 1964), p. 39.

stated by Sartre, 'This is what fools people'. We know that the memory will be changed due to the very nature of recreating it, and we also know that if the text was written in order to preserve (as opposed to discover), then by preserving it, the event might become even more entertaining, grand, important, necessary, etc. It is here that we can see that fiction and autobiography have many similarities: the text classified generically as fiction, but with transformed memories interjected into the story, and the autobiography whose intent is to portray reality, yet is equally fictitious.

Portions of Chapters Two and Three shall be spent investigating the autobiographic elements of *Juan in America*, and how these recreations of Linklater's life fit with the text as an adaptation and satire. Additionally, *Juan in America* is mimetic, one that replicates reality; it is also a text of illusions: one that reports fact as fiction and forces the reader to consider if the autobiographic elements within the novel are true. Additionally, these autobiographic elements in the novel can be cross-referenced with his autobiographies, which – due to Linklater's propensity for exaggeration – may also not be true.

Earlier in this section three questions were asked: how does the autobiographic information affect the reading of *Juan in America* as a whole; how much weight can be put on these aspects of the text, and how different is an autobiography from fiction? Starting with the latter question, an autobiography is not truly different from fiction. Freeman's initial statement that autobiographies are 'about things that have actually happened' and fiction is not can be proved incorrect – especially once it is recognised that an act remembered is one transformed. A memory is not equivalent to the moment from which it was borrowed, and once that memory is remembered, or then written, it becomes an appropriation and thus changed. Also, the author of an autobiography may be no more reliable than any other author;

we know that there are embellishments in Linklater's autobiographies. Yet, autobiographic elements placed within a fictitious text have a special function. Autobiographies are written for various reasons: to record a life or even atone for sins. The importance of autobiographic elements within a fictitious text might not lie within its attempt to recreate a life; instead, the importance lies within the intent of the author.

The author might be attempting to capture a moment in time, or place himself within the text for a specific reason, and in *Juan in America* the motivation is satire. By placing moments in a text that are based on life or memory, the author is choosing to represent life in order to satirise. For example, at its most basic, Motley must share the experience of travelling through America with Linklater, because if the protagonist and the author did not share this trait (for example, if Linklater attempted to satirise a culture with which he had no contact) the satire would be more likely to fail. This premise also can be applied to other autobiographic elements included in the text. For example, if the reader knows that Linklater witnessed the effects of the Eighteenth Amendment in person, then his description of the speakeasies and the gin houses might also be perceived as true. And, if the recreation of these smaller scenes is perceived as valid, then the exaggerated story lines – such as the bootleggers – might also hold more weight.

The reader's perception that the author is knowledgeable about topics presented in a satire is necessary, and the best way to create a perception of knowledge is through highlighting the author's own experiences by placing autobiographic elements in the text. Ultimately, as long as the reader perceives the autobiographic elements to be authentic, their validity is no more or less important than other techniques used in writing.

Historic Context: Validity of Historic Representations

Autobiography, as noted above, is a complex genre that depicts the intimate memories and personal ideologies of the author. Additionally, it is not only the protagonist/author that is of interest, but also the history of an era that can be captured within that autobiography. In fact, Laura Marcus in *Auto/biographical discourses: Theory, criticism, practice* (1994) asserts that ‘Autobiography lies between “literature” and “history”’.¹⁰⁵ For as autobiographies capture a person’s life, they also capture the era in which that person lived, giving the historian a tool for understanding the past. As already noted, Jill Conway mentions that autobiographies from medieval women have provided historians with useful information on that period. In a similar manner, the historian can use a text such as *Juan in America* to understand the zeitgeist of early twentieth century America. Additionally, when a text such as *Juan in America* is not just a fictitious account of a life or a history but also a satire, the historic references within the text become even more important to the critic. When discussing history within any text, it can be referenced in two manners: as the recording (or potential recording) of past events, or as the attempt to recover an interpretation of a series of events in order to understand something within historic context.

Charles Knight emphasises the significance of history upon satire: ‘Satire’s often intense concern for historical problems is framed by its imaginative play; the relationship between history and imagination is paralleled by the relationship between perception and communication.’¹⁰⁶ For example, without placing Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* against the backdrop of nineteenth century social constructs, would the satirical undertones be appreciated? The same question can be asked of Byron’s *Don Juan*. Without the Romantics

¹⁰⁵ Marcus, p. 229.

¹⁰⁶ Knight, p. 4.

framing *Don Juan* and placing the poem within a certain time frame, Byron's biting lines about Coleridge and Wordsworth would mean much less. This is not to argue that satires must be set within the author's life time, but instead it suggests that the 'raw materials' from which the satire is derived should be placed within the context of a history. Additionally, a satire may hope to speak to humanity across the ages, but the author will approach his/her satire from a specific time and place.

History not only helps the critic interpret the satire, but satires also help us understand history. In the mid nineteenth century, James Hannay stated that:

There are two facts of the highest interest about satirical literature: 1st, that the Satires of every age have been important agents in the historic work done in it; -- 2nd, that Satires, as literary objects, give us valuable aid in studying the life of the age in which they are produced.¹⁰⁷

The historic context of *Juan in America* becomes important to this investigation as Linklater interpreted and appropriated America of the 1920s as a 'raw material'.

Linklater's understanding of historical interpretation extends beyond the satiric page; he wrote several biographies, including *Ben Jonson and King James* (1931), *Mary Queen of Scots* (1933), and *Robert the Bruce* (1934), as well as a number of nonfictions such as *John Moore's England* (1970) and *The Prince in the Heather*. In a television interview with Ian Grimble, Linklater talks about his passion for history as a tool for understanding humanity:

¹⁰⁷ James Hannay, *Satire and Satirists: Six Lectures* (London: Robson, Levey, and Franklyn, 1854), p. vi.

I would find it impossible to live without continually [having] a keen interest in history. After all history is us in our background. There ain't such a vast difference between Scotch in the time of Mary Queen of Scotch and Scotch of last century for example. The pig headed arrogance of the nobility in Mary's time was equally matched by the pigheaded arrogance of – I shan't say who – but of certain sorts of people in the 19th century. And reading history has the added advantage of giving you comfort when times are really bad here and now, because if you've been in the habit of reading history you say to yourself, 'Hello in 1740 what not and 1683 the times were just as bad if not worse and some how or another no body knows how we survived those troubles and swam out of them.' History is not barren but of perpetual interest. It is also of perpetual comfort.¹⁰⁸

The aforementioned texts of Linklater, as well as his nearly fifty other essays, histories, biographies and general nonfictions, were littered with guesses and hyperbole. Linklater writes to entertain and his hand is no heavier when writing histories. His biographies often read like fiction with descriptive scenes as an historic backdrop. Yet, *Juan in America* is not a traditional historic text, or even a work of historic fiction, although much of the raw materials in the novel appear to be events witnessed and sketches of acquaintances.

Linklater made conscientious decisions about the placement of society against a historic backdrop, and the interaction of a people confined to a specific place and time; this is indicative of historic fiction.¹⁰⁹ However, *Juan in America* is classified neither as historic fiction nor as an historic text; therefore, the critic must be careful when using the history recreated in a fiction as a tool to understand the time period. Much like autobiographic elements, historic events placed within fiction may not be based on truth.

By restating Dr. Johnson's principles, Geoffrey R. Elton, in *The Practice of History*, unwittingly references the debate between autobiography and fiction discussed earlier in this

¹⁰⁸ *Stone in the Heather*, British Universities Film & Video Council.

¹⁰⁹ Historic fiction is often first attributed to Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814); however, Scott most certainly was not the first writer to place a fiction within an historic framework. What made Scott's work unique, was not the text itself, but the way in which readers interacted with history during that time period. By the writing of *Waverley* a reader's reaction to history had changed and the accuracy of historic information was not inconsequential. More about this is discussed on page 48 within the confines Ranke's method of historicism.

dissertation: ‘Dr. Johnson, though aware that historical facts might be known, could not trust “the characters we find in history, unless when they are drawn by those who knew the persons”.’¹¹⁰ Elton also references Edward Hallett Carr, a fellow historic theorist and an academic who was at odds with Elton’s own theories:

[...] that there is a ‘process by which a mere fact about the past is transformed into a fact of history’. [...] [Events in history are] on the way to becoming one because it has been mentioned in one book. It will achieve full status when it gets into one or two more historical accounts. The difference between facts about the past and facts of history hangs upon ‘the element of interpretation’ which the historian adds to the former in order to create the latter, though general acceptance of the interpretation offered is required before the fact’s new status is secure.¹¹¹

The importance of historic interpretation becomes problematic when placed in the confines of fiction, or even ‘autobiografiction’. Does an event witnessed and recorded by others, but ignored by one historian/author, cease to exist, even if its absence is only in relation to the diegesis of a specific text? Linklater purposefully deletes elements of history from the text. He makes no overt reference to the Stock Market Crash of 1929, but highlights other aspects such as Prohibition and (sub-continent) Indian rights. Is he arguing that the Crash did not happen? This is not likely; instead he may be creating a bubble of truth in which the historic context is confined to the era about which he is writing, not the history immediately before or after the story. However, an apocryphal history still has an effect on the text – even if it is one of negation. When reading a text, readers do not forget the history before and after the time period of the novel just because that information is not placed in the text. Instead, the repression of historic elements forces the left-out historic events to be taken into consideration, thus placing them into the text via the mind of the reader.

¹¹⁰ G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, 2 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1969, repr. 2002), p. 3.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Additionally, Carr argues that an event only becomes historical if an historian interprets those events. The event is written as a fact of the past, but it is an historian that turns it into an historical fact. Once again, what are the implications of this theory upon fiction and ‘autobiografiction’? Linklater draws an analogy between India as a colonized nation by the English government against the marginalisation of the Native American people by the United States government, but he does not outwardly interpret such events as would an historian. Granted, he writes the events in such a way as to lead the reader towards an interpretation, but it is up to the reader to decipher the ‘raw materials’ in relation to a wider context. If Carr’s theory is to be followed, the reader either cannot interpret the material because he/she is not a historian, or the moment the account becomes interpreted the reader becomes a historian. If the latter is true, the initial account becomes an historic fact the moment it is read (as opposed to a fact about the past), thus negating the concept of a ‘fact of a past’ making all comprehended facts historical. Elton disagrees with Carr’s hypothesis through example:

A man was kicked to death in 1850: that is a fact, an event, which took place and which nothing now can either make or unmake. It is quite immaterial whether the fact is known to a historian or used by him in analysing a problem. If the event were unknowable – if no evidence of it had survived at all – it would certainly be neither fact about the past nor historical fact – it would have ceased to exist and that piece of potential history would have never materialized – but it would still, of course, have occurred, independent of any historian.¹¹²

Within the confines of fiction both Carr and Elton are correct. Even if a major event is not written into the text, such as the Depression, it is still likely to exist in the mind of the readers, and therefore it plays an important role on the interpretation of the text as a whole. Also, in fiction the historic context is not always openly interpreted by the author for the

¹¹² Elton, pp. 50-51.

reader. Instead, the author leaves clues to the way in which the history should be interpreted, then asks the reader to decipher meaning, thus encouraging the reader to be an historian.

While the roll of history is important in fiction, it is even more so in satire. Yet, we return to the same problem found in the discussion of autobiography. If a text, such as a satire, relies on the validity of information in the text for its very meaning, how can we guarantee that information is based on truth? Or is truth important?

This can best be answered by looking at how humanity has presented 'history'. It was Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) who first employed rigorous systems of researching primary sources to best ensure that historic information was based on fact, a method now known as Rankean historicism. Prior to Ranke, retelling history was often less about replaying the facts, and more about retelling one side of the story. Elton discusses this change in historic study from reproduction of myth to a rigorous pursuit of truth and suggests that it was the Victorian historians that noted the falsification of fact in previously recorded histories:

[...] the scientific, ordered, systematic study of history really began only in the nineteenth century, because only then did historians absorb the lessons of the antiquarians and develop to the full the techniques which enabled them to answer the common charge that their reconstruction of the past was just a tale, amusing and instructive enough, but without any rigour, certainty or standard of truth.¹¹³

Yet, despite the more 'scientific' approach of Ranke's theory, Linda Hutcheon argues in her essay 'Historiographic Metafiction' (1995) that 'the realistic novel and Rankean historicism share many similar beliefs about the possibility of writing factually and observable reality.'¹¹⁴

Hutcheon continues:

¹¹³ Elton, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ Linda Hutcheon, 'Historiographic Metafiction' in *Metafiction*, ed. by Mark Currie (Essex: Longman, 1995), pp. 71-91 (p. 72).

They [fiction and the historic text] have both been seen to derive their force more from verisimilitude than from any objective truth; they are both identified as linguistic constructs, highly conventionalized in their narrative forms, and not at all transparent either in terms of language or structure; and they appear to be equally intertextual, deploying the texts of the past within their own complex textuality.¹¹⁵

Therefore, while Ranke's scientific approach has created great strides in the transposition of fact to page, it has not diminished the narrative nature of history nor has it eradicated fictional elements from the recording of history.

Geoffrey Roberts's essay on Geoffrey Elton's concepts of history and human action suggests that while Elton preferred a Rankean form of historic analysis, he also believed that an 'interconnectedness of events' did not provide truth in recording human history: 'Life was a mess on which historians imposed order, shape, pattern, meaning and intelligibility, "In a very real sense history cannot be correctly written," Elton concluded.'¹¹⁶ This is what is commonly recognised as the narrativization of history. Elton suggests that history crosses boundaries, interacts with other disciplines and takes various shapes, all of which must be deciphered.

Therefore, if the factual text works within a number of boundaries, how is this different to the very malleable form of fiction? Additionally, what happens to the validity of history when a narrative structure is placed upon it? Many scholars will argue that there is little difference between history and fiction, and that the study of history is interdisciplinary and that it must take into account narrative. W.H. Dray's essay 'Narrative and Historical Realism' (2001) investigates the theories of David Carr as presented in *Time, Narrative, and History* (1986). Carr challenges the work of those who believe that when a story is imposed

¹¹⁵ Hutcheon, 'Histographic Metafiction', p. 72.

¹¹⁶ Geoffrey Roberts, 'Geoffrey Elton: History and human action' in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. by Geoffrey Roberts (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2001), pp. 130-134 (p. 133).

upon history, that history loses its validity; he suggests that we, as humans, must organise life experience into subject-matter – like a narrative.¹¹⁷ Dray paraphrases David Carr:

[...] even in the most elementary perceptions and actions, an embryonic narrative-type structure can be discerned, such a structure therefore being about as natural, humanly speaking, as anything can be. [...] There is a temporal horizon, he maintains, even to hearing a single note of a melody or a single tone of a striking clock. The note or tone is heard as a member of a series, that is, with implicit backward reference to what it succeeds and forward reference to what is experienced to follow.¹¹⁸

It is natural for the historian or the reader to place history within its narrative context.

Additionally, Paul Veyne argues that the elasticity of history extends beyond narrative and, ‘History and fiction [...] [a]t various times both have included in their elastic boundaries such forms as travel tale and various versions of what we now call sociology. It is not surprising that there would be mutual influences between the two genres.’¹¹⁹

By regarding history and fiction as intertwined subjects, which can be used to identify trends in societies – or placed in a narrative context – the discussion of history as a tool (or ‘raw material’) becomes an acceptable extension of narrative discourse. Additionally, when discussing the interdisciplinary nature of history, the two manners in which the term ‘history’ are used must once again be discussed: as the recording of events, or as the interpretation of a series of events in order to understand a larger concept. Regarding the first manner, the recording of past events can be used as ‘raw material’ in an appropriation, and therefore the critic can view these historic accounts as he/she would other elements such as plot, narrator or protagonist. However, the second form, the interpretation of a series of historic events, is also

¹¹⁷ W. H. Dray, ‘Narrative and Historical Realism’ in *The History and Narrative Reader*, ed. by Geoffrey Roberts (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 2001), pp. 157-180 (p. 157).

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹¹⁹ Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 1971), p. 30 cited in Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Modernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis, 1988), p. 73.

applicable. Elton closes the gap between fiction and history when he argues that, ‘Historical study is not the study of the past, but the study of present traces of the past.’¹²⁰ We understand humanity through our current knowledge of the past, and, while the author records historic events using memory and research, the reader interprets that author’s documented series of historic representations thus making him/her a part of the historic interpretation. Yet, Elton reminds us that the relationship between humanity and its past is not limited to the discipline of history: ‘All the so-called social sciences – archaeology, anthropology, economics, social psychology, sociology – attend to man, and all of them can concern themselves with his past as well as his present.’¹²¹

Anthropology: Cultural Representations

Beaty explicitly states that the ‘state of society’ is an important element of Byron’s satire, and in *Don Juan* the ‘state of society’ is a complex matter. In *Don Juan* the protagonist is Spanish, the sidekick Johnson is British, the narrator wavers, and the author is a native of Britain who holds strong feelings against the social morals of his home culture; therefore, the ‘state of society’ can be many different things, each dependent on the stanza of the poem, the time in which each particular canto was written, and even the interpretation of the reader. Additionally, this epic poem twists concepts of what is ‘foreign’ and at times treats the author’s home culture and country, Britain, as the foreign element.

This investigation shall compare Byron’s ridicule of the foreign with Linklater’s interpretation of American society in *Juan in America*, and this comparison will help determine to what extent *Juan in America* is an appropriation or adaptation of *Don Juan*.

¹²⁰ Elton, p. 8.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 8.

Additionally, a portion of this investigation will also investigate Linklater's use of 'raw materials', such as the 'state of society', and because *Juan in America* is full of Linklater's personal experiences of travel in America. In this respect, the 'state of society' becomes an interpretation of another culture – the United States in the 1920s. In order to understand how culture is used as a 'raw material', this thesis will turn to anthropology.

Investigating narratives, myths and stories in order to understand a culture, was a fundamental aspect of early anthropology. Known for writing one of the first ethnographies, in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871), Lewis Henry Morgan discusses myth as a way to understand kinship. W. Robertson Smith's work in the late nineteenth century explored the divine elements of myth, focusing on ritual, totemism, taboo, sacrifice and rebirth and how these elements strengthened unity within society. Ernst Cassirer states in *Zur Logik der Kulturwissenschaften (The Logic of the Humanities; 1942)* that in myth 'there is no fixed and separate "world of cause". Every shape can meta-morphose into another: anything can come from anything'.¹²² Cohen suggests that Cassirer:

[...] recognises that mythical thinking is a mode of symbolically structuring the world, and that this, like poetry or even ritual, might be, at least in part, an activity in its own right; and secondly, that myth is to be treated as relating to the processes of the mind as projected on to the world.¹²³

Franz Boas – a mid-twentieth century anthropologist and an early denouncer of sociocultural evolution (a belief that certain cultures inherited sociological traits) – believed that myths reflect the truths of social structure. However, these anthropologists relied upon myth as the

¹²² Cassirer, Ernst, *The Logic of the Humanities*, trans. by Joseph Ward Swain (New York, NY: Collier, 1961), p. 94 cited in Percy S. Cohen, 'Theories of Myth', *Man*, New Series, 4, 3 (Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, September 1969), pp. 337-353 (p. 339).

¹²³ Cohen, p. 340.

interpretive source. Can these same concepts apply to other forms of fiction? The answer to this lies in the relationship between the anthropologist, the literary critic, and the author.

Jeffrey M. Peck's essay, 'From a Literary Critic/Germanist's Point of View: Anthropology' (1996) suggests that when a literary critic analyses a text, he/she publishes the information (either in lecture or written form) as a scholarly critical work, whereas the anthropologist is intent on telling the story of a culture or a society and is publishing 'narrative-digressive ethnographies.'¹²⁴ This suggests that the anthropologist has more in common with the author than the literary critic, perhaps even implying that the critic can interpret the fictional narrative and the 'narrative-digressive ethnographies' in a similar manner. Peck summarises the literature/anthropology discussion when he says: '[...] literary studies, was always doubly predisposed (although unconsciously) to cultivate anthropological sensibilities.'¹²⁵ He continues:

[...] literary study, especially in the teaching of foreign language and literature, already has an anthropological component. It merely needs to be joined with the intellectual, theoretical, and cultural apparatus that anthropology has already conceptualized more deeply.¹²⁶

Peck suggests that the literary critic will 'unconsciously' lean towards an 'anthropological component' when reading a text, while the author and the anthropologist both create 'narrative-digressive ethnographies'. Dan Rose in 'Narrative Ethnography, Elite Culture, and

¹²⁴ Jeffrey M. Peck, 'From a Literary Critic/Germanist's Point of View: Anthropology' in *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*, ed. by E. Valentine Daniel and Jeffrey M. Peck (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 13-33 (pp. 21-22).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

the Language of the Market' (1996) states that, 'The narrative-digressive mode enables the author to insert a variety of genres into the flow of narration, thus enriching, explaining, commenting on, subverting, or creating a parallel discourse to the story line.'¹²⁷ With this in mind, when an author studies a foreign culture and references it within a narrative – as Linklater did with *Juan in America* – is the author acting in the same manner as an anthropologist? To answer this question, it may first be necessary to define 'ethnology':

An approach to the description and understanding of the life and customs of people living in various cultures. Originally focused on primitive and exotic cultures, but now commonly used more generally. A full ethnography calls for participation in the culture for a period of months or even years.¹²⁸

This definition of ethnography fits quite well into what Linklater's *Juan in America*;¹²⁹ however, Linklater's representations of another culture or society in the confines of a fictional medium are hardly ground breaking. In fact, as an ethnological study needs not revolve around a foreign or exotic culture, but – like many contemporary anthropological studies – can be an investigation of small groups closely linked to the researcher's world, the ethnological study is similar to a satiric study. Satires are by definition a representation of a person or a group in a mocking manner, and – in order for a satire to be fully realised – the author must understand and study the culture/society in which he/she is writing. In fact, the author must participate 'in the culture for a period of months or even years.'

Examples of satiric fictions which represent a section of culture can be found throughout history and reach back to the earliest satires such as Aristophanes' satire of democracy in *Lysistrata* (411 BC). Additionally, outside the satiric form, an anthropological

¹²⁷ Dan Rose, 'Narrative Ethnography, Elite Culture, and the Language of the Market' in *Culture/Contexture: Explorations in Anthropology and Literary Studies*, ed. by E. Valentine Daniel and Jeffrey M. Peck (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 105-131 (p.111).

¹²⁸ Colin Robson, *Real World Research*, 2 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993; repr. 2002), p. 547.

¹²⁹ The subsection 'Satiric Elements of Two Texts: Comparing Multiplicity' in Chapter Two will discuss Linklater's 'approach to the description and understanding of the life and customs' of America.

view point has been a common element of literature for quite some time, especially during the British Empire, with Kipling being a prime example.

Wolfgang Iser in his introduction to *The fictive and the imaginary: charting literary anthropology* (1993) discusses the role of literature as a tool for sociological study:

Literature has always been regarded as ‘evidence’ of something, ranging from the exemplification of the poet’s life to a mirror reflection of society. Such approaches involve just as many methodological implications as a text-oriented interpretation, with the implicit frameworks through which it orders its findings.¹³⁰

He goes on to argue that literature can fulfil several sociocultural functions,¹³¹ such as ‘entertainment through information and documentation to pastime’.¹³² Also, when utilised as a sociological tool, literature can become a source of anthropological evidence.

If anthropological data that is placed in a work of fiction is seen as valid evidence, this has an effect on *Juan in America* in two ways. First it allows the critic to interpret the fictitious text as anthropology. Second, because the information was gathered by an author who lived amongst the ‘foreign’ culture in an ethnomethodological¹³³ manner (albeit an author would gather information in a less structured or scientific approach than a trained anthropologist), the anthropological data within the fiction is perceived as ‘true’. This perception of truth is, once again, necessary for a satire.

Yet the idea of replicating cultures within a literary framework precedes the inception of anthropology as a discipline. Prior to the 1880s, the concept of ‘anthropology’ as an academic field – or ‘anthropologists’ as a profession – was not commonly accepted, instead

¹³⁰ Wolfgang Iser, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: charting literary anthropology* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. x.

¹³¹ In *Juan in America*, these functions may be a discussion of the ‘self’ within culture, representations of culture, a culture within its historic context, and the appropriation of another text.

¹³² Iser, p. x.

¹³³ ‘Ethnomethodology’ is a ‘Method of identification of the assumptions through which we make sense of the social world. Involves the analysis of rules conduct and shared cultural assumptions.’ *Robinson, p. 547.

anthropologists were part of a club, the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS),¹³⁴ which assembled to discuss genuine interest in aboriginal cultures as discovered during the settlement of the Empire. Also on the forefront of developing anthropology as a formal discipline was E.B. Tylor. On the basis of his publication *Anthropology* (1881), Tylor secured a post at Oxford University in 1883 as a man of letters who followed ethnological interests.¹³⁵ Additionally, in 1890 and 1891, E.B. Tylor and W. Robertson Smith, were both lecturing as visiting speakers at the University of Aberdeen, and presented two separate series of the Gifford Lectures on the subject of 'Natural Religion'.¹³⁶

The newly appointed Professor of Anatomy, Robert W. Reid, was in attendance at the Tylor lecture, and according to Tim Ingold, Reid 'was probably the first person to bring the subject of Anthropology clearly before the University'.¹³⁷ While the subject was not added as an official academic subject, Ingold emphasises the formal interest that Reid, Tylor and Smith took on the subject:

Reid's appointment to the Chair of Anatomy in 1889 gave him the opportunity to develop his anthropological interests, in both teaching and research. Ten years later, with the backing of Tylor and a handful of other anthropological 'big names', he founded the Anatomical and Anthropological Society of the University of Aberdeen, with himself as President. The express aim of the Society was to combine the practice of anthropometry – that is, the systematic measurement of human bodies from different parts of the world – with the collection of the cultural artefacts associated with them.¹³⁸

In 1907, the College Library was converted into the Anthropological Museum, which housed

¹³⁴ James Urry, *Before Social Anthropology: Essays on the history of British anthropology* (Reading: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993), pp. 3-4.

¹³⁵ Urry, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Tim Ingold, 'Anthropology at Aberdeen', Lecture delivered at Kings College Conference Centre, University of Aberdeen (31st October 2003) <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/anthropology/documents/Inaugural.lec_000-1.doc> [accessed 12 September 2011] pp. 2-3.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

‘artefacts from cultures around the world, contributed by the many Aberdonians and graduates of the University’.¹³⁹ Reid eventually became the Honorary Curator of the Museum and remained in the position until 1938, years after he was no longer the Chair of Anatomy.¹⁴⁰

In 1919, shortly after Tylor’s death, Linklater was enrolled as medical student. During that time, Reid was carrying out ‘systematic anthropometric measurements on 1,790 medical students attending the University, publishing the results in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.’¹⁴¹ Not only did he use his students as test subjects, he also trained them to ‘go out into the world and bring back reliable and accurate data on the bodily characteristics of the different races of man’.¹⁴² While Reid focused primarily on physical anthropology, Tyler’s influence as a social anthropologist had a large effect on the University even after his death.

Linklater’s text is a satire which was created through the (loosely based) anthropological study of another culture; therefore, the author’s ethnological motivations should be considered. Additionally, through his association with the medical programme at the University of Aberdeen, Linklater would at the very least have had a passing knowledge of anthropology. This coupled with his innate curiosity of other cultures, his desire to travel, and his acute sense of observation so it is not surprising that *Juan in America* – as well as many of his other texts – are filled with observations, representations and reports of other cultures. Yet, it is not just Linklater who, in some ways, acted as an ethnographer when deciphering ‘raw materials’, but the readers of *Juan in America* may also act as anthropologists attempting to understand a culture through its representations within the text.

¹³⁹ Ingold, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 10.

Comparative Literature: Cultural Evaluations

Beaty suggests that the final influence upon Byron's work was literary tradition, which takes this investigation full circle. As this dissertation begins with a discussion of *Juan in America* as an appropriation of *Don Juan*, it will close with a discussion of other authors and texts which had an influence upon *Juan in America*. Linklater's decision to find inspiration in Western literature can be understood using comparative literature studies. C.L. Wrenn's summarises the intertextual and interdisciplinary nature of comparative literature studies:

There are, of course, very many other aspects of comparative literature and many ways of looking at it. There are studies of influences, sources, parallels, for example, all of which in some measure involve comparisons. [...] What light does a study of Ibsen throw on Bernard Shaw or on European and British drama, or what did T.S. Eliot owe to Laforgue, or Pasternak to Rilke?¹⁴³

Just as Eliot owes LaForgue, Linklater found inspiration in satirists such as Ben Jonson, Swift and Mark Twain; plus, Linklater's work must be placed within the context of his peers. Additionally, as transatlantic literature was becoming a trend, this too must be considered when investigating *Juan in America*.

Susan Bassnett in her thorough investigation of comparative studies, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (1993), explains that comparative literature rose from an interdisciplinary study: '[...] comparatists looked instead to a model that involved interdisciplinary work. Literary study was part of a network of related subjects which nourished one another and were part of the organic structure that was Culture.'¹⁴⁴ Some will argue that comparative literature as an academic focus began with Charles Mills Gayley in the

¹⁴³ Professor C.L. Wrenn (read by Professor Horst Frenz), 'This Presidential Address' at the Annual Meeting of the Modern Humanities Research Association in Chicago on 28 December 1967, and delivered separately by Professor Wrenn at the Annual Meeting in London on 5 January 1968, published in *The Idea of Comparative Literature* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1968), p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ Susan Bassnett, *Comparative Literature: A Critical Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1993) p. 33.

1890s and his comparative literature programme at Berkeley (a University at which Linklater studied while in America); however, the earliest English usage of the term ‘comparative literatures’ can be attributed to Matthew Arnold, who used the phrase in a letter dated 1848.¹⁴⁵ Additionally, the concept can be traced to a series of French anthologies entitled *Cours de littérature comparé* (1816). Rene Wellek notes that the term continued to be used in France, and worked its way in to Germany with Moriz Carriere using the phrase *vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* in *Das Wesen und die Formen der Poesie* (1854).¹⁴⁶ Plus, one cannot ignore Goethe’s¹⁴⁷ famous remarks about ‘world literature’, or ‘Weltliteratur’.¹⁴⁸

However, despite the term *world literatures*, these early discussions focused on influences between European literatures throughout history. Philarete Chasles in *Revue de Paris* (1835) suggested that no one text stands alone and that each is influenced by another (European) literature:

¹⁴⁵ Bassnett, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ Slobodan Sucur, ‘Theory, Period Styles, and Comparative Literature as a Discipline’, *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture*, 2, 4, article 2 (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2000), p. 9 <<http://docs.lib.purdue.edu/clcweb/vol2/iss4/2>> [accessed 21 June 2010]

¹⁴⁷ Much has been made of Goethe's fascination with Byron. Goethe notably said in a conversation with Eckerman, ‘Lord Byron is to be regarded as a man, an Englishman, and as a great genius. His good qualities belong chiefly to the man, his bad to the Englishman and the peer, his talent is incommeasurable.’ *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Wallace Wood, ‘Monday, January 10 1825’ in *Conversations with Eckermann: Being Appreciations and Criticisms on Many Subjects* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005), p. 97.

¹⁴⁸ John Pizer notes that Goethe did not first coin the term, and that Christoph Martin Wieland used it in his notes when translating Horace’s letters. While the date of the notes is unknown, Wieland died fourteen years before Goethe is recognised to have used the word ‘Weltliteratur’. Therefore, Wieland’s usage would have predated Goethe. *John Pizer, *The Idea of World Literature: History and Pedagogical Practice* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), p. 190.

[...] let us calculate also the effect of this perpetual exchange upon the individual nationalities: how, for example, the long-isolated northern spirit finally allowed itself to be penetrated by the spirit of the south; what the magnetic attraction was of France for England and England for France; how each division of Europe has at one time dominated its sister states and at another time submitted to them; what has been the influence of theological Germany, artistic Italy, energetic France, Catholic Spain, Protestant England; how the warm shades of the south have become mixed with the profound analysis of Shakespeare; how the Roman and Italian spirit have embellished and adorned the Catholic faith of Milton; and finally, the attraction, the sympathies, the constant vibration of all these living, loving, exalted, melancholy and reflected thoughts – some spontaneously and others because of study – all submitting to influences which they accept like gifts and all in turn emitting new unforeseeable influences in the future!¹⁴⁹

Chasles approached the comparative investigation of two literatures (often one being from the native land of the scholar) with the intention of ‘international literary harmony’,¹⁵⁰ thus suggesting that while stereotypes of cultures prevail, cultural influence is mutual and equal. However, since this ‘international literary harmony’ did not extend beyond that of Europe, these cultural comparisons could also be used for more divisionary purposes. Newly found concepts of evolution gave comparatists the impetus to diminish other cultures through comparisons with one’s own literature. Bassnett explains:

At the same time, because of the importance of the written epic in the European tradition, those cultures which had no epic and which saw the lyric as the highest form of poetry were also downgraded. Homer and the Greeks, the plays of Shakespeare, the poetry of Spenser and Milton, these were texts against which other works were measured and found wanting.¹⁵¹

Many pre-modern comparatists held a genuine belief that their race/culture/nation was superior to others, thus either finding accordance with the great literatures of Europe or finding fault with other cultures through literary comparison.

¹⁴⁹ ‘Cours de M. Philarete Chasles à l’Athénée’ in *Revue de Paris* (17 January 1835) cited in Bassnett, p. 12-13.

¹⁵⁰ Bassnett, p. 13.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Yet, the field of comparative literatures was not to remain stagnant. Just before the turn of the twentieth century, the discipline broke into two forms: Old World and New World. Comparative literature on the Continent emphasised, ‘sources, on documenting how texts came to be read across cultural and linguistic boundaries, on tracing origins and establishing the cultural basis of national consciousness’. Conversely, New World comparatists (North America, Australia and New Zealand), led by Hutcheon Maccaulay Posnett and his book *Comparative Literatures* (1886 and 1901), ‘traced humanity’s achievements through time and space, and across disciplinary lines.’¹⁵² Even if unintentionally, *Juan in America* finds a resonance with the Old World formation of comparative literature: ‘establishing the cultural basis of national consciousness’.

Comparatists who attempted to understand a culture’s international consciousness, often found the travelogue as a useful tool, which Bassnett argues was a long standing tradition amongst those in the field of comparative literature studies. She specifically notes the anthological accounts in Scott, Shelley and Byron’s travel texts, and suggests that the cultural references within their work were not only an interpretation of the ‘other’ but also a commentary on the culture of the author:¹⁵³

[...] an examination of the varied texts produced by travellers shows how prejudices, stereotypes and negative perceptions of other cultures can be handed down through generations.

Accounts of journeys can also show us other things about the way in which travellers perceive their place in the world they inhabit.¹⁵⁴

Bassnett’s link between travelogue and comparative literatures links the field to the previous discussion of anthropology.

¹⁵² Bassnett, p. 22.

¹⁵³ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 94.

An understanding of comparative literature studies allows the critic to understand Linklater's comparative ideology when creating *Juan in America*, especially in relation to culture and literary history. In the novel, Motley not only attempts to understand the foreign culture of America, but he also sympathises with the indigenous people of North America and Britain's own subjugated India. Yet, much like early discussions of contemporary literature, the influences in the text are based on Western literature. Linklater may sympathise with non-European cultures, yet despite spending the same amount of time in India as he did in America, he did not produce a novel appropriating Bhagavad Gītā and Indian culture. Linklater's influences are very Western, and in that manner he would have been a product of his time. Additionally, Linklater was writing during a time in which scholarly pursuits were reaching across boundaries in order to gain a better appreciation of the world. Comparative literature studies owes itself partially to anthropology, and adaptation studies evolved from a comparison of stories across mediums. Influence was everywhere. It was Matthew Arnold who in 1857 said, 'Everywhere there is connection, everywhere there is illustration. No single event, no single literature is adequately comprehended except in relation to other events, to other literatures.'¹⁵⁵

Conclusion: Using the Disciplines

Juan in America is a text which appropriates a plethora of fields, and Chapter One has outlined some of the disciplines which will be helpful when interpreting Linklater's novel: appropriation studies, autobiografiction, autobiography, history, anthropology, and comparative literatures. In Chapter Two, appropriation studies will be used in order to

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Arnold, 'On the Modern Element in Literature', Inaugural Lecture delivered at the University of Oxford, 14 November 1857 cited in Bassnett, p. 1.

understand the adaptive nature of *Juan in America*. Theme, style, tone, narrative, protagonist and narrator will be compared, along with the authors' satirical styles. These satirical styles originate – according to Beaty – from the author's abilities, motivations and temperaments. This information will then be measured against theories noted in the above section 'Appropriation Studies: Making Comparisons' to determine *Juan in America*'s appropriative relationship to *Don Juan*.

Beaty also suggests that 'raw materials' and 'literary influences' are key ingredients to a satire, and Chapter Three will investigate 'raw materials' as found in *Juan in America* such as cultural representations, personal anecdotes, memory, and historic events. Emphasising the fields of autobiography, history and anthropology will prove very useful when delving further into Linklater's 'raw materials'. Finally, Beaty suggests that 'literary influences' is the final element to be studied, and as Byron is not the only author who Linklater hoped to emulate, Chapter Three will investigate other satirists, transatlantic authors, and Linklater's contemporaries such as the Modernists and the Scottish Renaissance Group. In this section the field of comparative literatures will be helpful.

Juan in America is a complicated text made-up of representations, falsehoods, truths and inspiration, and while Linklater is, in his own right, a talented writer who manipulates narrative, character and language to develop a style which is of his own making, early in his authorial career he was sitting at the feet of the Master. Linklater learned from Byron, a poet who was equally as complicated as his own work. Byron set himself a difficult task:

To succeed as a satirist Byron needed to resolve the conflict between romanticism and realism, create an interesting and convincing persona, establish his own ethical norm, find a poetical medium compatible with his mobile nature, and strike a balance between personal involvement with and detachment from the targets of his satire.¹⁵⁶

From this Linklater followed suit, and in order to succeed as a satirist Linklater would also need to ‘create an interesting and convincing persona, establish his own ethical norm,’ find a medium compatible with his inquisitive nature, and ‘strike a balance between personal involvement with and detachment from the targets of his satire.’ It is safe to say that Linklater succeeded in his satire, but he did not always follow in the Master’s footsteps. In order to discover how Linklater learned from Byron while still creating something unique it is best to start with a comparison of the two texts.

¹⁵⁶ Beaty, p. 1.

CHAPTER TWO:
Comparing Texts: *Juan in America* and *Don Juan*

The title, protagonist and the episodic plot of *Juan in America* imply a connection to *Don Juan*; however, these aspects may be nothing more than mere coincidence. In order to understand *Juan in America*'s relationship with *Don Juan* – be it adaptive, allusionary or merely a passing nod – it is imperative to first investigate the various similarities between the two texts. Noted references to *Don Juan* are found early in *Juan in America* through the disclaimer and the Prologue, which suggests a link between *Juan in America* and *Don Juan*. This will be investigated, along with a comparison of style, narrative, structure, protagonist, narrator, and satiric form of the two works. Furthermore, in order to understand the satiric form of *Don Juan* and *Juan in America*, the authors' ability, motivation and temperament will be taken into consideration. This information will be used to form an opinion on *Juan in America*'s relationship to *Don Juan*, and to determine whether or not that relationship is an adaptation.

Once a conclusion has been made regarding the appropriative nature of *Juan in America* in reference to *Don Juan*, the thesis will look closely at the raw materials used in *Juan in America*: representations of memory, history and culture, as well as uses of literary tradition. Much of this will play upon tools already discussed in Chapter One regarding autobiography, history, anthropology and comparative literatures. The ultimate aim of this thesis is to determine which influences shaped the creation of *Juan in America*, and how these appropriated influences were used to create a single satirical text. Yet, this is the ultimate aim, and for the moment we must start from the beginning – the disclaimer at the front of *Juan in America*:

This prologue forms a link in time between Byron's Don Juan and his Anglo-American descendant. Only readers with a rigid historical sense should start the book at page 15. All others should begin at 63, where the account of JUAN IN AMERICA really opens. Then, having completed the story, any academic curiosity about the hero's antecedents and youth may be satisfied by returning to those preliminary chapters.¹⁵⁷

Linklater states that *Juan in America* is not *Don Juan*, that it is another story linked 'in time between Byron's Don Juan and his Anglo-American descendant' as outlined in the prologue. Yet, despite the proclamation that *Juan in America* is not a rewrite, but a different story that tenuously links two protagonists through a shared ancestry, the reader is persuaded by reverse psychology into reading the extra forty-eight pages. With a diagram of the family tree sitting next to an explanation of a complicated lineage that legitimises Don Juan as Juan Motley's paternal great-great-great-grandfather (see Figure 1 page 204), curiosity would make it difficult for readers to resist reading the Prologue. In fact, if Linklater truly wished those forty-eight pages to be read after the novel, then he would have placed the family information in an appendix, epilogue, or would have excluded it altogether. Despite his own protestations for the reader to skip to page 63, Linklater must have wanted the reader to start the novel at the Prologue.

Parnell suggests that there is more to the Prologue than family history:

It performs valuable functions within *Juan in America*. Both in content and style it establishes a tone of mellow enjoyment and subtle comment, an attitude towards the material, which accounts for much of the effect of the novel. It establishes a character for the wandering hero, compact of Andalusian fire and English reticence; Juan's traditional Englishness provides an important contrast to his American experiences, with each seen more ironically because of its juxtaposition with the other. And in the style – assured, humorous, tolerant, linguistically individual – there is a preparation for the richness and variety of the rest of the novel.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Eric Linklater, *Juan in America*, the Orkney Edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1931, repr. 1953), Prologue. (Note, that unless otherwise stated, it is this Orkney edition that is being referenced.)

¹⁵⁸ Parnell, p. 109.

Parnell is most certainly correct in stating that *Juan in America*'s Prologue sets the tone for the novel. It is succinct without losing its witty form: it announces the satiric nature of the novel to come. As Parnell states, the Prologue presents the Motley family back-story.

Motley is from the landed class; yet despite this, Motley is a foreigner in America and is able to move amongst the classes. Therefore his upper class lineage is significant for four reasons: it implies a specific character description, it gives Motley access to some aspects of American life to which a British working-class individual may not have had access, it makes a statement on the American class system, and it appears to replicate Byron's protagonist. Motley's class is an important aspect of his character, because it provides the reader with vital information; Motley is not one of the many immigrants travelling to America for employment early in the twentieth century, for that would be a different story. However, as Motley infiltrates the American class system, the class in to which Motley was born becomes less important and instead the social hierarchy of the New World is highlighted. For example, Motley's family founded the prestigious university he was attending, but, conversely, he took employment in a diner, which could be considered menial labour; yet Motley is not destined to remain a short-order cook. By Book IV Motley has shaken off his diner-life and is at the Mayfair Hotel in Washington DC conversing with politicians and industry leaders. Motley dips in and out of the classes, which is equally a statement about the American versus British class systems as it is a connection to *Don Juan*. Additionally, the character Isadore Cohen makes a misinformed comment about a perceived idea of the British class system: "Now you come from England," he said, "and in England you've got lords. And a lord's interesting, I should think, though I've never seen one. Anyway they're lords, and different from ordinary people."¹⁵⁹ In this

¹⁵⁹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 93.

instance the Prologue gives the reader more information than is available to the characters. Cohen may not realise he is speaking to a man whose lineage is less than common,¹⁶⁰ but, from information gained in the Prologue, the reader knows of Motley's aristocratic ancestry, therefore the irony is heightened for comedic affect. Isadore Cohen continues to discuss America's social structure and unwittingly provides foreshadowing, as Motley will lose his money and be forced to take employment as a soda-jerk:

‘Well, we got lords here too – guys that’s rich enough to be lords and maybe even kings. But they aren’t interesting. And why? Because they aren’t any different from you and me. They may lose their money any day, and then where would they be? Jerking soda or pressing pants.’¹⁶¹

If Motley's family history had not been laid out in the Prologue, this comedic juxtaposition would not have been as strong.

This hint of irony highlights the fact that the Prologue exists for reasons other than ancestral development of the character; it also introduces the plain style of speech found in *Don Juan*. Jerome McGann says of *Don Juan*'s plain style:

Byron originally decided to write *Don Juan* in the plain style of Horace, a decision taken because it seemed the appropriate one for his purposes and the circumstances of the time. Traditionally, the plain style was the appropriate vehicle for the purposes of instruction. It was characterised by judgement and reasonableness, so that the plain style in itself illustrated and argued for the fact and importance of *to prepon*, or decorum. Byron's choice of style for *Don Juan* was, then, the first sign of his basic argument in the poem: that the men of his time, particularly the poets, have to be taught the nature and importance of correct poetic and civil behaviour.¹⁶²

As the plain style was ‘the first sign of his basic argument in the poem’, Linklater too implements the plain style immediately and matches that of Byron's tone. Additionally, the

¹⁶⁰ According to the ancestral description and the family tree, Juan Motley was a direct descendant – albeit illegitimate – to Duke of Fitz-Fulke. Duchess Fitz-Fulke bore a third child – Jack – who was the son of Don Juan and a great-great-grandfather to Juan Motley.

¹⁶¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 93-94.

¹⁶² Jerome J. McGann, *Don Juan in Context* (London: John Murray, 1976), p.70.

placement of the plain style in the Prologue introduces three elements of tone which can be found throughout the novel: ‘the appropriate vehicle for the purposes of instruction’, ‘illustrated and argued for [...] decorum’ and ‘importance of correct poetic [...] behaviour’.

Byron chose to contrast the comic plot and characters with an instructional voice, giving the satire a stronger form. As previously discussed, Linklater and Byron argued against the experimental forms of their peers. For both Byron and Linklater, the readability of the tale was of paramount importance and, of *Don Juan*, Virginia Woolf said, ‘It is the most readable poem of its length ever written.’¹⁶³

Remembering the disclaimer to the Prologue, and its statement that it should only be read in order to feed ‘any academic curiosity’, Linklater writes with a similar thought in mind. The ludicrousness of the characters and their actions are in contrast to the narrator’s instructional voice, which creates a comical juxtaposition. For example, Duchess Fitz-Fulke’s husband comes to forgive his wife’s infidelity due to philosophical guidance, and this is reported in an almost academic tone:

His mind had been further upset by reading a novel called Caleb Williams while posting down to Gloucestershire. Its author, Mr. Godwin, was some kind of philosopher, and the Duke regarded philosophy of any sort with superstitious reverence. To find Godwin, then, mocking the sacrament of marriage, thrusting the whole moral code into a pillory, not only shocked him profoundly but seriously shook his faith in conventional standards. [...] Perhaps he had no business to feel his wife’s infidelity like a spear in his side.¹⁶⁴

This passage not only evokes the satiric style to be found throughout *Juan in America*, but is also referential to Byron’s text. In canto fifteen, the *Don Juan* narrator satirises marriage as a

¹⁶³ Virginia Woolf, ‘Wednesday, August 7th’ in *A Writer’s Diary: Being Extracts from the Diary of Virginia Woolf*, ed. by Leonard Woolf (London: Hogarth Press, 1969), p. 181.

¹⁶⁴ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 22.

means of procreation: ‘When Rapp the Harmonist embargoed marriage/In his harmonious settlement* (which flourishes)’ [XV: 35, 1-2].¹⁶⁵ This is then footnoted with:

*This extraordinary and flourishing German colony in America does not entirely exclude matrimony, as the ‘Shakers’ do, but lays such restrictions upon it as prevent more than a certain quantum of births within a certain number of years: which births (as Mr. Hulme observes) ‘generally arrive in a little flock like those of a farmer’s lambs, all within the same month perhaps.’ These Harmonists (so called from the name of their settlement) are represented as a remarkably flourishing, pious, and quiet people. See the various recent writers on America.¹⁶⁶

Linklater cleverly links his own text with Byron’s poem. In the *Juan in America* Prologue, when the Duchess falls in love with Don Juan and bares a child – thus making the children she bares with her husband inconsequential – it reflects the *Don Juan* footnote, which states that timed marriages equal births, thus taking romantic affection from marriage. Additionally, as Byron discussed the quirky customs of a New World America and the ongoing literary discussion of the new country, it gives credence to Juan Motley’s travels in this new world. Furthermore, this plain style is continued throughout the novel, with Linklater using a voice that carries a tone which is equally journalistic as it is prosaic.¹⁶⁷

While the above examples highlight that a plain style written to inform can also provide connections between the texts, the plain style is not a simple form of writing. There are contradictions, such as the abundance of sexual encounters which would have been in contrast to the argument for ‘decorum’ as suggested in using a plain tone. McGann argues that

¹⁶⁵ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, p. 827.

¹⁶⁶ George Gordon Noel Byron, *Don Juan*, ed. by T.G. Steffan, E. Steffan, and W.W. Pratt (London: Penguin Books, 1973), pp. 737-738

¹⁶⁷ Further examples of the plain style can be found in a discussion of the narrator on page 105.

the plain style was announced in *Don Juan*'s 'Domestica Facta' and 'emphasises the gossipy, anecdotal style of *reportage*' found throughout the epic poem.¹⁶⁸ Linklater too comments on the 'gossipy' nature of his own text:

It's true, all true, but I have been seduced by gossip. I admit my fault, but do not much blame myself – for gossip was grafted onto the stock of English writing when Chaucer wrote a prologue to his Canterbury tales; Jane Austen gave the novel a new, pellucid distinction by distilling, into a fine art, the common brew of gossip [...] If gossip is good gossip there is much to be said for it. If the proper study of mankind is man, there is something to be learnt by following him after dark or listening to his *obiter dicta*.¹⁶⁹

The Prologue may introduce the tone of the novel and supply links to *Don Juan* by implying that Linklater's story picks up where Byron's ended; however, as previously stated, the Prologue does not necessarily enhance the narrative of the novel, it merely sets up the book and provides the back story for the protagonist. Yet, there may be one exception to this statement: the character Dora is introduced in the Prologue. In Books II and III, Motley spends time with an old girlfriend Dora, and the Prologue explains that he and Dora had a child together, which resulted in Motley being sent to Australia for a short time prior to his adventures in America. However, this is all secondary, and when the two characters meet at the end of Book II, the brief introduction to their situation, as announced in the Prologue, seems unnecessary as the back-story is evident from the narrative. In Book III, Dora says to Motley:

'My sister took our baby, Juan. She's married to a farmer near Ditton, you know. Her baby was born three days after mine, but it died almost at once, and she and her husband were both heart-broken, and I – oh, I'd have given anything to keep him, but mother and father were so ashamed, and she offered a way out – that was God's mercy, father said – and what could I do alone? So I gave her our Jacky.'¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ McGann, *Don Juan in Context*, p. 69.

¹⁶⁹ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 114.

¹⁷⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 205.

Then later, Bob, Dora's husband, says to Motley: 'When I found out who you were I was in half a mind to throw you out then and there. [...] I know all about you and Dora, and that it's your kid her sister Lily's got.'¹⁷¹ The mention of Motley having a child in the Prologue is of no consequence to the narrative of the story, as it becomes apparent within the main body of the text.

Regarding narrative, the Prologue is helpful but not essential. It does set the tone of the novel, as well as give the reader information about Motley's social class, but this information would have been discovered by reading the main body of the novel. Even Motley's class need not be announced in the Prologue, as it is also uncovered in other parts of the book. Additionally, the main body of the novel uses a satiric voice to not only note Motley's class but to also make a comment on the differences between American and British class-systems:

She [Dora] passed the shop one day and looked in, and saw Juan, in a white coat, wiping suds off the counter. That he, who had been so splendid a figure at Cambridge, should have fallen to this! It saddened her, for she was a fine sentimental conservative, and like St. Paul believed that every man should abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Juan, she thought, was a victim of democracy, and she mourned his fall.

Nor could Juan win Bob's approval, though the latter professed his contempt for class distinctions, and one would have expected him to be well pleased by Juan's reduction to the discipline of such a humble occupation. But in reality Bob was no more a believer in democracy than Dora. He despised unskilled labour as heartily as he disliked an idle aristocracy, and he knew that his own highly skilled work was something entitled to respect. He had the solid pride of the craftsman, and he was justly annoyed by Juan's belief that all work was alike and no work an occasion for too much seriousness.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 236.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Upon closer inspection, one may agree with an early reviewer who noted: ‘This prologue is as well written as the rest of the book, but it is a trifle irrelevant’.¹⁷³ Perhaps the Prologue exists to connect the novel with Byron’s epic poem? The plain style has already been noted, but to look further at Parnell’s interpretation of the Prologue, he suggests that it parallels ‘the similar though less extended opening of Byron’s poem’.¹⁷⁴ Parnell may be referring to such lines of canto I:

And then your hero tells, whene’er you please,
 What went before—by way of episode,
 [...]
 That is the usual method, but not mine—
 My way is to begin with the beginning;
 The regularity of my design
 Forbids all wandering as the worst of sinning,
 And therefore I shall open with a line
 (Although it cost me half an hour in spinning)
 Narrating somewhat of Don Juan’s father,
 And also of his mother, if you’d rather. [I: 6, 3-4, 7]¹⁷⁵

Byron continues to discuss Don Juan’s lineage by tenuously linking it with the Don Giovanni parentage of the borrowed narrative.¹⁷⁶ Both *Don Juan* and *Juan in America* begin with a discussion of the sins of the mother and, by opening with a pregnancy, the novel gives the reader the impression that Linklater will be either retelling the *Don Juan* story or even answering the question ‘What happened to Don Juan?’ But, as the reader moves through the *Juan in America* Prologue, it quickly becomes apparent that this is not the story of Don Juan, but of Don Juan’s descendant.

¹⁷³ Gerald Bullett, ‘Juan in America (review)’, *Fortnightly Review*, 129 (May 1931), p. 704.

¹⁷⁴ Parnell, p. 109.

¹⁷⁵ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, pp. 378-79.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew Rutherford argues that the description of the protagonist’s parents, in the opening lines of *Don Juan*, is based on Lord Byron’s own relationship with his wife. *Andrew Rutherford, *Byron: A Critical Study* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), p. 144.

Parnell suggests that the beginning of Byron's canto I and Linklater's Prologue are similar. Linklater's Prologue begins with the Duchess of Fitz-Fulke's pregnancy, and Byron leaves canto XVI with Juan unmasking the ghost he encounters as Duchess Fitz-Fulke.¹⁷⁷ The Duchess was introduced in canto XIV and from that point forward she attempted to seduce Juan. However, the final stanza of the unfinished XVIIth canto leaves the reader wondering what happens next:

Which best it is to encounter – Ghost, or none,
 'Twere difficult to say – but Juan looked
 As if he had combated with more than one,
 Being wan and worn, with eyes that hardly brooked
 The light, that through the Gothic window shone:
 Her Grace, too, had a sort of air rebuked –
 Seemed pale and shivered, as if she had kept
 A vigil, or dreamt rather more than slept. [XVII: 14]¹⁷⁸

The reader is left wondering if Fitz-Fulke has indeed seduced Juan, or has he 'combated' and 'rebuked' her? Byron does not answer this question – he decides to 'leave the thing a problem, like all things.' [XVII: 13, 1]¹⁷⁹ The episodic nature of *Don Juan* gives few and weak clues as to whether he had been intent upon divulging the answer to that question, let alone the next adventure in Juan's saga. He joked that he planned on writing up to fifty cantos, but there is little to prove or disprove this as the poem's future progression.

Linklater takes it upon himself to decide not what happened to Don Juan, but what had happened to the Duchess. She did seduce Don Juan, and that tryst produced a child. It is from here that the Prologue begins, without a Don Juan in sight. Linklater even casts Don Juan

¹⁷⁷ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 875.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 879.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 879.

aside with an asterisk of a footnote that reads: ‘A detailed account of Don Juan’s entertainment in England can be found in the last three or four cantos of Byron’s poem’;¹⁸⁰ almost suggesting: ‘If you want to read Byron, go read Byron.’

The Prologue ends and Book I begins with Juan Motley on a transatlantic crossing, leaving the reader to wonder if the Prologue was a necessary accompaniment to Book I. The suggestion to skip the first several pages may have been ironic, daring the reader to make a Byronic connection. Also, by stating that once the reader ‘having completed the story, any academic curiosity about the hero’s antecedents and youth may be satisfied by returning to those preliminary chapters’, Linklater forces links to Byron that may not actually be there. Linklater misguides our attention with one hand, while he pulls the coin from behind our ears with the other. By suggesting that the first forty-eight pages should be skipped, the reader feels that those pages must be read. The Prologue introduces the reader to a figure that seems to imitate Don Juan, a figure of the landed class, a figure travelling in foreign lands, and a satire of dry wit. The similarities found in the Prologue may lead the reader to believe that he/she is reading a text which is closely linked to *Don Juan* through adaptation, appropriation or merely a continuation of Byron’s story after a hundred year interval. Yet, upon further inspection of the novel, the critic and the reader may find fewer similarities to Byron’s original poem than initially suspected.

Linklater maintains an illusion of adaptation through a similar protagonist and a few plot sequences. Restating Linda Hutcheon’s three criteria for adaptation – it must be an

¹⁸⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 18.

‘acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works’, be ‘a creative *and* interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging’, and act as ‘an *extended* intertextual engagement with the adapted work’,¹⁸¹ – *Juan in America* is close to fitting the description. It is an acknowledged transposition of *Don Juan*; however, without further investigation it cannot be assumed that the text is ‘a creative *and* interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging’ and ‘an *extended* intertextual engagement with the adapted work’, because Linklater’s interpretation of *Don Juan* cannot be determined from the Prologue alone, and the extension of Linklater’s engagement with the source material is yet to be determined. In fact, throughout the novel the differences certainly outnumber the similarities: for example, Linklater places his story in a modern setting and a new world location, and Linklater and Byron use very different narrators. Yet, these differences are only minor, and are expected to be found in any adaptation – for *Juan in America* is not a second printing. In fact, Linda Hutcheon recognises that an adaptation will make changes in setting, time, and often narrative sequence.

When investigating two texts, one related to the other through adaptation and intertextuality, it would be appropriate to compare more than similarities of plot. Other areas of investigation can include narrative (plot and rhythm), structure (epic versus picaresque), protagonist (*picaros* and anti-heroes), narrator (first versus third person), and satiric form. Frederick Beaty suggests that ability, motivation, temperament and use of raw materials are the best guide to understanding Byron’s satire,¹⁸² and it is through these elements that a comparison between *Don Juan* and *Juan in America* will be made. The Prologue does call attention to the satiric tone that is carried throughout the novel, yet upon close inspection it will be noted that Byron’s satiric form is slightly different from that of Linklater. In order to

¹⁸¹ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 8.

¹⁸² Beaty, p. 3.

understand these differences an interpretation of Horatian and Juvenalian styles will be compared, along with how each author decides to create their texts. Beaty argues that ‘raw materials’ are an integral part of the Byron’s satiric form, and suggests that representations of culture, society, history and literary tradition are the basis for the ‘raw materials’. Finally, Linklater’s use of ‘raw materials’ will be discussed in order to understand Linklater within a context of society, culture and history.

First Impressions: Narrative, Protagonist and Narration

Similarities and differences between secondary and original sources such as variation in plot are part of a natural evolution from text to adaptation; however, Linklater creates a text that depicts a series of events, a protagonist and a narrator which – while similar to the source text – may not be necessarily an appropriation of Byron’s *Don Juan*. The narrative of *Juan in America* appears to follow the same path as *Don Juan* because Linklater has included a few key scenes in his novel which appropriate narrative elements of the original poem. Because these key scenes appear similar to those in *Don Juan*, anything less than close reading might allow the mind to fill in the gaps assuming that the entire narrative closely resembles that of *Don Juan*. The same can be said of the protagonist and the narrator. Without a close reading, it may appear that the protagonist and narrator were adopted from Byron’s epic poem with little change, but upon further investigation it will be discovered that these two important aspects of the novel are very different from the original, and Linklater was not necessarily adapting from a source text but – through a similar narrative, protagonist and narrator – only alluding to Byron’s *Don Juan*.

Narratives: Structures and Rhyming Patterns

Like *Don Juan*, the genre of *Juan in America* is not easy to define: part satire, part ‘autobiografiction’, and part travelogue. These three genres include elements of truth within their construction: a truth in satire through the novel’s mocking of modern American culture, a truth in autobiography as semblances of personal circumstance are placed within the story, and truth in form of travelogue. However, these ‘truths’ could lose verisimilitude if the reader is unfamiliar with Linklater’s life or American socio-cultural history. Yet, even without this background information, *Juan in America* elicits a tone of reality – as does Byron’s poem – generated from how the narrative is structured.

The *Don Juan* narrative continues forward, almost ad hoc, in a manner similar to the progression of life: one moment leads to another, wandering into the future without any real guidance other than the whims of the protagonist and destiny. *Don Juan* is regularly placed into the ‘epic’ genre; thus, the question arises: Does *Juan in America* also fall into the genre of ‘epic’?

It is through the investigation and comparison of the two texts’ narrative forms that the critic can come to understand not only the appropriative nature of *Juan in America*, but also how it creates a feeling of truth through its narrative. Yet, before understanding the narrative structure of the secondary text, the structure of the source material must be investigated.

After the printing of the first two cantos, Byron wrote to Murray and said: ‘You ask me for the plan of Donny Johnny; I have no plan—I had no plan; but I had or have materials’.¹⁸³ This succinct depiction of the process in which *Don Juan* was created underscores the tension between the regimented nature of most (or others’) writing and the

¹⁸³ ‘The Flesh is Frail’ in *Byron's Letters and Journals* (1818-1819), ed. by Leslie A. Marchand, 6 (London: John Murray, 1976), p. 207.

fragmented nature of using materials from life and history as and when they arise, and suggests that Byron was the ultimate experimentalist who eschewed a pre-planned structure. Of this, Beaty states: ‘Byron was determined to try [*Don Juan*] as an experiment and discontinue it if it did not “take”.’¹⁸⁴ However, while Byron may not have been worried about the publication of future cantos and forwent discussing an over-arching structure, it is doubtful his wandering narrative was unintentional. It is more likely that his statement, ‘I have no plan—I had no plan; but I had or have materials’, wished to guide the critic away from form and instead highlight the appearance of a wandering narrative and his own idiomatic nature as a writer. *Juan in America* appears to follow suit by producing an epic tale that emphasises not only Linklater’s use of history and personal experience, but also a narrative that gives the illusion of the wandering transience of life. Yet, upon closer inspection the structure of Linklater’s novel has a specific form based on the geography of the United States. Byron’s *Don Juan* was written over the course of several years and – even if he did plan some elements – external circumstances and personal philosophies were included into the poem as and when they occurred in his life. It is likely that Linklater wrote portions of *Juan in America* as he travelled, but Motley’s travels from upper east coast to the Midwest, then to the South, and then to the pacific coast are not unintentional. In one novel, Linklater encompasses the cultural hubs of a very large and modern country. In one narrative, Linklater is able to report on and satire a diverse population.

Additionally, the episodic nature of *Don Juan* is not debated – as the poem is regularly noted by critics to be in an epic – but the genre of *Juan in America* is less solidified. In fact, it is not the term ‘epic’ which is regularly applied to Linklater’s text but instead ‘picaresque’.

¹⁸⁴ Beaty, p. 105.

Parnell classified *Juan in America* as a form of the picaresque, as did earlier reviewers: “‘Juan in America’ is a comic and extravagant novel of the picaresque type’.¹⁸⁵ However, the term ‘picaresque’, as suggested by Ulrich Wicks in ‘The Nature of Picaresque Narrative: A Modal Approach’ (1974) is often bandied about with disregard to its original meaning:

There is a kind of paradox in our usage of the term [...] criticism has left us with a term that must do double – and confusingly contradictory – duty. On the one hand, we have a historical approach that sees the picaresque as a ‘closed’ episode in the fiction of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, and, on the other, we have an ahistorical approach that sees it as an ‘open’ functional tradition, until in contemporary usage, the term ‘picaresque’ seems to be applied whenever something ‘episodic’ tied together by an ‘antihero’ needs a name.¹⁸⁶

Therefore, when Parnell calls the text ‘a modern picaresque’,¹⁸⁷ is he using the term haphazardly, or is *Juan in America* a throw-back to sixteenth and seventeenth century Spanish fiction? In order to more accurately classify the structure and genre of *Juan in America*, and thus determine if it is similar to that of *Don Juan*, one must first define the modern ‘picaresque’.

Wicks paraphrases Robert Scholes’ theory of fictional modes, in which he ‘proposes a spectrum of “ideal types” of narrative fiction’:¹⁸⁸

[...] three possible relationships between any fictional world and our world of actual experience: a world fictionally rendered can be (1) better than the world of experience, (2) worse than it, or (3) more or less equal to it; and these visions or attitudes that we have learned to call romantic, satiric, and realistic. Fiction can give us, then, the heroic world of romance, the degraded world of satire, or the mimetic world of history, respectively. These three modes are the middle and end points of a spectrum of fictional possibilities which has seven modes in all.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ ‘Review’, *The Times*, Issue 45773, col. E (Tuesday, 17 March 1931), p 7.

¹⁸⁶ Ulrich Wicks, ‘The Nature of Picaresque Narrative: A Modal Approach’, *PMLA*, 89, 2 (Modern Language Association: Mar, 1974), p. 240.

¹⁸⁷ Parnell, p. 109.

¹⁸⁸ Wicks, p. 240.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

One of these seven modes is the ‘picaresque’ and another is ‘satire’. Wicks implies that the picaresque can be classified as a ‘realistic’ type, and thus places the importance on mimicking reality within the narrative structure. Wicks suggests that, while working on a sliding scale, there is a definite difference between satire and picaresque:

Satire portrays subhuman grotesques enmeshed in chaos. Picaresque presents a protagonist enduring a world that is chaotic beyond ordinary human tolerance, but it is a world closer to our own (or to history) than the worlds of satire or romance. This spectrum, Scholes suggests, must be seen as a system of shades that works of fiction have combined in various ways.¹⁹⁰

If the variations hold true, then *Juan in America* does fit the definitions. It is satire of ‘subhuman grotesques enmeshed in chaos’ which gives the illusion of ‘a world closer to our own (or to history)’. Linklater portrays the realistic history in which he lived: rain drenched inaugurations, and gunmen, and diners, and floods, and football, and all that the world wanted to believe America was. At times these scenes are truthful, and they depict moments of history: the mob was a real force in 1920s America, floods did wipe out Southern American towns, and there was a presidential election during the time in which Linklater lived in the United States. However, what he presents as reality, he also distorts into the grotesque and chaotic. Motley finds people living in trees taking refuge from the flood; he meets a operatic trapeze-artist in a diner; and Motley is witness to a mob shooting at a funeral in which a corpse farcically flies through the air. Linklater takes a life, culture, society, and history remembered and distorts it for effect. If Scholes and Wicks theories are applied to Linklater’s text, then *Juan in America* lies on the sliding scale between the satiric and the picaresque.

Much like Wicks and Scholes, Edwin Muir in *The Structure of the Novel* (1928) discusses the picaresque in terms of narrative structure. Muir proposes that a novel’s ‘plot’

¹⁹⁰ Wicks, p. 241.

can fall into three categories: the character novel, the dramatic novel, and the chronicle. Muir discusses the character novel and the dramatic novel as if on a sliding scale, and he suggests that rarely does one type of fiction slip neatly into a single formula. He continues to say that the division ‘between the characters and the plot disappears. The characters are not part of the machinery of the plot; nor is the plot merely a rough framework round the characters’,¹⁹¹ and Muir classifies the picaresque within this sliding scale. He continues to argue that the picaresque aims to ‘provide a number of situations and a variety of objects for satiric, humorous, or critical delineation.’¹⁹² Muir continues:

The object of the picaresque novel is then to take a central figure through a succession of scenes, introduce a great number of characters, and thus build up a picture of society [...] and in the picaresque novel, ancient and modern, there is generally an attempt to provide information such as a social student, or a moralist, or an intelligent newspaper would give.¹⁹³

This definition lends itself to *Juan in America*. Motley as the ‘central figure’ who is ‘taken through a succession of scenes’ from one end of the country to the other, and introduced to ‘a great number of characters’. Subsequently, by the end of the novel, a picture of a society has been built.

Additionally, as the book moves through locations and social groups, the novel creates a feeling of travel, and it is this element of travel that Muir links to the picaresque:

Travel was the chief means of becoming acquainted with the different manifestations of social life in the eighteenth century; success is the chief means to-day. Travel was difficult then; only a minority could undertake it; and these were then in the position to tell the majority how whole areas of society lived with which it would never come into intimate contact.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Edwin Muir, *The Structure of the Novel*, 2 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1928; repr. 1963), p. 41.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

As the traveller was ‘in the position to tell the majority how whole areas of society lived with which it would never come into intimate contact’, the use of the travelogue is reminiscent of early developments in the field of anthropology. James Urry in *Before Social Anthropology: Essays on the history of British anthropology* (1993) argues that early anthropological studies were initially created as a way to record cultures which resulted from European Imperialists who wished to bolster their own culture through comparison with others,¹⁹⁵ thus suggesting that the link between the picaresque and the travelogue finds resonance in anthropology.

These anthropological implications not only have bearing on how Linklater used ‘raw materials’ in order to create a satire, but they also maintain an appearance of truth within the text. If the picaresque recreates a semblance of the travelogue are meant to be ‘true’ accounts, then the picaresque too may hold an impression of truth by its very connection to travel. Moreover, while *Juan in America* does not necessarily recount stories of a remote or unexplored society, the average working person would hardly have been able to afford a cross-continental holiday in the United States; therefore, *Juan in America* might deliver the type of adventures unavailable to the majority holds true. Additionally, Muir continues to argue that the picaresque genre is defined more by the wandering hero than by exotic location, and he cites a text by an author whom Linklater held in high regard – Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) – as a prime example in picaresque. Muir also uses *Vanity Fair* (1847) and *Tom Jones* (1749) as examples of the picaresque narrative and then further discusses their place within a frame work of time and space:

¹⁹⁵ Urry, p. 3.

Every place has its just geographical distance, and no part of England, no small town, no country estate or remote parsonage is inaccessible; the gentry, the tradesmen, the peasantry, the post-boys, the innkeepers – the classes, the rich and poor, are there, or at least some hypothetical provision is made for them.¹⁹⁶

Focusing on the end of Muir's statement, 'Travel was the chief means of becoming acquainted with the different manifestations of social life in the eighteenth century; success is the chief means to-day', we can see how *Juan in America* was playing with twentieth century ideas of the picaresque. Not only does Motley physically travel across America, he uses his varying degrees of success to become acquainted with different strata of society. Motley will thrive in one area, gaining the acceptance of a social group, before failing and moving onward. An example of this is Motley's interaction with football. He joins the University team and is a successful player during practice, which gives him access to the University's cultural elite. But when Motley fails, he is exiled, and literally moves onto the next location to find other successes, which over time becomes other failures. The cycle continually repeats itself until he reaches the Pacific Ocean.

Muir does not define the picaresque structure as a style that was lost in history, a 'closed' episode in the fiction of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, nor does he idly use the term as a catchall for an episodic adventure of an anti-hero. Referencing back to Scholes's theory of fictional modes, *Juan in America* blends the 'subhuman grotesques' of satire (for example, representations of the hypocrisy of the Eighteenth Amendment) with a picaresque form that portrays the 'chaotic beyond ordinary human tolerance, but it is a world closer to our own'¹⁹⁷ (for example, in the portrayal of collegiate football). Therefore, if elements of Muir's work are to be applied, and *Juan in America* holds the dual nature of both

¹⁹⁶ Muir, p. 65.

¹⁹⁷ See footnote 190.

satire and a picaresque as Scholes' theory would suggest, then *Juan in America* can be classified a picaresque.

Finally, *Juan in America* could be classified as a picaresque novel in that travel allows Motley to explore his Universe with all doors open. Recognising Muir's suggestion that satire and picaresque can be blended together, *Juan in America* holds true to the picaresque genre under the following conditions: it must 'provide a number of situations and a variety of objects for satiric, humorous, or critical delineation',¹⁹⁸ and 'characters are not part of the machinery of the plot; nor is the plot merely a rough framework round the characters'.¹⁹⁹ The appearance of a wandering narrative gives *Juan in America* the opportunity to satirise elements from various aspects of American society. Therefore, with these points in mind, *Juan in America* can be either classified as a picaresque text with satirical elements, as suggests Muir, or as a genre on a sliding scale between satire and picaresque, as Scholes suggests.

While it is not incorrect to classify *Juan in America* as a picaresque text, comparing the genre of *Juan in America* to *Don Juan* is problematic. Beaty sums it best when he writes:

The form of *Don Juan* is so indeterminate as virtually to defy categorization. Since the classical epic, Roman satire, Italian epic romance, mock-heroic poetry, the picaresque novel, Restoration comedy, the realistic novel, the novel of manners, the pantomime, Gothic romance, the ballad, the lyric, and neoclassical satire have all left their imprint on the poem, it is not surprising that the receptacle containing such varied ingredients should be amorphous.²⁰⁰

With *Don Juan* holding multiple forms, and *Juan in America* sliding between the satire and the picaresque, a structural break-down of the narrative may be a more prudent form of investigation as opposed to comparing genre classifications.

¹⁹⁸ Muir, p.28.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 41.

²⁰⁰ Beaty, p. 138.

A narrative comparison between *Juan in America* and *Don Juan* is tenuous as Linklater's plot does not directly mirror Byron's work. There are a few scenes in Linklater's text which are similar to *Don Juan*, but finding other narrative connections requires some imagination. Certainly, one scene that might be an intentional retelling of *Don Juan* is when Motley is left stranded and finds his way out of a swamp by accidentally washing up on the shores of an island. On this island lives the beautiful Lalage, the woman he first saw on his transatlantic voyage, and the very woman whom he followed to Chicago. Red Eye, Lalage's father and notorious gangster, is away from the island. Of course, this strongly resembles Byron's creation of the beautiful Haidée and the island on which Don Juan is marooned. The similarities are obvious and numerous: just as Haidée tended to Don Juan, bringing him back to health, Lalage cared for Juan Motley; just as Haidée was doted on by a household of servants, Lalage is the darling of her island estate. As Haidée's father was a Greek pirate who attempted to kill Don Juan for living with his daughter as if in marriage, Lalage's father replays a similar story. Both Don Juan and Juan Motley are nearly shot, but instead taken to sea to be drowned.

Yet, it is not the similarities between these two scenes that are of interest, but their differences. The women themselves are very different characters. Linklater recreates Juan's love interest in the form of the modern woman. Despite being trapped on an island by an over-protective father, Lalage states that she has been freed from the bondage of being a woman: "Contraception has delivered us from slavery," she explained. "We can follow nature freely nowadays."²⁰¹ This is very different to Haidée who dies pregnant. Additionally, Lalage is well educated and spends her days in a secret room of her own,

²⁰¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 343.

writing a novel.²⁰² *A Room of One's Own* by Virginia Woolf was first published on 24 October 1929, and it is highly probable that Linklater was slightly satirising Woolf. However, the satire is not aimed at female writers but is more of a statement about women's lack of freedom. Linklater, while in America, befriended a number of women authors whom he greatly admired,²⁰³ and it is possible that he wrote *Lalage* as a tribute to these women.

Other areas of similarity, as previously noted, are more tenuous. In canto V, Don Juan is enslaved, dressed as a woman and held in a harem. His captor's wife, the Sultana, falls in love with Juan and grows jealous when she believes that he has been with one of the other women of the harem. In *Juan in America*, this character may be represented by Olympia the queen of 'operacrobatics'. Her role in the novel is very 'masculine', with Juan Motley taking on the more feminine and thus subservient position. As Don Juan was held captive, so was Motley. He was forced to perform opera while on a trapeze and Olympia's progressively jealous nature keeps him bound to her. Initially, Olympia may seem to play the role of the Sultan, but upon closer inspection she is a mixture of both the Sultan and his fourth wife Gulbeyaz. Both Gulbeyaz and Olympia shun the gender conventions of their worlds: Gulbeyaz by purchasing Juan and taking on the role of the sexual master, and Olympia by having a string of lovers previous to Motley. Both characters are sexual and guided by whim, and both grow jealous quickly with violent consequences. When Motley attempts to leave Olympia the scene that ensues can only be described as one portraying domestic violence, and when Gulbeyaz discovers that Juan has affections for the concubine Dudù she resolves to destroy them both.

²⁰² 'Lalage' is Greek for 'to babble or prattle on', an appropriate name for a writer.

²⁰³ See page 174 for a further discussion of the various authors and noted women Linklater met while in America.

It is also in canto V that Don Juan meets Johnson. It is possible that Johnson has been retold as Isadore Cohen. When Juan meets Johnson, his first wife had died, his second wife had abandoned him, and he had recently left his third wife. Isadore holds many of the same traits as Johnson: not easily surprised and quick to make friends. Isadore also has left his wife (when Motley first meets Cohen in New York he has a wife but by the end of the novel he leaves her to live in California). Unlike Johnson, Isadore does not remain with Motley through the majority of the novel, but instead he materialises when Motley arrives in New York and then again in California, thus appearing at the beginning and at the end.

Other similarities in narrative can be found in cantos VII and VIII through the Battle of Ismail, which is vaguely similar to the scenes of rum-running between Detroit and Canada in *Juan in America*. In *Don Juan*, the Russians arrive by water, a similar scene to *Juan in America* where high speed boats cross in the night without lights. Motley is on a boat crossing the Detroit River when there is gun fire; a chase by the authorities ensues. In this way, Linklater's text imitates the scenes of war in Byron's *The Battle of Ismail*.

Linklater also appropriates a plot device from *Don Juan*'s canto XI when Don Juan first arrives in London. In *Juan in America*, Motley becomes disgraced due to a football foible and leaves University to wander the earth. As Don Juan arrives in London he is mugged: 'Your money or your life' [XI: 10, 8],²⁰⁴ and when Motley arrives in Buffalo he too is mugged: 'Stick 'em up, Big Boy, stick 'em up!'²⁰⁵ Don Juan shoots his aggressor, whereas Motley gives the robber his money.

Continuing with narrative and character similarities, in canto XIII Don Juan befriends Lord Henry Amundeville and his wife Lady Adeline who present him to the social sphere of

²⁰⁴ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 723

²⁰⁵ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 165.

London: in the same way Mr. and Mrs. Dekker (Mr. Dekker was a ‘former Governor of West Carolina’²⁰⁶) present Motley to the high-society of Washington D.C.. Much of this may also have been a recreation of autobiographic elements, such as Linklater’s friendship with Phoebe and Hamilton Gilkyson (the couple to whom Linklater dedicated the novel), who also introduced Linklater to a number of important American figures.

The story of *Don Juan* is told predominantly in chronological order; it also dips in and out of its narrative, taking breaks to discuss politics and make general social commentary on points that do not relate to the story. Such an example is similar to Byron’s digression about the state of affairs in Greece in canto III.²⁰⁷ While this sets the tone for Juan’s eventual capture and enslavement by the Turks – symbolizing Greece’s servitude to the Turkish government and setting the poem within an historic framework – the very lengthy diatribe adds little to the plot. Another of the many digressions appears in the first ten stanzas of canto IX in which Byron attacks Wellington for being rewarded for winning the Battle of Waterloo. Byron suggests that Wellington should instead have simply been happy with the rewards of a job well done, as was Epaminondas who saved Thebes. While adding little to the plot, this too has some merit as the episode sets the scene for Don Juan’s life in England. Similarly, Linklater often stops to make statements about society but, unlike Byron whose asides take a tangential direction, Linklater’s asides never digress far from the narrative. A prime example of a digression in *Juan in America* occurs when the narrator diverts into Motley’s thoughts

²⁰⁶ As there is no ‘West Carolina’ – there is a West Virginia, and a North and South Carolina – it’s not certain whether this was a joke that Linklater was making, or if he had confused the names of his States. See Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 273.

²⁰⁷ While it should be noted that this digression is meant to be a poem sung to Juan and Haidée for entertainment, its length and inconsequential nature to the story make it feel less like a *mise en abyme*, and more of a personal tirade regarding international politics.

regarding how the proliferation of photos and film can create a mind that finds the world blasé:

In many ways, he thought, photography has done us disservice. By showing us pictures of everything it has robbed us of surprise. I am all admiration for what I see – these commercial palaces, these bronze gates, jewels, and plumes, and sables; the sharp straight lines, the height and the smartness of things, but I can't feel astonishment, for I have seen it all before at the cinema and in the illustrated papers. And I should be astonished, I should be amazed, for the like of this was never seen on earth till now. [...] Travelers have a right to be astonished. I deserve amazement; but the cinema has robbed me of my capacity for amazement. I yearn for surprise, I should welcome consternation. But what can surprise us to-day, when we have seen pictures of everything? Nothing.^{208/209}

At first, this passage may seem to be nothing more than a glimpse at Motley's psyche; however, this long diatribe actually exists to do more than just highlight a society that lacks imagination or establish the character as a man who has little 'capacity for amazement'. The passage also pushes forward both the satiric tone and plot of the book. The next line follows: 'At this moment Juan saw, no more than ten yards in front of him, a body tumbling through the air.'²¹⁰ The next few paragraphs are written in the plain style, almost as if by a journalist showing no emotion, leading the reader to wonder if Motley finally has succumbed to amazement or if he is truly blasé. But the tumbling victim of suicide is not simply another means for establishing Motley's mindset; it pushes the narrative forward as this suicide prompts Motley to meet Isadore Cohen.

Byron too links several ideas through one digression, but as a whole his epic is disjointed and barely is tied together through chronology. While *Juan in America* is a structured work of prose, *Don Juan* is structured loosely, adapting and changing based on

²⁰⁸ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 73-74.

²⁰⁹ This passage may also be a brief satiric remark on Woolf's dissatisfaction with the effects of cinema on humanity as noted in *The Cinema*.

²¹⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 74.

what appears to be the author's mood (or even at times the protagonist or narrator's mood), motivation and temperament. It is written and published by cantos, and the narrative reflects multiplicity while still following in a basic chronological progression. One example of the disjointed structure of *Don Juan* is the jump from canto VI to canto VII with no explanation as to how Juan and John Johnson escaped with the two women from the seraglio. In *Juan in America*, Linklater appears to hold to the picaresque tradition – the protagonist physically moves through space with no purpose and never truly growing as a person – but the narrative is far more structured. Linklater's text ties together all the elements of its satire and its narrative, meaning that the wandering epic only has the illusion of a mess, while Byron truly recreates the chaotic nature of life. For example, Motley meets Isadore at the beginning in New York, then Isadore bookends the narrative by reappearing towards the end. Relatives in the Carolinas are mentioned in the Prologue, so that when Motley seeks out a reason to travel to the south, his elderly aunts are waiting to be resurrected. The woman in black whom Motley hopes to find on his American travels conveniently appears in a Carolina swamp. Dora's statement that Motley will end his journey with a Chinese girl is proved, and Motley leaves with the Chinese girl Kuo Kuo. Motley begins his journey by crossing the Atlantic, and ends it by crossing the Pacific. As Motley rushes to the beach to catch Kuo Kuo's boat, the reader feels no loss of knowledge. The reader can close the book assured that while the story may (and does) continue on another continent, the American journey is complete.

There are aspects of the *Don Juan* narrative which can be compared to similar events in *Juan in America*. For example, the Mediterranean scenes of *Don Juan* can be compared to the Southern American scenes of *Juan in America*, and the English cantos can be compared to Motley's time at College. With this in mind, and despite a mismatch between the chronology

of their respective plots (similarities in plot do not occur at the same place in each text), certain sections can be matched. Additionally, even if one is to compare the two texts as a whole, *Don Juan* reads predominantly like individual cantos serialised into one poem, and does not lend itself to a ‘complete’ narrative as does *Juan in America* the novel.

One of Linklater’s most likely challenges was that his inspiration came in the form of a serialised epic poem. Yet, while *Juan in America* is very much a work of prose, there are elements of *Don Juan*’s poetic structure that can be found in Linklater’s novel. One might assume that Linklater could have transcribed stanzas from *Don Juan* into *Juan in America* as song lyrics, especially as there are a number of songs included in the novel. For example, Linklater could have included passages from Byron as lyrics, or the songs he chose to publish in the novel could have followed the same rhyme and/or rhythm as *Don Juan*. However, the musical elements included in the novel do not adhere to any single rhyme or rhythm. Instead they are lifted straight from Linklater’s memory and are songs he heard while living in America, and do not match the *ottava rima* form for which *Don Juan* is so famous.

The *ottava rima*²¹¹ of *Don Juan* was the result of long-term experimentation with various rhyme schemes, and it is resonant of the Italian mock-heroic epic of Giovanni Boccaccio. It has also been argued that Byron uses the Hudibrastic form, which can be defined as a mock-heroic satiric poem using octosyllabic couplets. Originating from Samuel Butler’s *Hudibras* (1663, 1674, 1678), the Hudibrastic style relies on feminine rhyme instead of the heroic rhyme, and has come to be linked with the burlesque.²¹² Robert Southey²¹³ used

²¹¹ *Ottava rima* originated in thirteenth century Italy and consists of eight eleven-syllable lines which follow an *abababcc* rhyming scheme.

²¹² ‘Hudibrastic verse’ in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, p. 402

²¹³ As this dissertation deals heavily with autobiographical elements, it is interesting to note that for quite some time it was thought that Robert Southey coined the phrase ‘autobiography’ in 1809: ‘This very amusing and unique specimen of autobiography.’ However, in 1961 James Ogden discovered its use in an anonymous

the phrase ‘Hudibrastic rhymes’²¹⁴ when lambasting *Don Juan*. While the poem does utilize the anti-hero as a manner in which to push the burlesque form further, the rhyme scheme of *ottava rima*, which is predominant in *Don Juan*, does not necessarily match that of the Hudibrastic form as this chiefly uses the heroic verse of *aabbccdd*. One characteristic which Byron did pull from the Hudibrastic form is the feminine rhyme scheme, by ending each stanza with a heroic couplet. It is through this feminine rhyme that much of the comedy comes into play. With the feminine rhyme, Byron uses low language. By applying colloquialisms early in the stanza, the eye skims them and moves onward towards the end couplet in a fast-paced manner. The knowledge that there will be an end-rhyming couplet prepares the reader for the punch line. Additionally, as it is the penultimate line that is stressed (feminine rhyme), the reader already has the word in mind. Through this, Byron is doing two things to the reader. He is pushing the reader forward creating a momentum. As Byron forces the reader to fill-in the lines of vocabulary, that momentum can be halted when the assumed vocabulary – or appropriate rhyme – is not where it should be. For example:

’Tis pity learned virgins ever wed
 With persons of no sort of education,
 Or gentlemen, who, though well-born and -bred,
 Grow tired of scientific conversation:
 I don’t choose to say much upon this head,
 I’m a plain man, and in a single station,
 But – Oh! ye lords of ladies intellectual,
 Inform us truly, have they not henpecked you all? [I: 22]²¹⁵

review of D’Israeli’s *Miscellanies or Literary Recreations* (1796). The reviewer consciously notes the word when he states that D’Israeli’s ‘Some Observations on Diaries, Self-biography, and Self-characters’ was insufficiently worded and that ‘We are doubtful whether the latter word would be legitimate. It is not very usual in English to employ hybrid words partly Saxon and partly Greek: yet autobiography would have seemed pedantic.’ *Robert Folkenflik, ‘Introduction: The Institution of Autobiography’ in *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 1-20 (p. 1).

²¹⁴ Robert Southey, *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. by Charles Cuthbert Southey (New York: Harper, 1851), p. 384 cited in Jim Cocola, ‘Renunciations of rhyme in Byron’s *Don Juan*’, *Studies in English Literature: 1500-1900*, (Autumn, 2009).

²¹⁵ Byron, ‘*Don Juan*’, p. 383.

Also through the use of feminine rhyme, Byron creates humour by forcing the reader to rhyme words that usually would not rhyme, as is also noted in the above stanza. Of course, the forced rhyme can be found in the pronunciation of Don Juan: ‘Fit for my poem (that is for my new one)/ So, as I said, I’ll take my friend Don Juan.’ [I: 5, 39-40] ²¹⁶ Additionally, he uses the feminine rhyme to stress the burlesque humour of *Don Juan*:

Her cheek all purple with the beam of youth,
Mounting, at times, to a transparent glow,
As if her veins ran lightning; she, in sooth,
Possess’d an air and grace by no means common:
Her stature tall - I hate a dumpy woman. [I: 61, 4-8] ²¹⁷

Byron uses a plethora of rhyming techniques in *Don Juan*, but it is his use of the feminine rhyme that is represented in the prose of *Juan in America*. Forcing the reader into an awkward position that would not have been previously expected is also a technique found in Linklater’s prose. The structure of the *Juan in America* narrative plays with the idea of forcing the reader down one path, then at the last minute turning the situation so that the reader is surprised. This surprise causes the reader to laugh even when the situations are not typically funny. One such example is when the narrative juxtaposes two extremes of opposite emotions. Referencing again the falling body, the reader follows a series of emotions from philosophical (the discussion of a world in which amazement vanishes) to the surprised (the body tumbling to the ground) and finally laughter as Isadore Cohen makes a short inappropriate statement (like the quick ending of a rhyming couplet): “I bet she’s pretty too. It’s only the pretty ones that throw themselves outa windows.”²¹⁸

²¹⁶ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, p. 379.

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 393.

²¹⁸ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 74.

Yet much of the comedy is not based on structure, but on the characters. And without the protagonists the picaresque form would not exist.

Protagonists: *Picaros* or Mere Heroes

Parnell highlights the differences between Don Juan and Juan Motley. He points out that the newer protagonist is perhaps more flawed than Byron's hero: 'Juan Motley, unlike his illustrious predecessor though not unlike his creator, is less grandly successful in his amours, and more prone to ludicrous accident.'²¹⁹ However, this tells us little about the protagonists; therefore, it may be more productive to consider whether both heroes can be classified as *picaros*. Andrew Rutherford uses the term *picaro* in a description of Linklater's novel, '[...] an outsider, sometimes detached observer, sometimes a passionate participant in the life around him, but a hero footloose, without ties or responsibilities, a modern *picaro* going from adventure to adventure and from one amorous involvement to another.'²²⁰

However, when trying to compare Motley to Don Juan, it becomes apparent that Byron's Don Juan as a definition for *picaro* rarely occurs. Critics may argue that Byron's Juan is an anti-hero and may call the story a picaresque epic, but only in simplistic definitions is Juan defined as a *picaro*.²²¹ This leads to the question, 'Is Don Juan, like Juan Motley, a *picaro*?' If so, does it mean that the two heroes share similar character traits? Additionally, to define Juan Motley as a *picaro* is complicated, because the literary definition of *picaro* is controversial. Plus, even if Juan Motley and Don Juan are both classified as *picaros*, thus suggesting that they hold some of the same attributes, does it mean that Juan Motley is a

²¹⁹ Parnell, p. 109.

²²⁰ Andrew Rutherford, 'Eric Linklater as Comic Novelist', in *Literature of the North*, ed. by David Hewitt and Michael Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1983), pp. 149-162 (p. 153).

²²¹ In Spanish language criticisms Don Juan is often referred to as a *picaro*, but this is more likely to be an issue of translation than of literary classification. The Oxford Spanish dictionary defines the '*picaro(ra)*' as 'a rouse, villain, cunning, or crafty devil', which could be used in everyday language and not necessarily as part of a genre or literary description. *'*picaro(ra)*' in *Oxford Spanish Dictionary*, 1994, p. 583.

modern Don Juan, or is Juan Motley one of many *picaros* in modern writing? In order to answer these questions, *picaro* must be defined, then it must be decided whether or not Juan Motley and Don Juan fit such a description. Finally, it should be determined that if they do fit the definition of a *picaro*, to what extent does this term define their similarities?

Rutherford's summary of Motley as a 'modern *picaro*' suggests that Juan Motley fits a succinct definition of *picaro*; however, the meaning of the picaresque hero is a matter of academic debate. It can be argued that the picaresque as a tradition died after 1800, thus eliminating the existence of a true *picaro*²²² in modern literature. Anthony Close argues that when reviewing the evolution of the Don Quixote *picaro*, Romantics adopted this figure but changed how they perceived him. Quixote became a self-referential work of irony and a 'universal type of the idealist, the heroic altruist, the "symbol of Imagination, continually struggling and contrasted with Reality"'.^{223/224} This Romantic notion of Quixote is part of the modern *picaro*.²²⁵ Helen H. Reed adds to this by suggesting that modern readers of picaresque fiction are not interpreting the work through its original meaning, but are simply using hindsight to understand the *picaro*; that these modern readers, one of whom would be Linklater, are not returning to such original Spanish tales, but are encouraging the evolution of this type of character by: [...] characterise[ing] the picaresque novel according to its similarities with certain works of modern fiction. Hindsight informs our interpretation of the picaresque as precursor to those modern novels that deal with an alienated and peripatetic

²²² Jerome Christensen, 'Don Picardo: Lord Byron and the Reclassification of the Picaresque' in *The Picaresque: A Symposium on the Rogue's Tale*, ed. by Carmen Benito-Vessels and Michael Zappala (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1994), pp. 147- 162 (p. 147).

²²³ J.G. Lockhart, preface to Motteux's edition of Don Quixote, p. lxii cited in Anthony Close, *The Romantic Approach to 'Don Quixote': A Critical History of the Romantic Tradition in 'Quixote' Criticism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 57.

²²⁴ Anthony Close, p. 57.

²²⁵ Close, chapter 'The Romantics'.

anti-hero who can find no place for himself in society.²²⁶ Reed continues not only by discussing modern readers of pre-1800 picaresque fiction, but also classifies the *picaro* as it appears in modern fiction as a character who is in ‘an anguished state of non-belonging with which the sensitive and disillusioned modern reader is expected to readily identify.’²²⁷

Reed’s discussion of the disillusioned modern reader identifying with the anguished state of the *picaro* harkens back to Close’s argument that the Romantics changed the definition of the *picaro*. Close begins and ends his text, *The Romantic Approach to ‘Don Quixote’* (1978), by arguing that contemporary readers tend to ignore the fool’s aspect of the original Don Quixote picaresque hero, and instead opt for the Romantic literalist tradition partly initiated by Byron, who read Don Quixote as a ‘too true tale’ [XIII: 8, 7].²²⁸ Reed adds to this by suggesting that the modern anti-hero of the picaresque is quite different than other forms:

In contrast to the epic where the hero ventures forth on *behalf* of society, or romance where the hero sets out in quest of some far-off, otherworldly, mysterious goal *outside* society, the *picaro*’s aim is limited in scope, egotistical, ignoble, and of this world – to have enough money and food to survive and to find a place *within* society. [...] Paradoxically, the *picaro* is often unable to achieve his aim – seemingly within his reach yet never elusive – while the romance hero reaches for and grasps the impossible.²²⁹

By following the definitions put forward by Reed and Close, if Juan Motley is *picaro*, he should be a hero who is egotistical, ignoble and in a constant struggle for survival and acceptance; this is most certainly true. Juan Motley is a self-involved but much loved fellow that finds friendships in nearly every manner of society; yet he is also a figure that never finds

²²⁶ Helen H. Reed, *The Reader in the Picaresque Novel* (London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1984), p. 22-23.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²²⁸ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, p. 767.

²²⁹ Reed, p. 21.

his own place within it: he is in a 'state of non-belonging'. As Motley finds himself mugged, shot, punched, left in a swamp, and dumped out to sea, he is merely contending with his fate.

From childhood he had recognized a coincidence as one of the least bewildering of world phenomena. When he lost an arrow he always shot another in the same direction and found both; at more than one dinner-party he had discovered a pearl in his oyster; and when he dined alone in a restaurant he habitually found a handsome young woman, solitary also, at the next table. Such contingencies, he felt, were no more than compensations for the unjust irrationality of life.²³⁰

However, while lucky, Juan Motley is not necessarily innocent. He is, after all, running illegal whiskey from Canada, stalking a mobster, pretending to be a violinist to swindle money, and the father of at least one illegitimate child. He tires of women and friends easily, searching only for pleasure. He repeatedly succeeds then fails, only to miraculously succeed again. There is no goal in sight; he is merely travelling from location to location in order to survive and to move arbitrarily forward. Motley like so many of Linklater's protagonists is a Byronic hero as well as a *picaro*.

While Motley appears to be similar to Don Juan – the loveable rogue, the Lothario who relies on luck and wit to escape from tight situations – upon closer inspection, Juan and Motley are quite different characters. Whereas Don Juan changes and matures throughout the seventeen cantos, Juan Motley remains fairly static. Don Juan is a complicated character, embodying concepts of 'reality' and the complex nature of what would come to be known as the human psyche. However, Motley only *appears* to be a complex character. For example, he finds Dora and feels a bit of excitement for the secret past that they share, but over time he grows tired of Dora and tired of being second best to Dora's husband. Motley meets the operatic trapeze artist and moves on with his travels. This may be a realistic view of human interaction, but not a very interesting one, as over the course of the novel Motley remains

²³⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 203

static. Motley's relationships become repetitive. He throws himself into friendships and romances only to later become tired of personal entanglements before moving onward. As he does this repeatedly, he does not change, and by the end he, in a fit of inebriation and confusion, proposes to two girls only to abandon both to follow another to China. Motley, as a character, only exists to highlight the world around him. He is nothing more than a prop. This is an element of negative criticism noted by early reviewers:

The novel unfortunately is not as well sustained as the reader might wish, and the cause of the lapse may be traced to the author's failure to make a 'round' character of his hero. Juan, remaining amorphous, fails to hold together the incidents which after the first three hundred pages (it is a novel of over four hundred pages) becomes essentially repetitive in spite of the author's undoubted literary skill.²³¹

Bullett states in the *Fortnightly Review* that Motley is 'a rather featureless character' and that 'it is impossible to care what becomes of him. He exists for the sake of what he sees; he is a window through which we watch a highly-coloured pageant.'²³²

This may be how Byron wants Don Juan to appear, as a force which pushes the story forward. Byron, through the voice of the narrator, depicts Don Juan with notions of the Romantic *picaro* – someone to be laughed at and someone whose single purpose is to struggle onward:

Of all tales 'tis the saddest – and more sad,
Because it makes us smile: his hero's right,
And still pursues the right; –to curb the bad,
His only object, and 'gainst odds to fight,
His guerdon: 'tis his virtue makes him mad! [XIII: 9, 1-5]²³³

Yet, Don Juan is far more complicated than the struggling roue. Towards the latter cantos, Don Juan feels regret, and he, like the author, matures and changes over time. In canto XII he

²³¹ 'Juan in America (review)', *Bookman*, ed. by Hugh Ross Williamson, 80, 475 (April 1931), p.91.

²³² Bullett, p. 704.

²³³ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 767.

begins with a fourteen-stanza diatribe on middle age, and in the second stanza the narrator admits to being thirty-five years old – a point at which Byron steps in as the narrator. The fact that he develops means that Byron has created a protagonist that, while at times grand and improbable, is more complex and interesting than Linklater's static Juan Motley.

Linklater may have created Juan Motley as a Byronic hero in Don Juan's image, and they might both be part of a world depicted through satire and burlesque, but they travel through this world as different characters. Juan Motley is a version of the Romantic *picaro*, 'egotistical, ignoble, and of this world – to have enough money and food to survive and to find a place *within* society',²³⁴ the anti-hero *attempting* to act in a real manner. Yet, Linklater's hero never does truly find a place in society, and while this too may apply to Don Juan, the differences between the two characters are too strong to ignore. Where Motley 'is limited in scope', Juan is a character who matures. Where Juan changes, Motley remains the same static individual throughout the novel.

Narrators: Different Views, Different Voices

The narrator's relationship with the protagonist is paramount, and it is the authoritative voice of the narrator that intensifies the satiric nature of both texts. However, despite Linklater and Byron individually creating narrators that interact with the protagonist, the voices of their respective texts are quite different. Byron's narrator plays an active role in the narrative of the text, while Linklater's narrator, despite *almost* interacting with the protagonist, is outside the narration.

²³⁴ Reed, p. 21.

Byron writes the narrator into the story, by placing him in the action at the beginning of the epic poem. The first person pronoun appears in the second canto of the Declaration as the narrator mocks Coleridge:

And Coleridge, too, has lately taken wing,
 But, like a hawk encumbered with his hood,
 Explaining metaphysics to the nation –
 I wish he would explain his Explanation. [Dedication: 2, 5-8]²³⁵

It is here that the reader is uncertain of the narrator, assuming that it could be either the author or even Don Juan. However, the Declaration was eliminated from the text, making the first word of canto I 'I'. Quickly the reader discovers that the first person pronoun is not Don Juan but a third party:

I want a hero: an uncommon want,
 When every year and month sends forth a new one,
 Till, after cloying the gazettes with cant,
 The age discovers he is not the true one;
 Of such as these I should not care to vaunt,
 I'll therefore take our ancient friend Don Juan,
 We all have seen him, in the pantomime
 Sent to the devil somewhat ere his time. [I: 1]²³⁶

The story is predominantly a first person account of Don Juan's adventures, which is reminiscent of the 'tradition of satirists who want their speakers to be part of the scene and yet sufficiently independent of it to be objective.'²³⁷ The narrator is part of the story, without it being about himself. As already mentioned, it is in this first stanza that the reader is given the English pronunciation of Juan – rhyming with 'true one'. As the name is pronounced 'one' – as may be done with an English accent, instead of the traditional Spanish pronunciation of 'hwahn' – it immediately calls for Don Juan to stand out above the narrator, placing the

²³⁵ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 371.

²³⁶ Ibid., p. 378.

²³⁷ Beaty, p. 126.

importance upon the protagonist. It also suggests a narrator whose primary language is English, creating a bond with the native English speaking reader.

However, this first person account is not consistent, as the voice of the narrator changes often and at times gives contradictory information. At one point the narrator states that he is 'fond of a little love' [I: 118, 6]²³⁸ but also says: 'My days of love are over'. [I: 216, 1]²³⁹ Beaty argues that by creating a contradictory narrator, unnamed and secondary, Byron wished to create a semblance of truth even when truth was not present: 'Some of the narrator's oblique declarations of truth are achieved, paradoxically, through outright lying.'²⁴⁰ Additionally, in spite of numerous contradictions, Byron creates a reliable and 'stimulating narrator with whom his intellectually responsible readers might identify – a level-headed, practical man of the world who would render criticism with incisiveness and conviction.'²⁴¹ This reliability was manifested by carefully selecting features that Byron wanted to project of himself. Beaty argues for what can be considered an 'autobiografictional narrator' as a precisely placed ego of Byron, who claims to be 'a superannuated, thirty-year-old man whose life is over (except of course, for vicarious enjoyment), he expresses an idea often uttered, though rarely adhered to, by Byron.'²⁴² Some contemporary critics, such as Germaine Greer, follow Beaty's argument: '[...] he created an extraordinary persona for the narrator, a figure probably closer to the engaging and engaged Byron we know from his letters than any of the self-dramatising masks he had worn before.'²⁴³ The autobiographic elements incorporated

²³⁸ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 407.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 432.

²⁴⁰ Beaty, p. 135.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 124.

²⁴² Ibid., p. 127.

²⁴³ Germaine Greer, 'An introduction to the poetry of Lord Byron', *The Observer* (24 January 2010), p 5.

throughout the fictitious work make the narrator seem familiar to the reader, and therefore trustworthy.

In addition, Byron, the apparent egoist, hides himself elsewhere amongst the characters: there are representations of him in Don Juan, Don Jose, as well as in John Johnson. This is an ‘autobiografictional’ technique, permitting him to satirise various social constraints and people with whom Byron took umbrage. Moreover, Byron uses additional narrators, each representing a different voice. Anne K. Mellor argues that the ‘constant alternation between these widely divergent characters or modes of consciousness is itself an analogue for the process of human growth, or self-creation and self-transcendence’, thus supporting Beaty’s theory that the contradictory nature of the narrator, and Byron within the text, adds to ‘an aura of truth’ in the text, ‘even when truth was not present’.²⁴⁴ Essentially, Mellor is arguing that a contradictory voice is more representative of the conflicting nature of the human mind.

It is imperative to keep in mind that unlike *Juan in America* – or most other retellings of the Don Juan myth – Byron’s *Don Juan* was written over six years, and as Byron grew older so did both Juan and Johnson. Additionally Beaty argues, as Byron’s motivation and temperament (or perceived temperament) changed so did Juan’s temperament, as well as the satiric voice of the narrator(s) and the text as a whole:

As Juan grows older and more worldly through experience, he assumes more of the narrator’s perspective despite his perennially ‘virgin face’ [...] As the narrator, reliving his own life through Juan and recollections of past experience, is forced to reevaluate the world, he becomes increasingly aware of the self-imposed limitations of his own blasé detachment.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Anne K. Mellor, *English Romantic Irony* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 1980), pp. 49-50.

²⁴⁵ Beaty, p. 127.

Thus, as time follows, Juan matures as would the text, giving a further appearance of ‘truth’. However, as there will always be conflicting opinions on Byron’s work, it is George Ridenour who suggests that the conflicting nature of the *Don Juan* narrator is not necessarily ‘a stimulating narrator with whom his intellectually responsible readers might identify’ – as was suggested by Beaty. Instead he suggests that the inconsistent narrator in fact contributes to the downfall of Byron as an author. Ridenour argues that Byron does not seem to be ‘proceeding at least ostensibly on the basis of generally accepted (or in any case familiar) system of norms, principles, and attitudes.’²⁴⁶ Ridenour states that Byron rejects normality as defined by his readers and rejects a consistent set of values; he labels himself ‘notoriously a rebel [...] but he is not a consistent rebel.’²⁴⁷ On the other hand, David Parker rebukes those who think that the multiple voice of the narrator is a flaw: ‘Some critics have been offended by these multiple voices, but most readers enjoy them, and it seems to me that the critic should be wary of finding blemishes where the common reader finds only things to enjoy.’²⁴⁸

Don Juan’s contentious narrator is in stark contrast to *Juan in America*, in which the protagonist, narrator and perceived authorial voice remain consistent throughout. As previously discussed, Motley as a protagonist does not grow or change, but he remains fairly static. There is also a stronger separation between Motley and the narrator than there is in *Don Juan*. Linklater’s *Juan in America* includes a narrator who remains unknown, but, unlike Byron, uses a limited third-person narrative. However, despite being distant, the third-person narration does allude to Motley’s thoughts by referring to an internal monologue. Linklater

²⁴⁶ George M Ridenour, *The Style of Don Juan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960) p. 19.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁴⁸ David Parker, ‘The Narrator of *Don Juan*’, *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature*, 5, 2 (April 1974), p. 50.

disregards quotation marks, and using free indirect discourse blurs the boundaries between the character's thoughts and the third person narration:

After all, thought Juan, a woman could rise from an embrace to which she had incited you and in which she had enthusiastically participated, and tolerantly pat you on the cheek [...] A woman could obliterate the past as easily as she could remember it in false colours or evoke it in startling veracity. But it was strange to see the once ingenuous Dora display such a power.²⁴⁹

The text suggests a slip into Motley's mind with the use of 'thought Juan'. This technique of framing the protagonist's thoughts is in no way unique, it is simply different than the narrator(s) of *Don Juan*.

Upon closer inspection there are no first person pronouns in the narration, and every suggestion of an observation is in some way, even if only tenuously, linked to Juan Motley through his thoughts or his speech, making the narration – unlike Byron's *Don Juan* – consistently limited third-person. Additionally, Linklater's text does not contradict itself as the narrator always pulls back to remind the reader that it is Motley who is wavering not the narrative voice. Motley's opinion may waiver, as would that of any young adult; for example, he had considered telling Dora's husband about their illegitimate child but changed his mind.^{250/251} In this scene, the narrator does not give an opinion; instead, in a manner like that of the Prologue which emphasises the plain style, the narrator remains journalistic and reports the thoughts and actions of the protagonist.

By not following Byron, and maintaining a single unwavering voice and position,

²⁴⁹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 207.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

²⁵¹ Note that Motley may change his mind, but he does not grow or change as a character overall.

Linklater is less controversial; whereas Byron's *Don Juan* states, 'Being of no party/ I offend all parties' [IX: 26: 1-2].²⁵² The audience of *Juan in America* may, or may not, agree with the voice of the narrator or the actions and thoughts of Juan Motley, but they are not being forced to wade through contradictory evidence in search of a larger truth. With regards to *Don Juan*, Beaty claims that the reality is an extension of the dual narrative voice, while Ridenour claims reality is eradicated because it disassociates the reader from the text. Conversely, truth and reality exists in *Juan in America* because of its singular voice. *Juan in America* speaks to its reader in the plain style without resorting to a first-person point of view.

Two significant differences between the narrators in *Juan in American* and *Don Juan* are: a first person narrator versus a third person point of view, and a limited third person voice versus an internal monologue. Additionally, where Byron places his narrator in the story, Linklater only makes it appear as if the narrator is part of the novel. The narrator, stating Motley's thoughts as if they were almost a stream of consciousness but then pulling away to remind the reader that the narrator is only reporting on the action, is part of the ongoing allusion to *Don Juan*. Additionally, the multiplicity of the *Don Juan* narration versus the stability of the *Juan in America* narrator is an indicator of larger differences between the two texts. Byron plays with multiples throughout the entire epic poem, while Linklater uses a single voice, which is most apparent in the satiric nature of the two works.

Satiric Elements: Comparing Multiplicity

Quoting Woolf, *Don Juan* attempts to be all things: 'an elastic shape that will hold whatever you choose to put in it.'²⁵³ The satiric element of *Don Juan* is a multifaceted satire

²⁵² Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 684.

²⁵³ Woolf, *A Writer's Diary*, p. 181.

with a complex structure of *many* different elements like ability, motivation, temperament, and various raw materials such as history, society and literary tradition. Frederick Beaty lists the layered elements of the Byronic satire: ‘his native ability, his motivation, his temperament, and the raw material – such as the state of society and the traditions of literature’.²⁵⁴

These several concepts are neither specific to Byron nor are they specific to any other satirist, but that does not diminish their importance, because these different aspects work together to create a text that is individual to the author. Byron and Linklater have unique satiric styles that made statements about society, history, and literary tradition. Additionally, this chapter shall uncover how the intent and motivations of the authors influenced their satires. Furthermore, as will be discussed, Byron’s work is full of conflict, and Linklater’s response to the Byronic conflict has a strong impact on *Juan in America*. The multiplicity of Byron’s work allowed Linklater to choose from a host of satiric techniques when appropriating *Don Juan*, and the manner in which Linklater interpreted, adopted or disregarded elements of the original text – along with other influencing factors such as society, culture and traditions of literature – creates a single Linklaterian style, which alludes to the diversity of the original Byron text while allowing Linklater to maintain an original voice.

Byron the Genius: Linklater Interprets Ability

Beaty begins with the very subjective trait of ‘ability’. Byron’s peers alternated ‘between moral outrage and robust appreciation’.²⁵⁵ W.P. Ker reminds the critic that Byron’s ability was greatly debated, and also states that the critics took umbrage with the multiple

²⁵⁴ Beaty, p. 3.

²⁵⁵ Rutherford, *Byron: A Critical Study*, p. 253.

narrative voices used in the epic poem: ‘Byron’s poetry is made difficult for the critics in the same way as Pope’s. It is almost impossible to get to it through the tumult of [critical] conflicting opinions.’ He then asks: ‘Was Byron a great poet?’²⁵⁶ Byron’s work produced conflicting responses, often from the same people.

Critics argued about Byron’s ‘ability’ (or lack thereof) in opposition to the ‘content’ of his work. Much of the initial criticism of *Don Juan* was due to the autobiographical nature of his text – made immediately apparent through the Dedication’s lampoon on Robert Southey and Lady Byron – as well as the sexual nature of the entire epic. Eventually, Byron retracted the Dedication and several possibly libellous stanzas; however this neither stopped the debate nor halted Byron’s potentially slanderous content, especially as he states as early as canto I:

There poets find materials for their books,
And every now and then we read them through,
So that their plan and prosody are eligible,
Unless, like Wordsworth, they prove unintelligible. [I: 90, 5-8]²⁵⁷

Yet, it was not simply libellous notations of peers: many readers found the content unacceptable. Jane Stabler lists several early reader reactions to the *Don Juan* series, such as a letter by Maria Edgeworth, who discusses the social discomfort the poem caused when it was read aloud in mixed company.²⁵⁸ This letter suggested not that the author’s ability was in any way lacking, but that the material was not suitable for ladies’ ears when read in mixed company. However, Stabler also lists numerous critical debates surrounding the early *Don Juan* cantos which criticise the author’s ability, such as William Roberts’ statement in May

²⁵⁶ W.P. Ker, p. 207.

²⁵⁷ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, p. 400.

²⁵⁸ Jane Stabler, *Byron, Poetics and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 31.

1818 that an early form of *Don Juan, Beppo*, was nothing more than ‘little facetious, frolicsome attacks’ and a ‘dangerous’ by-product of ‘French ridicule’.²⁵⁹ Additionally, one of Byron’s main critics was John Henry Newman, who found Byron ‘unpoetical’;²⁶⁰ although it is important to note that this man of the pulpit found little literature to be in God’s image. Stabler also highlights the English dislike for mixing mood and allusion,²⁶¹ and Josiah Conder’s suggestion that the poem cohered ‘by no other law than that of juxta-position’.²⁶² These brief criticisms highlight many reviewers’ concerns that as Byron used various – and often conflicting – styles and techniques, it made it difficult for critics to place his work into a category. Wordsworth and Keats were two of Byron’s harshest critics. Wordsworth stated in a letter to John Scott in April 1816, ‘Let me say one word upon Lord B. The man is insane; and will probably end his career in a mad-house’,²⁶³ and Keats stated to his brother George, ‘You speak of Lord Byron and me; there is this great difference between us. He describes what he sees I describe what I imagine. Mine is the hardest task.’²⁶⁴

Not everyone was uncomplimentary of Byron’s mix-and-match theme. For every Wordsworth and Keats, there were supporters such as Goethe and Shelley. In an 1821 review of *Don Juan*, Goethe stated: ‘*Don Juan* is a work of boundless genius, manifesting the bitterest and most savage hatred of humanity, and then again penetrated with the deepest and tenderest love for mankind.’ He continues by describing the voice of the epic poem as

²⁵⁹ William Robertson, *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers, Part B: Byron and Regency Society Poets*, ed. by Donald H. Reiman, vol. 5 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1972) cited in Stabler, p. 31.

²⁶⁰ Rutherford, *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage*, p. 279.

²⁶¹ Stabler, p. 29

²⁶² Josiah Conder, *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers, Part B: Byron and Regency Society Poets*, II pp. 756-757 cited in Stabler, p. 31.

²⁶³ William Wordsworth, ‘Letter to John Scott, April 1816’ in *Romanticism: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Michael O’Neill and Mark Sandy (London: Taylor and Francis, 2006), p. 282.

²⁶⁴ John Keats, ‘Letter to George Keats, Friday 17 September, 1819’ in *Poetical Works and Other Writings: Now First Brought Together*, ed. by Harry Buxton Forman (London: Reeves and Turner, 2009), p. 18.

‘a cultured comic language.’²⁶⁵ While other reviews wavered between hailing Byron a genius *and* berating him a hack. Andrew Rutherford provides *Blackwood’s* early review as an example: ‘*Blackwood’s* comments on *Don Juan* alternate between moral outrage and robust appreciation – sometimes expressed by the same writers on different occasions.’²⁶⁶ Ker argues that the conflicting views regarding Byron’s ability is problematic for the reader:

[...] judgement of the case crosses the minds of most modern readers of Byron. They take up the book in order to prove or disprove this or some other formula; it is hard to read the poems frankly for their own sake. We read as advocates or attorneys, and we read in a restless, noisy room: the voices of competing and contradictory arguments make confusion and distraction.²⁶⁷

Noting again Linklater’s fondness for Byron, as well as recognising his scholarly nature, Linklater too would have been aware of the ongoing debate surrounding Byron’s talent. Additionally, this debate did not (and has not) abated, with Linklater’s peers also discussing Byron’s merits. Eliot claimed that Byron added nothing to the English language and denounced the poet as a sort of ‘boyhood’ fascination;²⁶⁸ while, Woolf felt a mixture of envy and disapproval for the effect Byron had upon women, and of his poetry she stated: ‘But he never as a young man believed in his poetry; a proof, in such a confident dogmatic person, that he hadn’t the gift.’²⁶⁹ Conversely, Auden famously hailed Byron in his poem ‘Letter to Lord Byron’ (1937), which parodied the Byronic form in order to make comment on those who were negative towards Byron’s work:

²⁶⁵ W.P. Ker, p. 164-65.

²⁶⁶ Rutherford, *Byron: A Critical Heritage*, p. 253.

²⁶⁷ W.P. Ker, p. 207.

²⁶⁸ T.S. Eliot, ‘Byron’ in *From Anne to Victoria*, ed. by Bonamy Dobrée (London: Cassell and Co., 1937); repr. in T.S. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1961).

²⁶⁹ Woolf, *A Writer’s Diary*, p. 3.

You've had your packet from the critics, though:
 They grant you warmth of heart, but at your head
 Their moral and aesthetic brickbats throw.
 A "vulgar genius" so George Eliot said,
 Which doesn't matter as George Eliot's dead,
 But T. S. Eliot, I am sad to find,
 Damns you with: "an uninteresting mind".²⁷⁰

While some of these critical debates would have been printed after *Juan in America* (such as these specific criticisms by Eliot and Auden), they highlight a continuous discourse on the validity of Byron as an artist, which would have freed Linklater, as a student of literature, to make his own judgments regarding Byron's ability – picking from the theories that suited him best. When deciding to rewrite Byron, Linklater had a plethora of critical material from which to choose. If it were only the character of Don Giovanni that Linklater wished to adopt, then he could have chosen one of the many other readings. However, the Grammar school history Linklater and Byron shared, Linklater's lifelong fascination with the author, the excitement of rewriting such a controversial author, and Byron's intense use of wordplay and satiric wit were inspirations.

Like Byron, Linklater's 'ability' was questioned. Linklater's sense of the comedic and his entertaining style was something which did not always stand well with the critics. David Daiches apologises for the fact that Eric Linklater may be enjoyable, by stating that he is not only a novelist of the inter-war years, but also 'an entertaining but a good one'.²⁷¹ But perhaps, like Byron, reviewers dismissed Linklater because of his lack of desire to be a part of the literary elite. Andrew Rutherford explains:

²⁷⁰ W.H. Auden, 'Letter to Lord Byron', in *Letters from Iceland*, W.H. Auden and Louis MacNeice (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), p. 100.

²⁷¹ David Daiches, *The New Companion to Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1993), p. 192.

He deliberately chose authorship as a career, but he also deliberately chose to stand outside the main literary movements of his day (which may be another reason for his falling out of academic favour) [...] Linklater's own fiction is traditional in [...] a formal sense. He shows throughout a sense of style and a scrupulosity of craftsmanship [...] which are themselves a source of pleasure to the reader, but he has had little or no interest in technical innovation'.²⁷²

Rutherford laments that Linklater's own protestations against high mindedness may have caused the academic community to denounce him as 'light entertainment',²⁷³ and he argues that 'at its best' Linklater's 'art mediates a comic vision which by a familiar paradox compels serious (though not solemn) attention'.²⁷⁴

Rutherford continues to defend Linklater through Shakespearean allusion by suggesting that Linklater's work has the same multiplicity as, 'Polonius's complex categories – "tragical – comical – historical – pastoral"; yet the whole range of experience presented, grim or delightful, absurd or pathetic, is assimilated in the rich human comedy'.²⁷⁵ It was not simply Linklater's motivation to create humour that demoted him to mere comedian, but the manner in which he chose his words, preferring as he did clarity over experimentation.

Linklater took inspiration from the words of his Don:

The *little more* in my critical apparatus was a remembered dictum of Professor Jack. 'A writer,' he said, 'should remember his manners, and for a writer the best of good manners is clarity. Clarity is also the debt he owes to his readers.' An admirable piece of advice, and I have tried to follow it. But even clarity has many sorts, from the bi-focal lucidity of Jane Austen to the multi-coloured, church-window-coloured magnificence of Doughty; and I have sometimes been led astray in the matter of illumination by a liking for fine phrases. I drank deeply of the Elizabethan writers, and the fumes of their prodigious eloquence hung in my brain for years. Even the fumes were so agreeable that I had not the heart to let them blow away.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Rutherford, 'Eric Linklater as Comic Novelist', p. 150.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 149.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 160.

²⁷⁶ Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 179.

Yet an age for clarity was past; surrounding *Juan in America* were the great experimental works of Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) and Woolf's *The Waves* (1931). While each of these authors reacted to artistic experiments of the early twentieth century in their own ways, they did have the unifying objective of contorting traditional constraints of written language in order to represent human existence in a way that had not been previously expressed on paper. Furthermore, while Linklater himself was experimenting with reality and notions of truth, he turned away from experimental language construction. Instead, he opted for a linguistic and narrative style based on clarity, which was atypical of some of his contemporaries, and he experimented instead with form, plot and character. In 1951, while preparing for a speech on contemporary literature, Linklater, with the chastising tone of an old school chum, remembers those who chose linguistic experimentation over tradition:

‘It has been a time of experiment,’ I shall tell my audiences [he decided]. ‘Not of absolute achievement – except in Ireland, where Joyce wrote a comic nonesuch – but of delicate trial and scrupulous exploration. A time of doubtful but conscientious authors with no great stomach for life (and who shall blame them?) but very sensitive fingers and sad, percipient gaze.’²⁷⁷

To Linklater, a writer's first priority is clear and concise language. Parnell speaks of Linklater's self-classification: ‘He saw himself as a sculptor, much as in a previous consideration of the matter he had called himself a carpenter, a craftsman, and a tradesman’.²⁷⁸ It was this desire for clarity and accessibility that Rutherford believes kept Linklater from reaching greater esteem:

²⁷⁷ Rutherford, ‘Eric Linklater as Comic Novelist’, p. 152. Note: ‘[he decided]’ added by Rutherford.

²⁷⁸ Parnell, p. 100.

‘He has the courtesy to make his story and his purpose as clear to his reader as labour and talent can achieve; but clarity and courtesy are not typically our present mode. He has, too, the traditional belief in the necessity of a managed story, and in the value of characters whom the reader can accept as credible and whose activities will hold the reader’s interest; but this is not a faith that gets much respect from the intellectual writers of today.’²⁷⁹

Of Linklater, J.B. Priestly stated that ‘the writing is uncommonly good’,²⁸⁰ a phrase with which Parnell agrees but feels that this sentiment was adopted too late by others. Parnell argues: ‘Years later there would be many to acknowledge that he was one of the most stylishly accomplished writers of his generation. Style alone was insufficient, evidently, for the critical establishment never noticed him.’²⁸¹

Linklater’s decision to adopt a traditionally lucid writing style – determinedly avoiding linguistic experimentalism – is not an obstinate disregard for literary trends. Linklater is highly aware of how word usage affects the theme and meaning of story – two elements which are paramount when appropriating such a complex text as *Don Juan* – and he simply did not wish to sully the English language by attempting to adjust it. Moreover, Linklater’s clear writing style may be a direct influence of Byron. Lindsay Waters in ‘The “Desultory Rhyme” of *Don Juan*: Byron, Pulci, and the Improvisatory Style’ (1978) discusses Byron’s admiration of Luigi Pulci’s clear writing style:

[...] the need felt by writers throughout the eighteenth century for a looser, clearer style and an open form which would give room for a writer to let his spirit range. What propelled this need was the concurrently developing belief that an author should place his soul in his work. Byron inherited this need from the eighteenth century.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Rutherford, ‘Eric Linklater as Comic Novelist’, pp. 151-52.

²⁸⁰ J.B. Priestly, *Now and Then*, 38 (Spring 1931) cited by Parnell, p. 100.

²⁸¹ Parnell, p. 100.

²⁸² Lindsay Waters, ‘The “Desultory Rhyme” of *Don Juan*: Byron, Pulci, and the Improvisatory Style’, *ELH*, 45, 3, The Johns Hopkins University Press (Autumn, 1978), p. 429.

For Byron did not completely fit with the Romantic period; in fact, of Byron it has been said that, ‘Byron was labeled as an eighteenth-century poet surviving in Romantic circumstances’.²⁸³

Much like Byron, Linklater too did not feel that he belonged to the movements of his generation, and he used his novels to scoff at those who approached literature in a different manner than he did. In *Magnus Merriman*, Linklater chastised the post-war poets, especially Eliot:

The poets of the post-war world were fairly united in their belief that poetry, to be poetical, must be unrhythmical, unrhymed and unintelligible: and by these standards their output was of a high order. Their leader was the American Eliot, who by incorporating in his verse, with frolic wilfulness, tags from half the literatures of the world, had become popular in more than strictly intellectual circles for the likeness of his work to a superior parlour-game called ‘Spot the Allusion’ or ‘Favourite Quotations.’²⁸⁴

Yet it was not only Byron that Linklater emulated, as Linklater held Ben Jonson in high regard, and Jonson also mocked his peers through caricature. In *Ben Jonson and King James*, Linklater advocates Jonson’s style of peer-based satire:

A poor man called Munday, a City poet employed in writing pageants and such, seemed to Ben to be cheapening the holy vehicle of verse by using it for shoddy wares, and as a convenient means of rebuke Ben added a caricature of Munday to the revision of the play. [...] all Ben’s subsequent attacks on bad poets and stupid people were in a like manner to be occasioned by his hatred of their stupidity and their literary heresies, rather than by hatred of themselves. And if the poets and the fools failed to recognize this fine distinction, or would not be divorced from either frailties, that was their misfortune and not Ben’s fault.²⁸⁵

Following suit, Linklater uses his texts to lambast several of his contemporaries, especially those who ignore the importance of clearly constructed prose. The character of the King in

²⁸³ Bernard Beatty, ‘Byron and the eighteenth century’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Byron*, ed. by Drummond Bone (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.236 - 248 (p.236).

²⁸⁴ Linklater, *Magnus Merriman*, Canongate Classics, p. 56.

²⁸⁵ Linklater, *Ben Jonson and King James: Biography and Portrait*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1931, repr. 1932), p. 66.

The Revolution (1934), a series of short stories that satirise early twentieth century revolutions, is a conduit for Linklater's own diatribe on the state of literary affairs prior to the Second World War. In a conversation with the fictional revolutionary Jean Paris, the King denounces modern writers:

‘I have the greatest affection for Cervantes and Mozart, for Daumier, Moliere, and Jane Austen. For Goya, and Stendhal. For Gil Blas and most of Bach. For Gibbon and the Arabian Nights and Vanity Fair. But artists must die—even more than other people they require death—for death buries the dull ones and preserves the interesting ones.’

[Jean Paris] ‘But the younger writers in Baltland, and the artists who showed their work in the New Gallery, were eager, striving, and –’

‘And dull. None of them had the ability to use his art as a plaything: they had to support it with a grim expression, an earnest theory, and a prodigious amount of explanation.’²⁸⁶

Satirising literatures that need ‘a prodigious amount of explanation’ is a regular aspect of Linklater texts, and there will be a particular discussion of Linklater's characterisation of T.S. Eliot and Hugh MacDiarmid later in this investigation. By chastising authors who prescribe to a particular style, Linklater is taking a mocking tone that is similar to that of Byron. Yet, at the time *Juan in America* was written, and despite all the similarities and influences, Linklater's satirical tone was lighter and quite different from that of Byron.²⁸⁷ Linklater was not simply mimicking Byron; instead, he relied on his own talents and ‘ability’ to create a text that was inspired by the Master while still unique.

Just as some critics saw *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* as the first work to truly highlight Byron's ability, many believe *Juan in America* is the first novel to indicate Linklater's ability. While *White Maa's Saga* was called an ‘awkward attempt at a novel’²⁸⁸ by Andrew

²⁸⁶ Linklater, *The Revolution* (London: The White Owl Press, 1934), p. 71.

²⁸⁷ For a further discussion of Linklater's Horatian style in comparison with Byron's Juvenalian form go to subsection ‘Pushing the Satire Forward: Temperament and Motivation’ on page 118.

²⁸⁸ Rutherford, ‘Eric Linklater as Comic Novelist’, p. 150.

Rutherford and while *Poet's Pub* did carry some delightful satiric quips and was a text-book farce showing Linklater's capability to understand and manipulate comic genres, *Juan in America* was to be his true satiric debut. In fact, until the release of *Magnus Merriman* and then *Private Angelo* in 1946, Eric Linklater was remembered as the author of *Juan in America* above many of his other publications. When he ran for Parliamentary by-election, and the Scottish newspapers began noting his public appearances, he was not introduced as an author of several novels, poems and prose, but 'author of "Juan in America" and a former editor of the Aberdeen's students' magazine, *Alma Mater*',²⁸⁹ thus giving greater significance to his student publications instead of his other published work. One early reviewer noted that Linklater would long be remembered for *Juan in America*: 'his chronicle of Juan's escapades will be gratefully remembered for its ingenuity, its admirable descriptive writing, and its mordant, laughter-provoking wit.'²⁹⁰

The controversy surrounding Byron and his epic poem – the critical jibes, the questionable content, the author's celebrity lifestyle – was clearly an influence upon Linklater; however, the impetus for the satirical nature of Linklater's work did not necessarily fall in line with the Byronesque style. Both authors held very different mindsets regarding the creation of satire and the reason for its existence. Whether the author has the 'ability' to successfully create a satire is often a matter of taste and history; whereas an author's 'temperament' and 'motivation' for writing, while no less difficult to interpret, create very specific forms of satire.

²⁸⁹ 'Wireless Programmes: Home and Foreign Stations', *The Scotsman* (6 April 1932), p. 17.

²⁹⁰ 'New Fiction', *The Scotsman* (March 26 1931), p. 2.

Pushing the Satire Forward: Temperament and Motivation

For many poets such vehement and contradictory reviews would have pushed the artist into seclusion, but for Byron negative opinion guided his satires forward. Byron's *Don Juan* took a Juvenalian form which may be attributed to his hostile temperament and motivation for social revenge. In this epic poem, Byron lambasted peers, society, government, and even the dead. However, *Don Juan* is not solely Juvenalian, as dual forms of satire are apparent in the poem and can be attributed to the various motivations he had for writing *Don Juan*. Upon further inspection, moments of joviality and a need to describe the wonderful oddities of life outweighed the angry satiric aside, allowing the poem to equally share a Horatian stance with the more aggressive Juvenalian form. The Horatian form does refer to the plain style, as already noted; however, it can also be defined as a type of satire that embodies a 'genuine love of comedy and the oddities of life' and a 'gently derisory, essentially comic ridicule of persons or ideas.'²⁹¹ These two types of satiric form sit side-by-side in *Don Juan*, and how Linklater interpreted the satiric multiplicity of the original text will illuminate the nature of *Juan in America*.

Beaty suggests that Byron's 'temperament' motivated him to write satire with 'the desire to wreak vengeance for a real or imagined wrong done him in the desire to improve society by exposing to public shame its follies and vices',²⁹² and 'Exposing to public shame its follies and vices' is a fairly standard definition of 'satire'.²⁹³ What is interesting is Byron's 'desire to wreak vengeance' for these 'wrongs'.

²⁹¹ 'Horatian satire' in *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, p. 387.

²⁹² Beaty, p. 4.

²⁹³ 'A poem, or in modern use sometimes a prose composition, in which prevailing vices or follies are held up to ridicule.' *'Satire' in *Oxford English Dictionary Online* <<http://dictionary.oed.com>> [accessed 7 April 2010].

Beaty describes what he believes to be Byron's purpose for writing the satiric *Don Juan*, by suggesting that Byron's 'satiric tendencies' 'gave impetus to its composition', and that the more naysayers acted to prevent publication the more Byron felt the need to create a satire – or as Beaty remarks, felt the impetus to 'provide corrective medicine'.²⁹⁴ This is apparent not only in the retracted Dedication but also throughout the poem. Canto III digresses from the narrative in order to satirise Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge:

All are not moralists, like Southey, when
 He prated to the world of 'Pantisocracy';
 Or Wordsworth, unexcised, unhired, who then
 Season'd his pedlar poems with democracy;
 Or Coleridge, long before his flighty pen
 Let to the Morning Post its aristocracy;
 When he and Southey, following the same path,
 Espoused two partners (milliners of Bath). [III: 93]²⁹⁵

He continues for two more stanzas before suggesting that he return to the narrative: 'But let me to my story: I must own, / If I have any fault, it is digression—'. [III: 96, 1-2]²⁹⁶

These satiric digressions were not limited to the living. Despite rivalry while alive, after Keats' death Leigh Hunt noted that Keats had admired *Don Juan*. At the time there had been an implausible rumour circulating that Keats had died of a bad review, and in canto XI Byron steps away from the narrative to satirise both his dead peer and the rumoured method of his death. This Keats aside could be read as a whimsical eulogy mocking the silliness of death by bad review, or could be Byron's final word in a long term spat:

²⁹⁴ Beaty, p. 104.

²⁹⁵ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 514.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

John Keats, who was kill'd off by one critique,
 Just as he really promised something great,
 If not intelligible, – without Greek
 Contrived to talk about the Gods of late,
 Much as they might have been supposed to speak.
 Poor fellow! His was an untoward fate: –
 'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
 Should let itself be snuff'd out by an Article. [XI: 60] ²⁹⁷

Furthermore, it was not only specific individuals who found the sharp end of Byron's pen, but also entire governments. Byron steps outside of the narrative to expound on political beliefs. Sixteen unnumbered stanzas in the third canto express Byron's political beliefs on the state of Greece as a 'slave' society within the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, *Don Juan* as a method of poetic vengeance was not limited to specific people or actions of government, but also lambasted entire cultures. Byron believed that English society expected him to conform to a Puritanical morality, and the further they pushed Byron to adhere to 'bourgeois' English concepts of society, the more he felt 'that England needed his expositions of truth'.²⁹⁸ Byron's temperament thus motivated him to use his writing to comment on the society he felt had slandered him:

Indeed the pharisaical reviewers who condemned *Don Juan* offered an illustration of precisely what Byron was attacking in British society, as well as an explanation why he suddenly ceased to be the poetical idol of his day. Since he was determined to conciliate his opposition only enough to permit publication of *Don Juan*, an account of his struggles toward that end reveals the degree to which he valued his satiric purpose.²⁹⁹

This anger towards an establishment that hindered the less than socially-acceptable lifestyle that Byron chose to live can be found in several passages of *Don Juan*, most specifically the English cantos. Cantos XIII through XVI provide ample proof of Byron's lambasting wit; as

²⁹⁷ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 735.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 104.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 104.

Don Juan takes court in England, Byron uses the setting and the characters to represent the English lifestyle he found so restrictive. Yet, Byron mocks society without necessarily shattering the glass that shows his own face. Placing himself outside the landed class, while still finding repugnance in his own place within the aristocracy, the author is not even excused from his own vengeful satire. J. Michael Robertson observes that in canto XIV ‘the poet speaks of “them” and “they” in reference to the bored aristocrats, but suddenly, at the beginning of the eighteenth stanza, he changes person, but not tense, to suggest, half-nostalgically, half boastfully, that he is still a member of the society that he deplors.’³⁰⁰

As was previously noted, in *Magnus Merriman* Linklater chides Eliot for creating works that flagrantly utilise classical reference, by suggesting the game of ‘Spot the Allusion’. However, *Magnus Merriman* – along with most of Linklater’s texts – include numerous references to Latin and Greek mythology, thus slightly mimicking Byron’s often self-deprecating tone and celebrating the hypocritical ability to mock others for what he himself does. Such a string of literary mythological references appearing in *Magnus Merriman* are as follows in alphabetical order: Aeneas, Ajax, the Amazons, the ancient Athenians, Atlanta, the Boeotians, Cincinnatus, Demeter, Diana, Dido, Dionysius, Freyia, Halicarnassus, Helen, Hera, Hippolyte, Longinus, Nineveh, Ossa, Ossian, Paris, the Parthians, Pococurante, Priam, Roland, Romeo, and Thetis.³⁰¹ In addition, the text includes various passages written in French, Latin and Greek, and nods to authors such as Blake, Racine, Shakespeare and

³⁰⁰ J. Michael Robertson, ‘Aristocratic Individualism in Byron’s Don Juan’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900 (Nineteenth Century)*, 12, 4, (Autumn 1977) p. 640.

³⁰¹ Linklater, *Magnus Merriman*: (in order of appearance in the text) Ossian p 13 and 163, Aeneas p. 14, Dido p. 14, Romeo p. 22, Ajax p. 22 and 121, Priam p. 22, Roland p. 22, the ancient Athenians p. 54, Nineveh p. 99, Pococurante p. 101, the Parthians p. 103, Demeter p. 103, Diana p. 114, Atlanta p. 114, Hippolyte p. 114, the Amazons p. 114, Hera p. 121, Helen p. 121, Paris p. 121, Thetis p. 163, Freyia p. 163, the Boeotians p. 165, Longinus p. 225, Dionysius p. 225, Halicarnassus p. 225, Ossa p. 249 and Cincinnatus p. 284.

Voltaire. Linklater has created a text that disagrees with Eliot on terms of structure and clarity while imitating the poet's sense of allusion.

Linklater is less obvious about his own literary hypocrisy in *Juan in America*. Unlike his other texts, such as *Poet's Pub* and *Magnus Merriman*, where the protagonist is an author, Linklater limits the character's authorial skills in *Juan in America* to Lalage – the mysterious woman for whom Motley searches, to discover her living on an island in a swamp secretly typing her manuscript. Instead, *Juan in America* satirises contemporary literature in the play *Black Bread*,³⁰² which is mocked for its representation of post-war experimental theatre:

Black Bread was the sensation of New York. Its author, Knut Blennem, was recognized to be the leader in histrionic innovation and the adaptation of stage practice to modern theory. [...] For this play was to-day's asseveration of its powers, and before such powers as these it was clear that the so-called Immortals of yesterday were nothing but flops, flour-flushers, and false alarms.³⁰³

Linklater, in detail, takes three and a half pages to describe the play, at one point highlighting the play's 'endless confessions of his characters.'³⁰⁴ As previously noted, the *Juan in America* narrator seamlessly slips into the mind of Motley thus allowing the readers to hear Motley's internal thoughts and confessions. In a much more subtle way than he had done in *Magnus Merriman*, *Juan in America* ridicules a literary style only to use that very element he mocks.

Of course, not all satiric representations in either *Don Juan* or *Juan in America* involve a self-derogatory element. In fact, *Don Juan* presents much of the ugliness of life and humanity. For example, the shipwreck scene in canto II portrays survival as a force that outweighs sentimentality. Juan gave up his beloved pet as food for members of the life boat,

³⁰² A discussion of *Black Bread* as a representation of theatre and play writes as Linklater witnessed it in America can be found on page 174.

³⁰³ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 80-81.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

and when that does not provide ample sustenance cannibalism is required.³⁰⁵ Byron depicts humanity at its most desperate and vile, yet he still manages to find humour for the ending couplet:

The sailors ate him, all save three or four,
 Who were not quite so fond of animal food;
 To these were added Juan, who, before
 Refusing his own spaniel, hardly could
 Feel now his appetite increase much more;
 ‘Twas not to be expected that he should,
 Even in the extremity of their disaster,
 Dine with them on his pastor and his master. [II: 78]³⁰⁶

This single example of a comically written ‘depraved act’,³⁰⁷ justified by survival, is indicative of the conflicts between the grotesque and the humorous found in *Don Juan*. Byron uses his epic poem to not only mock specific people, movements, and governments, but he also holds up a glass to humanity through the Juvenalian form. By interspersing humour with negative aspects of humanity, the depraved and grotesque nature of the text is tempered. However, this does not make the text less horrific, and by placing the degenerate next to the sublime, the scene becomes more horrific.

Beaty suggests that Byron is a comedic Gemini, claiming that he holds two temperaments and motivations. While he uses his texts as a source of vengeance, he also holds a second natural predisposition – one in which he has a:

³⁰⁵ Peter Kitson argues that the cannibalism in canto II was based on the accounts of the *Medusa* wreck in 1819 as well as Sir J. G. Dalryell's *Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea* (1812), ‘which contains several accounts of sailors resorting to cannibalism, depicted as a last resort.’* This is not only an example of a horrific scene that uses both Juvenalian and Horatian satires, but it also highlights Byron’s propensity for finding inspiration in historical events. *Peter J. Kitson, “‘The Eucharist of Hell’; or, Eating People is Right: Romantic Representations of Cannibalism’, *Romanticism on the Net*, 17 (2000) <<http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2000/v/n17/005892ar.html> > [accessed 7 May 2010] (para. 16 of 58).

³⁰⁶ Byron, ‘Don Juan’, p. 453.

³⁰⁷ In 1819, Murray, Kinnaird, Crabbe and Hobhouse deemed *Don Juan* as ‘depraved’, cited in Marchand, p. 99.

[...] strong sense of the comic and a refusal to tolerate wrongs. He often delighted in laughter for its own sake, without any malice, tendentiousness, or the wish to humble someone else. The unalloyed pleasure he derived from verbal wit, the incongruities of everyday life, and humorous anecdotes concerning people he had never known [...]³⁰⁸

Beaty is suggesting that *Don Juan* is as light hearted as it is vengeful. This duality was immediately noted in the reviews. Leigh Hunt, nineteenth century English essayist, stated after reading canto I:

Don Juan contains specimens of all of the author's modes of writing, which were mingled together and push one another about in a strange way. The ground-word (if we may so speak of a stile) is the satirical and humourous; but you are sometimes surprised and moved by a touching piece of human nature, and again startled and pained by the sudden transition from loveliness or grandeur to ridicule or the mock-heroic.³⁰⁹

So while Byron easily blends the grotesque with the comic, he also uses two different forms of satire. Beaty continues to suggest that while Byron sometimes separates his satires between vengeance (Juvenalian) and tendentiousness (Horatian), it is when the two are used together that he is truly successful. As Byron switches motivations – to avenge or to tease – he highlights the laughable nature of his peers, governments, cultures and humanity, thus creating a single comedic style: the Byronic satire. However, where Byron mirrored, mocked, distorted and wreaked vengeance upon society, Linklater takes a much more gentle approach. Where Byron strove to interweave several forms and tones, Linklater worked with this multi-layered text to create a version that held a single form. Where Byron strove to create tension within the very nature of the text's existence, Linklater acted to eliminate that conflict. *Juan in America* does not attempt to rectify society, hold a mirror up to the grotesque, or act as a means of revenge; instead he finds humour in the oddities of life and culture, thus making it

³⁰⁸ Beaty, p. 3.

³⁰⁹ Leigh Hunt, 'from his unsigned review of Cantos I and II', *Examine* (31 October 1819), pp. 700-2 repr. in Rutherford, *Lord Byron: The Critical Heritage*, p. 174.

not a Juvenalian form of satire – or even a dual form of both Juvenalian and Horatian – but a Horatian form.

Interestingly, *Juan in America*'s narrative often combines the more negative aspects of American life with the quaint but odd, which offers plenty of opportunity for a mixture of the Juvenalian and Horatian forms. However, Linklater always stops short, never quite branching to combine dual satiric forms as did Byron.³¹⁰ In *Juan in America*, Motley was mugged but not forced to kill, and Motley does not stumble upon a man who *has been* lynched, but a man who is *about to be* lynched. Motley then rescues the man, and they are whisked away in a convertible. The gangsters destroy a club with machine gun bullets, with the only fatality being a fish. However, it is not necessarily the narrative that places the novel outside the harsher realm of satire. Parnell eloquently states that Linklater's voice and tone pushes the malice from the text: '[...] he extends and concentrates the horrors, until, perhaps, the very weight of descriptions counters any possible response of pity on the reader's part'.³¹¹ In order to highlight Linklater's ability to remove the grotesque from humanity and replace it with impartiality, Parnell goes on to reference a piece from the prologue which discusses the great death toll caused by small pox in a small village:

Pitted and perforated like honeycomb was the row of faces that gathered at last in the vicarage pew to give thanks for their delivery. As tunelessly they sang their hymns it seemed that the pious sound escaped from a score of orifices in each pockmarked visage.³¹²

³¹⁰ One can find satiric dichotomy in *The Impregnable Women* (1938), where he moves from tenderness to a more malicious form of humour. By the publication of *Private Angelo* in 1946 he blends the two satiric forms seamlessly as does Byron. Over the course of his novels, a slow progression occurs, moving from a gentle mocking of friends to a more severe chastising of society. This is not only indicative of a changing world, but also shows his evolution as an author.

³¹¹ Parnell, p. 113.

³¹² *Juan in America* cited in Parnell, p. 125.

Linklater recreates a village which is nearly destroyed by smallpox, thus giving one of Motley's ancestors a disfigurement caused by the disease. Conversely, Linklater does not go into sentimental detail, instead he removes from the event its horrific nature, and uses it as a 'by-the-way' setting of the stage. Compare this to Byron, who in canto I sets the stage with historic significance; however, Byron's description holds far more malice:

'Tis said the great came from America;
 Perhaps it may set out on its return;
 The population there so spreads, they say
 'Tis grown high time to thin it in its turn,
 With war, or plague, or famine, any way,
 So that civilization they may learn,
 And which in ravage the more loathsome evil is,
 Their real lues, or our pseudo-syphilis.

This is the patent-age of new inventions
 For killing bodies, and for saving souls,
 All propagated with the best intentions;
 Sir Humphrey Davy's lantern, by which coals
 Are safely mined for in the mode he mentions,
 Tombuctoo travels, voyages to the Poles,
 Are ways to benefit mankind, as true,
 Perhaps, as shooting them at Waterloo. [I: 131-132]³¹³

Byron's stanzas directly reference and lambast mankind's misery, almost reminiscent of Swift, who places humour and aggression with equal measure. Linklater's journalistic approach to the unfortunate consequences of being human does not match Byron's more aggressive tone. Linklater, instead of recreating scenes of misery holding the mirror back to humanity exposing to the world the horrors of itself, *Juan in America* has a voice of calmness with a bit of joviality. When creating scenes of misery, he takes the stance of a bystander – perhaps reminiscent of his days as a journalist – and does not recreate the Gemini face that Byron mastered in *Don Juan*.

³¹³ Byron, 'Don Juan', pp. 410-11.

At this point in his career, Linklater's temperament did not hold a dual form, meaning that *Juan in America* did not, as did Byron, mix a genuine love of comedy and the oddities of life with a desire to rectify seeming wrongs. Linklater did not follow Byron by using malevolent means that invoke a feeling of *schadenfreude*. Instead Linklater focused primarily on the oddities of life and the depiction of a culture. Linklater, this early in his career, had not mastered the ability to create horror from humour – something he does quite well in his war novels.³¹⁴

Concluding the Comparison: Adaptation or Appropriation?

In this thesis, allusions, intertextual references, narrative form, genre, plot, protagonists, narrators, authorial abilities, motivations, temperaments, and satirical styles have all been compared. Therefore, ample information has been provided in order to make an informed decision regarding the nature of *Juan in America*'s appropriative relationship with *Don Juan*. As discussed in Chapter One's analysis of appropriation theory, and including concepts initiated by Hutcheon, Wagner and Sanders, appropriations are less explicitly linked to the source material than an adaptation. Furthermore, appropriations often have a relationship that is more entrenched in the ethos of the original text. In order to understand if *Juan in America* is an adaptation, or an appropriation, it is appropriate to revisit Hutcheon, Wagner and Sander's theories, beginning with the latter.

Sanders argues that the appropriator must not only recognise that he/she is rewriting a text, but that the reader (or spectator) must also distinguish the similarities and difference

³¹⁴ See footnote 310.

between the texts being invoked. Sanders states: ‘the connected interplay of expectation and surprise, [...] lies at the heart of the experience of adaptation and appropriation.’³¹⁵ Linklater certainly gives his readership the option to interact with the appropriation, encouraging them to guess which parts have been adapted from Byron’s text, which are fictions, and which are based on autobiographic experiences. In fact, the allusions and references to the source text in the Prologue of *Juan in America* push *Don Juan* to the forefront of the readers’ minds, so that even if the novel is not an extended retelling of Byron’s epic poem, the reader is already interacting with both the appropriated and the appropriator. Additionally, *Don Juan* is a literary legend, one that has existed in the public psyche for several centuries. Of this, Sanders states that particular forms of source material, such as myth, fairy tale, and folklore ‘which by their very nature depend on a communality of understanding’³¹⁶ must be adapted so that they are still discernable to ‘cross-cultural, often cross-historical’ readerships. If Linklater had not included the Prologue and given his protagonist a name other than Juan, it is likely that only the more literary readers would recognise the Byronic references. Instead, because Linklater announces and even emphasises the novel’s relationship with *Don Juan*, even those unfamiliar with Byron’s epic poem still make the connection between the two texts due to the almost mythic nature of the Don Juan tale. Linklater cleverly created a deliberate allusion to *Don Juan* early in *Juan in America*. In doing so, Linklater expressly informed the reader that he was rewriting a popular work of fiction, without yet proving that he had done so. Additionally, Linklater does this without deferring to a fidelity discourse.

However, even a direct mention of *Don Juan* does not make *Juan in America* an adaptation. As was stated earlier by Sanders, adaptations are clearly signalled while

³¹⁵ Sanders, p. 25.

³¹⁶ Ibid., p. 45.

appropriations ‘may occur in far less straightforward context than is evident’.³¹⁷ Furthermore, the relationship between *Don Juan* and *Juan in America* must extend further than a name and clues in the Prologue. In fact, it is here that Wagner’s thesis on the process of adaptation is helpful.

Wagner argues for three stages in the adaptation process. Firstly, he states that first the source material is transposed to its new medium; then the source text is altered in some form, and finally the new text departs from the original and becomes its own entity.³¹⁸ Using Wagner’s theories, Linklater’s process of adaptation can be imagined. First Linklater did not rewrite the story as an epic poem but chose to give it a new form – the novel. Then as he wrote the story of Juan Motley, other appropriated elements were incorporated (life, culture, memory, etc.), thus altering it from the original until it departs from the source text and becomes its own entity. This process seems quite realistic and plausible, but it is actually no different than appropriating any form into another. For example, Linklater met a man who had a degree in mortuary science. Linklater took a representation of the man and put it into a work of fiction (changing the form from a memory to the written word), then he added different details, until this appropriated person becomes a new entity – a fictitious character. While, Wagner explains the process of appropriation, he does not evaluate the outcome.

It is here we turn to Hutcheon, who argues that all adaptations must adhere to three criteria in order to be classified as an ‘adaptation’: all adaptations must have an

³¹⁷ Sanders, p. 26.

³¹⁸ Wagner, p. 231.

‘acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works’, be ‘a creative *and* interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging’, and act as ‘an *extended* intertextual engagement with the adapted work.’³¹⁹ The first two principles have been discussed using Sanders’ and Wagner’s ideas: we know that *Juan in America* is a recognisable appropriation of *Don Juan*, and we know that Linklater actively interpreted Byron’s poem in a creative manner. What remains unclear is whether or not *Juan in America* is an *extended* intertextual engagement with the adapted work.

Linklater’s novel most certainly has an intertextual engagement with *Don Juan*, which was established in the Prologue and title, but is this engagement extended? Referencing Chapter Two’s investigation of plot points, protagonists, narrator, narrative form, and satirical style, it is fair to suggest that there are not enough similarities between the two works. Byron’s poem is an epic, while Linklater’s novel is a picaresque. Both Don Juan and Juan Motley are Byronic heroes, but where the former matures the latter character remains stagnant. There are a few adapted scenes in *Juan in America*, such as Lalage’s island and Motley being cast out to sea, but the rest are little more than referential allusions. Even Byron and Linklater’s satirical styles are different, each having different motivations and a very different temperament. Byron’s desire to wreak vengeance when necessary and right wrongs leads him to use a combination of Horatian and Juvenalian satirical forms, while Linklater is more interested in reporting the oddities of life in a Horatian manner. Granted there are similarities in the two texts – most notably both authors’ use of the plain style – but after a thorough comparison more differences occur than similarities. *Juan in America* does not have an extended intertextual engagement with *Don Juan*; therefore it is not an adaptation.

³¹⁹ Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation*, p. 8.

Nonetheless, *Juan in America* is deeply influenced by Byron's work and much of the text – as well as the persona that Linklater built for himself – pays homage to Byron, and therefore it can be argued that Linklater's novel is an intertextual appropriation. Sanders argues that appropriations take a more 'decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain.'³²⁰ Linklater appropriates Byron's work, along with elements of life, memory, culture and history, in order to create his own cultural product. In fact, the appropriation of life, memory, the universe and everything was influenced by Byron, who wrote in a similar manner. So, while the question, 'What appropriative relationship exists between *Juan in America* and *Don Juan*' has been analysed and answered, it is not the end of this study's interaction with Byron. As Linklater interprets and appropriates life around him, he continues to use Byron as his guide.

³²⁰ Sanders, p. 26.

**CHAPTER THREE:
Raw Materials: State of Society and Literary Traditions**

Gerald Bullett's review of *Juan in America* aptly states the importance of the 'raw materials' in the novel: 'For the true subject of the book is not Juan at all, but modern America, in all its most comic and sensational aspects.'³²¹ Parnell also states the importance of America in the text, and the satiric nature in which Linklater represents American culture: '[...] while the Byronic inspiration is undeniable, it might be felt that Eric's attitude is less severe and more accepting, more prepared to enjoy what he sees than his predecessor'.³²² The Horatian form most certainly shines in this novel:

Juan has the eyes through which the reader sees North America, but the perceptions are mediated through an attitude more ready to celebrate than to censure. There are moments where serious points are made tellingly with dry economy or with a kind of romantic grandeur, but there is no personal animus. Authorial comment is lacking; it would be superfluous when the characters are allowed so skilfully to say and do the things by which their folly is manifest.³²³

Linklater regularly discusses his affection for the American people: 'There was, in the United States, a notable difference between its history and its people. Its history – the record of its government – had been clumsy, intractable, and covetous; its people – or those whom one met – were congenial, broad-minded, and generous beyond measure.'³²⁴ He additionally admits to writing the novel with a sense of the 'philamerican'.³²⁵ Much of the Horatian style is based around the fact that Linklater was able to make a separation between the American people and

³²¹ Bullett, p. 704.

³²² Parnell, p. 108.

³²³ Ibid., p. 109.

³²⁴ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 102.

³²⁵ Ibid., p. 109.

their government: '[...] though I disliked the government of the United States – its history and continuing practice – I should not reprehend it; for it was my great and permanent benefactor. Writers, it may be, have always owed more to bad governments than to good ones.'³²⁶ His wit regarding the American culture was light and at times even self-deprecating towards the English, but his attitude with the American government – while still not as angry or venomous as Byron – did hold a stronger tone. Parnell explains:

His close attention to American politics while he was resident there shows a sharply critical but more gently satiric mind at work, for he was grateful and affectionately disposed towards his hosts and could not by nature help but see the funny side of things.³²⁷

With *Juan in America* written in living memory of the Emancipation Proclamation, Linklater uses President Lincoln as an example of the American paradox, 'the most agreeable of men in private life, had, as President, waged war at the cost of a million lives to preserve a democratic union which denied freedom of decision to the states of the union'.³²⁸ He then goes on to list the American government's history of war for the benefit of profit, yet ends with, 'but the people of America – or those with whom one became friendly – were honourable men, blissfully indiscreet, and lenient to error with the leniency of native magnanimity.'³²⁹

As noted by Beaty, a satirist works with 'his native ability, his motivation, his temperament, and the raw material – such as the state of society and the traditions of literature', and unlike Byron who used fiction to protest the 'state of society', Linklater's temperament and motivation helped him to view fiction almost as an ethnographical report.

³²⁶ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 103.

³²⁷ Parnell, p. 86.

³²⁸ Linklater, *Fan Fare Tin Hat*, p. 102.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Juan in America is part fictionalised travelogue and part anthropological study, and in many ways it more accurately matches the tone of the grand tour as found in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* than it does *Don Juan*. The text is a reflection of how Linklater interpreted the 'raw materials' gathered while travelling in America.

Linklater was not new to travel and was familiar with the landscape of Byron's *Don Juan*, yet he decided to forego a literal translation of Byron's setting. With Europe not long recovering from the War and much of the Continent in political flux, the Europe of *Don Juan* would have been quite different from the Europe and England of Linklater's experiences. Nevertheless, the size, cultural diversity, exoticism, and prosperous age of America in the 1920s would have provided a more entertaining option. In addition, as Byron drew from the landscape and a world that he experienced, Linklater's two years in the United States supplied ample inspiration for the modern Juan. In his first autobiography, Linklater states that he wrote *Juan in America* 'salted with a genial and quizzical satire'³³⁰ and suggests that sentimentality guided him to see the country with a feeling of innocent naivety. This naivety is not simply a recreation of the author, but a representation of a society. Linklater wrote *Juan in America* having witnessed the violent trenches of World War One and the disappointment of an Empire breaking apart, but in America these things could be, predominantly, ignored or replaced with youthful innocence. Parnell describes the manner in which Linklater approached writing about the United States: '[...] the United States bowled him over; the place and the people provided a cornucopia of impressions on which his creative faculties were richly nourished.'³³¹ Parnell continues:

³³⁰ Linklater, *Fan Fare Tin Hat*, p. 184.

³³¹ Parnell, p. 82.

Eric was both surprised and delighted with the wondrous details of the American scene, the vivid eccentricities of their version of spoken English, the dirtiness and naivety of the Presidential election campaign then in progress, the idiocies of Prohibition, the vigour, charm and oddity of the people he met.³³²

Byron would have taken this innocence and mocked it unrelentingly. In canto X,

Byron ironically talks about the bountiful nature of youth:

Young people at his time of life should be able
 To come off handsomely in that regard.
 He was now growing up like a green tree, able
 For love, war, or ambition, which reward
 Their luckier votaries, till old age's tedium
 Make some prefer the circulating medium.

About this time, as might have been anticipated,
 Seduced by youth and dangerous examples,
 Don Juan grew, I fear, a little dissipated; [X: 22, 3-8 and 23, 1-3]³³³

Superficially, Don Juan and Juan Motley may seem similar: youthful and impetuous.

However, where Byron ironically calls attention to the bold nature of being young, Linklater's Juan Motley honours the life of youthful dissipation. Linklater predominately treats the American psyche in the same manner one would treat a favourite nephew – with a pat on the head and a polite laugh.

In his first autobiography Linklater dedicates the chapter 'The Great Romantics'³³⁴ to his time in America. This chapter is similar to *Juan in America*, not only highlighting the autobiographical quality of the novel, but describing his host country with a fresh outlook. A man who had seen much of the world found himself almost as a babe witnessing life for the

³³² Parnell, p. 83.

³³³ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 704.

³³⁴ This chapter makes a connection between Byron's radical lifestyle and the new American youth culture.

first time – both he and the setting had a fresh character to it: ‘We were in a foreign land. Manners and ethic and the interpretation of history were different. We stood not merely upon alien soil, but in another dimension of the world.’³³⁵ So while Linklater paints Motley with a hint of irony, hoping the reader will shake his/her head while laughing, much of the sentimentality of the novel is truthful.

State of Society: Representations of history, memory and culture

Linklater treated history as a tool for creating fiction, and a backdrop on which to highlight interesting characters. His temperament for empathy is in stark contrast to Byron’s much angrier undertone. With a sense of the historic and the autobiographic, the previous war, the Depression, the Eighteenth Amendment, India, and the zeitgeist of a late 1920s America are put on display in a manner that is sentimental and naïve, but still written in a voice that was influenced by Byron’s original derisive poem. It is also interesting that, despite witnessing a country with a strong dichotomy between its culture and its government, Linklater chose to not recreate this duality. Linklater’s voice when discussing politics is strong, yet not derisive. He maintains the Horatian form, and does not follow Byron’s lead by creating a satire that mixes love with anger. The following section will investigate Linklater’s representations of society in a 1920s America, as well as its many autobiographic references.

Negating the Present: The Crash the Never Happened

In a Foreword to the Capuchin Classics edition of *Juan in America*, Linklater’s grandson, Alexander Linklater, discusses the manner in which the novel was written:

³³⁵ Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 184.

He arrived in 1929 with the maniacal energy of prohibition in full swing, not long before the Wall Street crash and the onset of the great depression.

The novel Eric wrote while he was there is set in the year before the crash, a period when the United States had emerged as a great power but was still sufficiently unfamiliar to British eyes to be truly astonishing.³³⁶

Linklater arrived in America in October of 1928 and left in April of 1930, and while no specific date is attached to the novel, it presents a country at the height of its power, in a time without economic tragedy. While the bubble of a 1920s America is the setting for the text, by the time it was published in March of 1931 the Depression³³⁷ was beginning to be felt in America. While the 24 October 1929 Stock Market Crash did not cause the economic turmoil in the United States that lasted for over ten years, the Crash was the first indicator that times were seriously changing. The Depression was not an immediate occurrence, and some of the worst reports of unemployment would not occur until the mid-1930s. However, even though the effects of the Depression were not felt immediately, Linklater witnessed a major historic event. He arrived in America during the height of the country's prosperity; he was in America on Black Friday, and by the time *Juan in America* was published the country's Gross National Product fell 30.5 percent. Also, between the end of 1929 to the end of 1930, production fell 36 percent, which led to unemployment, particularly in the manufacturing sector, causing noticeable poverty in the areas of the country that relied on factories for work.³³⁸ Moreover,

³³⁶ Alexander Linklater, 'Foreword' in *Juan in America*, by Eric Linklater (London: Capuchin Classics, 2008).

³³⁷ Hoover, who is often attributed to naming the event, did not begin calling it the Great Depression until the fall of 1931, but it has been argued that the term existed prior to Hoover. For matters of simplicity, this investigation shall use the term 'Depression' for the economic downturn that occurred in America between 1929 and the start of World War Two. *Noah Mendel, 'When Did the Great Depression Receive Its Name? (And who Named It?)', George Mason University's History News Network (14 February 2009) <<http://hnn.us/articles/61931.html>> [accessed 10 September 2011].

³³⁸ Gene Smiley, 'Great Depression' in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics* (Library of Economic and Libery, 2008) <<http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/GreatDepression.html>> [accessed 10 September 2011].

between March and December of 1930, shares in New York and Chicago banks declined more than 41 percent,³³⁹ which would have been reported in the papers.

Linklater may not have been in America during the Great Dust Bowl, or when the shanty towns began appearing across the country, but he was in America during one of its most tumultuous economic moments. He witnessed a country changing, a country worried for its future, and a nation waking from a dream of prosperity which it had previously thought would never end. The novel makes one mention of economic change. When Motley meets Mr. Spooth, the undertaker, he asks him ‘how business was in the undertaking line.’ Mr. Spooth responds with, “‘It’s good,” said Mr. Spooth in a tone of solemn satisfaction. “Yes, *good*. I hear other professional men complaining, but I assure you there is no sign of depression among us morticians.””³⁴⁰ This line, almost a throw-away, is more a joke about the stability of the business of undertaking than it is about a wider economic down turn. In fact, this one comment is lost in all the other examples of luxury, exuberance, and wealth, making it less noticeable.

This remark about ‘no sign of depression’ is purposefully left small. It suggests that the world in which Motley lives was not tainted with inconveniences like stock market crashes or unemployment. Additionally, Linklater did not need to hang the future of America over the text. The reader would automatically place a context of impending doom without needing any overt references to the economic turmoil. *Juan in America* is rife with examples of excess. From the inaugural festivities of the new President to the lavish Hollywood parties,

³³⁹ Richard K Vedder and Lowell Eugene Gallaway, *Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth-century America* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 1993), p. 117.

³⁴⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 380.

the entire novel hinges on the grand society ignoring the cyclical nature of history. Motley attends a Fraternity party where lust and the immediacy of youth were the theme:

When his Fraternity gave a dance [...] it was not love so much as gin, that flowed in hidden rooms and in every one of the fifty motor cars parked round the house; and it was not really gin, but the dancing crowd, the stentorian *bonhomie*, the *vox diabolica* of jazz, the succession of amiable lips, and the lethal impact of alcohol all in one flamboyant mixture that made the night an affair for heroes only – for heroes and indestructible demi-ingenues.³⁴¹

As the reader living through the beginning of an economic depression and thus re-experiences the madness that occurred only a few years prior, a natural foreshadowing would occur; any obvious narrative attempt at setting the scene with an impending economic disaster would be unnecessary, but by simply not mentioning the turning of events, Linklater physiologically creates a conflict.

Linklater discusses his decision not to include the Depression in *Juan in America*:

[...] in Orkney, I settled down to finish my American novel I felt no need to darken it with economic clouds that had not obscured the bright skies under which I began it. *Juan in America* is a historical novel, and describes a country and a society which were vanishing even as I left them.³⁴²

He wished to capture a moment he witnessed, which, as he states, was ‘vanishing’. As *Juan in America* was published in 1931 not much hindsight can be gathered in a short two years. In *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, with forty years of retrospection, Linklater touches on the absence of economic foreboding in *Juan in America* and writing a novel which hints at nostalgia for innocence lost. Linklater asks the readers of his final autobiography to remember the age in which Juan Motley was created: before the civil rights movement, before the race riots, before Rosa Parks, before Martin Luther King, before the next Great War, before the Cold War, and

³⁴¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 139.

³⁴² Linklater, *Fan Fare Tin Hat*, p. 121.

when America was isolated enough to believe it could be the next Empire. Linklater suggests an innocence of the age:

And innocence of that sort – vestigial or a stubborn remnant – was what I saw beneath the fabulous wealth of the United States, and it was that which let me write, as I did, *Juan in America*. I wrote it open-eyed, with delight and a total acceptance of what I saw, with little animadversion on the scenes I described except, perhaps, after I had watched, in Detroit, the helpless agent of an insensate government destroying good whisky on the quays. About that I felt very deeply, as was right and proper.³⁴³

By nearly eliminating the Depression from the text, Linklater allows the reader to make his or her own inferences about the times to come, representing a country frozen in a moment. This is not terribly different to Byron's 'missing parts' in *Don Juan*. Of Byron's lack of narrative explanation Beaty states:

One of the narrator's shrewdest ploys is his asserted withholding of information that might have been brought forth, for when he pretends to gloss over the unspeakable, the reader inevitably assumes the worst. Exactly where or how Juan was concealed in Julia's bed or what happened to Juan and the Ghost at Norman Abbey the narrator positively declines to tell, and his refusal confirms our worst suspicions. [...] It is when the narrator is most Olympian that his satire is most devastating, and his lofty condescension, which Hazlitt attributed to Byron's alleged spite and pride, has periodically offended some readers.³⁴⁴

Byron leaves information out of the text in order to create a tension in the reader's mind, and Linklater withholds historic information. Motley tells Isadore Cohen: "You see," said Juan, "when we're unfamiliar with a place we seldom realise its more serious activities. That is a human failing, Mr. Cohen –"³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Linklater, *Fan Fare Tin Hat*, p. 122.

³⁴⁴ Beaty, pp. 134-135.

³⁴⁵ Linklater, *Juan In America*, p 86.

Subverting the Past: Reactions to the War

Rutherford states of Byron's treatment of war in *Don Juan*:

[...] the greatness of *Don Juan* is often the result of his combining obviously social qualities like conversational ease and lively wit with deeper feelings and profounder moral insights than one might have experienced from 'a broken Dandy.' This is pre-eminently so in his attack on war, which is probably the most serious portion of his satire and the most impressive of all his attempts to reconcile poetry with truth and wisdom.³⁴⁶

Rutherford continues with this discussion by arguing that the shipwreck in canto II was the testing ground for creating realism. Byron researched first-hand and historical accounts of ships and the sea and therefore had great familiarity with the subject. Feeling that the shipwreck scenes were a success he attempted to recreate battles in cantos VII and VIII. Despite, at this point, having never previously been a soldier – as he was later in life in the Greek revolution – he relies on his knowledge of the results of war as he had seen in Spain and the Low Countries, as well as accounts by De Castelnau.³⁴⁷ Byron's treatment of war is quite liberal; he does not indiscriminately rebuke soldiers, but recognises their job at hand while also denouncing fighting for anything other than liberty. Much is made about war in *Don Juan*, from the depiction of battles, to the more essay-like asides on the affairs of Greece. Even Don Juan's constant movement feels like a soldier moving from one battle to the next.

Byron's statement about violence and war is in contrast to Linklater's representations in *Juan in America*. If Byron does not hide the scenes of war, Linklater's representations are more subdued. As a sniper in World War I, Linklater would most certainly have witnessed a fair amount of conflict. However, his treatment of war in the early novels is quite different

³⁴⁶ Rutherford, *Byron: A Critical Study*, p. 166.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

from his work during and after World War II. For example, *The Impregnable Women* (1938), his last novel before the Second World War, holds this scene:

The frozen soil would not receive their dead. They lay stiffly in their altered uniforms, mouth frostily agape or half their bowels a pallid blue on the winter earth. They were all young, these shattered and untimely dead. They had been swift of foot, and laughed easily. They had been strong. Yet by reason of their youth they were dead... This clearly was madness, bred by evil out of a wilful folly, and the earth, to punish men for their sin, would not admit the bodies of those they had slain. She had sealed them with ice, and stiffly frozen their mutilations and the agony of their death. Now should winter last a year, and the frost continue hard enough, and the war still slay its two hundred thousand every month, then Europe would be seen, not as Golgotha, a place of decent skulls to play at loggats with, but a madmen's charnet to the dullest eye of all.³⁴⁸

However, *The Impregnable Woman* was a turning point in Linklater's writing, as from this publication onwards the topic of war became a much stronger theme, and Linklater's representations of battles attempted to recreate the horrors of war. In fact, it is from *The Impregnable Woman* that he begins to blend the Horatian and Juvenalian forms of satire, and he learns to balance comedy with tragedy. Yet, this change in voice is not coincidental because by 1938 both Linklater and the public's perception of a future war began to change.

After the Great War, many did not want to believe that another would occur, but by the time *The Impregnable Women* was published, Linklater – with the rest of the world – faced something they hoped never would occur again. The subsequent war was inevitable, and Linklater looked backwards in hopes of understanding the future. Linklater attempted to depict

³⁴⁸ Linklater, Eric, *The Impregnable Women* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1938), p. 83.

the next war in *The Impregnable Women*; he declares: 'I made the mistake of describing the new war in terms of the Kaiser's war – it was the same war though we were on the other side – and with sufficient realism I wrote of the heroism and horror of war in a high, resounding style.'³⁴⁹

Yet, in 1931, upon the publishing of *Juan in America*, the next Great War was yet to be foreseen. *Juan in America's* treatment of war is a representation of the age; one that commemorates the events but expresses hope that such an event would never come again.

Unlike the images of the Presidential Inauguration in *Juan in America*, representations of the War are not based on specific historic events but depictions of public attitudes regarding the war. Linklater is attempting to capture a zeitgeist of the moment, not recreate the past.

Beginning with the Prologue, Motley as a child watches as the soldiers pass.

Juan had not know that there were so many soldiers in the world as now marched past, singing about Tipperary, on the white high road between familiar dusty hedges. But the noise of the march was changing. Perhaps it was coming to an end? Not yet. The thud, thud of marching boots indeed grew thinner, but a rumble-rattle, rumble-rattle took its place, and guns came around the corner, and the acrid smell of horses, and soldiers who sat their horses with a swagger, and more soldiers laughing on the limbers. Rumble-rattle went the guns, and the gunners sitting easy, and the drivers with their caps thrust back and cigarettes between their lips. And there was an office handsome as Apollo, and young one looking fleet as Mercury on a thin chestnut mare, and a hard-faced man with a crown on his sleeve who turned his head and shouted villainously.... Now more soldiers marching. Juan grew dizzy as they swung past. His eyes were tired with the ceaseless swinging of legs and the swagger of swinging arms, and the upthrust muzzles of another thousand rifles. His heart beat quicker and quicker. Another band came, daunting the sky with its brazen din, and it too faded into silence, and still the soldiers came, red-faced, singing a song that rose deafeningly till it became a shout of gigantic laughter. Their boots thudded on the road with little wings of dust about them, their mouths were open and the sweat ran down their ruddy cheeks as the song swelled to this vast nonsensical mirth. Ten thousand Englishmen roaring with laughter as they went to war...³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 159.

³⁵⁰ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 53-54.

This passage, nearly as long as the procession of soldiers, paints a picture of war as a club, one of camaraderie and bravery. The passage acts to highlight two aspects. The first aspect represented is the naivety of the soldiers as they went away, not knowing their fate before them. Linklater does not overtly state the tragedy that would become these men, forcing the reader to insert their own foreshadowing. The reader knows that many of these soldiers would not come back. The second representation of this passage is recreating a memory of war, one that matches Linklater's own sentiments of his life before actually seeing battle:

The early period of my service was, I think, one of the happiest seasons of my life. With the coming of spring we went under canvas, and for several months enjoyed what was really a well-arranged picnic with intervals of factitious excitement.

Next in the Prologue, Linklater puts an image of himself into an eight-year-old Motley:

‘Oh, go on, go on!’ cried Juan suddenly. His voice was hard and shrill and he stamped on the ground as he called to the marching soldiers. ‘Go on, I say! Beat the old Kaiser! Beat him! You will! I know you will!’
[...]

In the shadow of the hedge Juan lay sobbing, his heart full of love and hatred that he could not understand.
He had joined the war party.³⁵¹

Similarly, in *The Man on My Back*, Linklater describes an episode at eight-years old when he decides that he wanted to be a soldier:

I was seven or eight, not older, when the seed was planted, and it lay in a cupboard of my brain as if in a bowl of wintering tulips, not often noticed but never forgotten, til the time was propitious for its flowering.³⁵²

As Motley lies in the grass wanting to join the marching procession, it sets the tone for Motley as a character, someone who observes but is unable to be a part of something bigger.

However, whereas Linklater did go to battle, Motley never did, and he is unintentionally taunted by his aunts regarding the matter. In Charleston, Motley meets his

³⁵¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 54.

³⁵² Linklater, *The Man on My Back*, p. 23.

great-aunts Rachel and Sally, two women who have nostalgic views of the war despite having lost a husband in the American Civil War. They ask Motley if he was in the War, and when he replies that he was too young, Aunt Sally responds with: ““You could have gone as a drummer-boy. There were lots of drummer-boys no more than twelve and thirteen years old in the War between the States. And when they could they picked up a gun and took a shot at the dam’ Yankees too!”³⁵³ Interestingly, the American Civil War is referenced regularly, with Aunt Sally still holding a grudge against the Northern States:

[...] restraining her dissatisfaction for later discussion with Aunt Rachel, when she ascribed the lawless state of the country to the Yankee victory in 1865. ‘It was Sherman who set the national fashion in lawlessness and brutality!’ she declared. ‘Sherman is to blame for it all!’ And then they sat silently, thinking how much pleasanter it would have been had the South, and not the North, won that terrible war between the states.³⁵⁴

Yet, when the topic is changed to a European war, the subject turns into a game: ‘Miss Sally was still interested in war. Sitting in the garden with azaleas behind her, snowy white and pink as coral, she would talk with relish of the European conflict.’³⁵⁵ This highlights the fact that the American public psyche appeared to see the First World War as a foreign war, and negated its importance in comparison to the Civil War, which to date has caused more American deaths than any other war.

Most of the recollections of the Great War come from the European characters within the book. Bob, Dora’s husband, finds solace discussing the War:

³⁵³ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 370.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

[...] presently Bob found an opportunity to talk about the War, which was the only subject on which he ever grew really expansive. Juan found his reminiscence very boring and Dora yawned openly. She complained that Bob had made friends with a German who used to be a corporal in the Prussian Guards –

‘He was a sergeant-major with the Bavarians,’ said Bob contemptuously, ‘and what he doesn’t know about the War isn’t worth knowing.’

‘Well, I wish he’d forget it for a change. Whenever he comes in you talk about nothing but killing and raids and rations till I’m sick of the whole thing, and how you’ve remembered such nonsense for ten years I can’t think.’³⁵⁶

In this scene, Dora is a satiric representation of the youth who believed such an event had no effect upon them. However, Dora is English and later, in response to American criticism of Britain, she succumbs to patriotism: “‘And they’re always saying that England’s effete, and nearly bankrupt, and didn’t win the War, and hasn’t got good roads, or a sense of humour, and is just going to the dogs generally. And it isn’t true!’”³⁵⁷

Additionally, Bob’s friendship with the German is a reproduction of an autobiographic account. In *Man on My Back*, Linklater tells the story of travelling through the Grand Canyon and meeting a German. They found each other’s company interesting, especially as they shared similar stories of the war, despite fighting on opposite sides.^{358/359} Once again, Linklater uses his own life to make statements throughout the text.

As mentioned previously, it was predominantly the European characters who noted the war. The downfall of Germany is quietly mentioned through the Prince:

The Prince’s face was very solemn while he spoke, and when his little speech was done he lovingly embraced his friend. His broad shoulders shook with emotion and as he turned away he hid his face from the audience. Poor fellow! thought the more sensitive guests; he’s recalling the vanishing glories of his ancestral home. This must be very trying for him.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 209.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁵⁸ Linklater, *The Man on My Back*, p. 191.

³⁵⁹ Incidentally, this German found a strong distaste with modern American culture, and Linklater defends the society as if it were his own.

³⁶⁰ Linklater, *Man on My Back*, p. 421.

But the European discussion of war is mixed. The Prince looks to the past with sadness at a homeland lost, while speaking to Nikitin, the Russian Orchestra conductor, about the future Motley becomes sentimental for a war he was too young to partake in:

‘It is difficult to know what to do,’ said Juan, affected by Nikitin’s melancholy and remembering for some reason his Great-aunt Rachel Legaré. ‘Now if there was a war we could believe in, or some tyranny to rebel against, that would make life easier for us. But tyranny to-day is so diffuse and impalpable that it’s almost impossible to fight against.’³⁶¹

The American contribution to the Great War is downplayed in *Juan in America*. It was over three years before the War began in Europe when America finally declared war on Germany, and many felt that America’s belated participation was due to arrogance. This feeling is ironically noted in the *Juan in America* Prologue:

They [the British] believed whatever they were told to believe until the very end, when their new American allies told them who had won the war; and that they flatly declined to accept. This was the first bit of incredulity in England for four and a half years.³⁶²

In fact, America’s relationship to a war, other than the Civil War, is represented almost as if they were children playing war. The Coach at Motley University tells his football team, “I’m sending you on to a battlefield. My orders will be to fight [...]”³⁶³ And later, on set in Hollywood, the story for the film in which Motley was an extra included America at war: ‘After the inundation the story leapt forward to modern times with a parallel theme developed on the battle-field of the World War. Derek Dirke would then play a captain of American infantry ... and so on.’³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 393.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

One aspect of representing an American viewpoint of war is the international component of American nationalism as noted in *Juan in America*. The question of the ‘enemy’ becomes blurred: Bob spends time with someone, who ten years previously, he would have killed as ‘the enemy’; Motley befriends a Prince ousted from his country; he additionally talks with a Jewish American and a Russian about revolution and the future. Linklater is representing a period not just of economic American prosperity, but also a country of mixed nationalities. A country in which, much like the Civil War, today’s friend could be tomorrow’s enemy. Motley states: “‘Everybody born in the United States is a citizen of the United States, and in the next war he’ll have to fight against England and will probably kill his brother Jacky.’” Yet, he also negates the possibility of America participating in another war when Nikitin, Motley, and Isadore agree that Americans will never be part of a revolution because “‘The people are too clean. They spend all their time changing their shirts and washing themselves. You can’t feel fierce and revolutionary in a bathroom.’”³⁶⁵

Linklater’s interaction with history is varied when the topic is the Great War. He steps back and does not recreate scenes from the past, instead opting to capture the moment, and in this manner Linklater is acting as a social historian. Reviewing James Hannay’s statement, as discussed in Chapter One: satires provide ‘valuable aid in studying the life of the age in which they are produced’.³⁶⁶ Linklater is doing just that, he is providing an aid to understanding life in a 1920s America by representing their interpretation of past events. Additionally, *Juan in America* provides historic documentation of the European view of America’s attitude towards the War. In a subtle manner, Linklater says as much about the nation and culture of the author as he is about the culture in which he has set out to interpret.

³⁶⁵ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 393.

³⁶⁶ James Hannay, *Satire and Satirists: Six Lectures* referenced in footnote 107.

Ethnological Judgements: The Hypocrisy of Prohibition

Linklater not only includes the Eighteenth Amendment in the text but it provides some of the text's more biting satire. There are most likely two reasons for the inclusion of Prohibition: first, it was an integral part of American life as he witnessed it, and second, this was an aspect of American law about which he felt strongly.

When Linklater came to America in 1928, he entered a society which claimed to hold legality and morality in high regard, creating the perception of puritanical modernity: clean, fresh and ever moving forward. However, without much investigation, he found a society which first passed then ignored the implementation of the Eighteenth Amendment: '[...] the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.'³⁶⁷ Linklater devoted much of his novel to the hypocrisy of Prohibition – from the casual drink in a forbidden nightclub to an underground party – illegal alcohol proliferates through the text. Additionally, Linklater's treatment of Prohibition is not limited to the easy availability of an illegal substance; he also highlights organised crime which found funding through the sale of alcohol. The text not only has Motley working for rumrunners who bring whisky into America from Canada, but it also features a mob celebrity. The character of Red Eye was an extremely powerful mobster, and it is possible that this character was based on an amalgamation of real-life Irish and Italian gangsters: Owney 'The Killer' Madden, Frank Costello, Jack 'Legs' Diamond, 'Little' Augie Pisano, Charles 'Vannie' Higgins, Vincent 'Mad Dog' Coll, and, of course, Al Capone, all

³⁶⁷ 'The Constitution: Amendments 11-27', *The National Archives*
<http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html> [accessed 22 March 2010].

reached celebrity status. When Red Eye stepped onto the platform at a Chicago train station he was met by reporters and hand-shaking police officers. Children sang songs and waved flags as he walked by. Linklater surely paints the picture of a modern celebrity, one that holds the job of mob boss.³⁶⁸

Linklater found the action of banning alcohol reprehensible, not necessarily due to any addictive desire or Byronic attitudes towards a Puritanical state, but he felt the law was ridiculous and unenforceable. He believed that the Eighteenth Amendment created crime, and it was nothing more than stubbornness that kept the law from being repealed:

[...] the Eighteenth Amendment was bitterly resented by a host of people, many of them young, who had never been in the habit of drinking gin and corn-liquor till gin and corn-liquor were made illegal. No one felt bound by the Amendment, and the consequence was that a new criminal class appeared to supply honest Republicans and God-fearing Democrats with the strong waters that freedom demanded and their government forbade them to buy. Crime became a new industry – a major industry – and, because America could afford both the anarchy of crime and the expensive bottles which its new criminals supplied, America entered a romantic period in which money, bootleg-whisky, and blood flowed freely [...]³⁶⁹

Parnell discusses Linklater's whimsy and then annoyance as he witnessed America's hope for a new world Eden destroyed by the Eighteenth Amendment: 'The greatest and most ridiculous element in their attempt to create an earthly paradise was the romantic nonsense, as he saw it, of the Eighteenth Amendment.'³⁷⁰ Yet, while Linklater could have taken a tone of judgement regarding Prohibition, he politely shakes his head, laughs and joins in the revelry of a society that does not believe in repercussions: 'I drank their chemical gin and felt better for it. I embraced their girls and liked it. I strutted to their beastly music and called for more. I too am

³⁶⁸ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 105-106.

³⁶⁹ Linklater, *Fan Fare for a Tin Hat*, p. 103.

³⁷⁰ Parnell, p. 86.

a vulgarian. My sin is normality. Let then my virtue be honesty'.³⁷¹ Like Juan Motley, when in America Linklater interacts with little judgement, and he creates a novel that connects more with the Horatian style than the Juvenalian. In this sense, perhaps Linklater has taken a note from Byron, in that *Don Juan* shines a light more favourably on those countries he finds himself comfortable with – Greece – and reserves a harsher judgement for his own home of Britain:

For we all know that English people are
 Fed upon beef – I won't say much of beer,
 Because 'tis liquor only, and being far
 From this my subject, has no business here;
 We know, too, they are very fond of war,
 A pleasure – like all pleasures – rather dear;
 So were the Cretans – from which I infer
 That beef and battles both were owing to her. [II: 156]³⁷²

As Byron's portrayal of England was not always favourable and at times received criticism, Linklater's portrayal of America was at times that of a naïve country rife with crime. The text created slight tension in America upon publication:

The shoguns of the Commonwealth Foundation were displeased with me when I wrote *Juan in America*, because in it I showed too little respect for the United States and its institutions. But they could not complain that I had failed to enjoy their country, and I have become increasingly aware of my extraordinary good fortune in having lived there, for almost two years, when the majority of its people were showing their pleasure in the sudden florescence of their strength and affluence.³⁷³

The exuberance in which Linklater took to American culture is most certainly highlighted in the book; therefore it is a shame that early American reviewers did not see the novel with the

³⁷¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 144.

³⁷² Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 472.

³⁷³ Linklater, *Fan Fare for a Tin Hat*, pp. 115-116.

same love for a country as did the author: ‘America will endure the most deadly criticism – from her own people’.³⁷⁴ This negative reaction evidently did not remain as *Juan in America* was out of circulation in Britain until the Capuchin Classics series reprinted it in 2008; however, the book has never been out of print in America.³⁷⁵

Representations of an Indigenous People: The Issue of India

There was one aspect of American hypocrisy that certainly bothered Linklater, and he touches on this in the novel and in his autobiographies – the issue of India. Linklater introduces the character Mr. Adelaide, a journalist who in one column makes nearly every hypocritical statement Linklater could have heard while in America. *Juan in America* states:

Mr. Adelaide was an ardent patriot. He believed that America was not only the largest and richest state in the world, but the most artistic, humane, and intellectually enlightened as well, and this made him very scornful of other nations. He did not, of course, ignore them. He frequently mentioned the European countries, to remark in happy conclusion how much better it was to live in America. In spite of the fact that this blessedness was his he was not altogether a happy man, for his patriotism was continually exasperated by thinking about the British Navy and the continuance of the British raj in India.³⁷⁶

This passage is one of Linklater’s most biting and harsh, leaning towards a Juvenalian form of satire. It was particularly the American citizen’s defence of a free India that bothered Linklater most. Linklater had mixed feelings about the break-up of the Empire, but took umbrage with those who lambasted his country when their own had enough problems.

Linklater was undecided on a moral solution regarding India, and in the novel he tackled the problem of India’s non-colonising population by lambasting his hosts, who reminded him that there was a problem:

³⁷⁴ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 189.

³⁷⁵ ‘Original Ten: Where are they now?’, *Celebrating 75 Years of Penguin* (2010) <<http://www.penguinbooks75.com/original10.html>> [accessed 15 March 2011]

³⁷⁶ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 276.

It amused him and sometimes annoyed him to hear Americans criticise the behaviour of the British in India and fail completely to see any fault in their treatment of their own Indians, and he noted too their extraordinarily one-sided view of other aspects of their social and cultural history.³⁷⁷

It is the passages in which he discusses the plight of the Native American that are most poignant and may reflect a stronger tone, which could be accurately compared to *Don Juan* as ‘a satire on abuses of the present states of Society’.³⁷⁸ India is mentioned regularly in *Juan in America* by secondary American characters making note of it to Motley:

‘[...] Don’t you wish, Mr. Motley, that your country would adopt a more humane attitude to India, for example? What a lesson to the world if the British could be induced to deal with the poor Hindus as we have dealt with our Indians.’

Juan was somewhat startled by this suggestion, for he knew that nearly all the North American Indians had been killed off, and Senator Auber seemed too mild a man to be advocating a Hindu pogrom.³⁷⁹

Yet, not all discussions of indigenous populations were off the cuff. In fact, some of the most poignant writing comes from descriptions of the Native Americans:

It was the blood of the Mohawks and Tuscaroras and Cayugas, lying heavy at the roots of the maples, that made their leaves so splendid. The sap of these trees was the blood of the red hunters who had been killed by white men. The waving leaves had been dipped in their veins. And presently the white snow would come, as white men had come, and cold winds would chill the maples and freeze the crimson sumach, and tear away their bright leaves, and throw them down for the pale storm to cover. All this rolling country, now chequered in scarlet and green and gold and brown, would lie blanched and dead, level and smooth without features of its own, under the killing democracy of the snow.³⁸⁰

Linklater saw more than the history of genocide in the Native Americans. In his novel, he gave recognition to the people who survived; it is his description of these people that is most moving:

³⁷⁷ Parnell, p. 86.

³⁷⁸ Marchand, p. 68. Stated in a letter to Murray on 25 December 1822.

³⁷⁹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 285.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[...] Red Indians, some on horseback with bright feather dead-dresses, and others, showing less spirit and no thought of incongruity, packed tightly in motor cars. Then, on a grey rain-soaked pony, came a solitary figure. He was naked and arrogant, and as he rode aloof from those behind and those in cession. Among the spectators astonishment bore him ghostly company. The rain glistened on his brown skin, his naked thighs gripped the flanks of his rough-clipt pony, and three feathers drooped from his wet black hair. He, in so great a procession, yet seemed alone. He looked neither to the left nor to right, unaware of the crowd, not come to do honour but to show himself and say, 'I am America. I am he who first saw the caravels of Columbus, who first talked with the English in Virginia, who fought Spaniards and Dutchmen, French and English. It is my blood that paints the maples red and glorifies the crimson sumach. All else that comes here changes, but I have not changed. Yet I am America.'³⁸¹

Linklater's time working in Bombay gave him empathy for the indigenous people of India. He hoped for their freedom, and still wanted to keep the jewel in the crown; however, living in America shone a light into the face of his own society. These were not easy issues to tackle, and it would not be for several years that he truly dealt with them in novel form.

Magnus Merriman attempts to find a solution for independence without dividing the Union, but it is not until *The Faithful Ally* (1954) that he thoroughly discusses the question of post-colonialism.

Representing the Self: The Autobiographic Nature of 'Raw Materials'

As noted, *Juan in America* includes a number of historic, autobiographic and anecdotal references. A few examples of these references are the insertion the inaugural procession of President Hoover, a man with a degree in mortuary science, University life, a landlady in Berkeley, football games and fraternity parties, discussing World War One with a former German military officer, and two hopeful starlets in Hollywood. These are just a few of the stories that match similar noted accounts in Linklater's autobiographies; therefore it can be assumed that he stole these aspects directly from his own life and placed them into the text.

³⁸¹ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 291.

Plus, in *Juan in America*, Linklater melds characters from *Don Juan* with real people he met in America, for example: the character of Lagale is a mixture of Byron's Haidée and the two women, Emily Balch and Josephine Pinckney,³⁸² whom he met while in the United States.

The autobiographic nature of *Juan in America* may be an influence of Byron. Beaty comments upon how Byron uses raw materials, such as lampoons of individuals and recreations of historic accounts, in order to not only lambast individuals, but also to depict portions of society:

What liberates Byron's satire on the human race in *Don Juan* from the thralldom of historical annotation is its portrayal of human nature so incisively and so accurately that the poetic depictions are applicable to mankind in all societies. Even the personal enemies whom Byron caricatured because of their idiosyncratic faults became epitomes of general types that we recognize among us today.³⁸³

To this extent Linklater was also successful. His portrayal of individuals may have begun as representations of a specific people, but they became satires of generalised personality traits. This is never more obvious than now; with eighty years approaching since the publication of *Juan in America*, and many of the caricatures having faded with history, a contemporary audience can still see humanity in the text without having knowledge of the original representation. Of course, understanding the items appropriated adds to the experience of reading a satire such as *Juan in America*: knowing about the Eighteenth Amendment, the economic and modern boom of the 1920s, and recognising Linklater's representations of authors such as Emily Balch and Josephine Pinckney are helpful when reading the text. However, much like Byron's representations of true-to-life individuals that were turned into characters for *Don Juan* (but who over time became not just parodies of historic figures but also representations of humanity) *Juan in America's* characters also, in time, become

³⁸² More information on the friendship Linklater had with these women can be found on page 174.

³⁸³ Beaty, p. 148.

‘epitomes of general types that we recognize among us today’.³⁸⁴ For example, Emily Balch and Josephine Pinckney were two well respected American authors and much of their personalities can be seen in Lalage: Balch was a poet, activist and academic who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946, while Pinckney was the Southern female writer who inspired a generation of women. Yet, as unfortunate as it is, a contemporary readership (or even possibly, a 1930s readership) may not recognise Balch and Pinckney’s representations. However, the Lalage character would not be lost, as she also represents the modern female: smart and strong, yet still imprisoned by a patriarchal and domineering entity. Lalage hides her writing and is locked away, but speaks of her new found freedoms as a woman. Her father may control her life, but through birth control she has ultimate power over her body. Lalage is not just a representation of the writers Balch and Pinckney, but also a metaphor for the feminine plight. The reader does not need to recognise every representation of truth in order to understand the novel as a satire.

However, the authorial intent of placing autobiographic elements in a fictional text may waver between authors. Referencing Chapter One, Freeman argues that creating a narrative from one’s own life experiences will have two outcomes: a work which records wonderfully lived moments, or the need to remember the past. He continues by saying that the first outcome is a text which chronicles a set of adventurous memories,³⁸⁵ while the second outcome records the past in hopes of understanding it.³⁸⁶ For Linklater, *Juan in America* has both outcomes. First, Linklater’s time in America was a clear influence upon his work and upon his life, and *Juan in America* – as well as his autobiographies – is a way of recording

³⁸⁴ See footnote 383.

³⁸⁵ See footnote 101.

³⁸⁶ See footnote 102.

that influence for posterity. Second, because Linklater delves into political topics such as Prohibition and India's role in the Empire, he hopes to record these events so that others can look back and understand them.

However, the 'raw materials' used in a satire can extend beyond historic and personal accounts, and can also include literary tradition. In fact, the 'autobiografictional' elements in *Juan in America* are not limited to Byronic inspiration. Linklater was influenced by a number of authors who included autobiographic information in their fictional work. The introduction to Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* reads:

Most of the adventures recorded in this book really occurred; one or two were experiences of my own, the rest those of boys who were schoolmates of mine. Huck Finn is drawn from life; Tom Sawyer also, but not from an individual—he is a combination of the characteristics of three boys whom I knew, and therefore belongs to the composite order of architecture.

The odd superstitions touched upon were all prevalent among children and slaves in the West at the period of this story—that is to say, thirty or forty years ago.

Although my book is intended mainly for the entertainment of boys and girls, I hope it will not be shunned by men and women on that account, for part of my plan has been to try to pleasantly remind adults of what they once were themselves, and of how they felt and thought and talked, and what queer enterprises they sometimes engaged in.³⁸⁷

There is much of the wandering American hero, the Tom Sawyer/Huckleberry Finn, to be found in *Juan in America*, which may make the critic wonder, 'Who else has had an influence upon *Juan in America*?'

Literary Tradition: Influences in Context

Beaty's final suggestion for the interpretation of satire is to investigate the 'literary tradition' in which the text is placed. This 'literary tradition' could be an appropriated source

³⁸⁷ Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2003), p. 3.

text, a literary influence, or various literary canons to which the text reacts. The appropriating literature (especially when the text is of satiric form) reacts with, or against, these various elements to create a very specific voice and style.

A brief discussion of appropriations will reveal that many narratives throughout history have been reinvented from previous stories. Susan Bassnett highlights the long lineage of literary appropriations from Chaucer's allusions to Boccaccio through to Baudelaire's fascination with Edgar Allan Poe. She also notes that James Joyce found direct inspiration in Italo Svevo.³⁸⁸ Julie Sanders notes an explosion of 'Shakespearean source-spotting' in early twentieth century criticism. Pliny the Younger (62-115 AD) modelled his poems after those of Catullus, and in several of his letters he describes his poetry as a leisure pursuit and becomes one of the first people to attempt a classification by labelling it under the rubric of otium.³⁸⁹ However, it was Goethe who wrote:

It is to be hoped that people will soon be convinced that there is no such thing as patriotic art or patriotic science. Both belong, like all good things, to the whole world, and can be fostered only by untrammelled intercourse among all contemporaries, continually bearing in mind what we have inherited from the past [...]³⁹⁰

Over time, specific authors, texts and genres became acceptable to appropriate – with the favourite being Shakespeare.³⁹¹ By the Victorian era there was a divide between the popularity of adaptations for the stage and snobbery against it. Dickens satirized this in *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-1839). Nickleby becomes acquainted with an

³⁸⁸ Bassnett, pp. 1-2.

³⁸⁹ Matthew Roller, 'Pliny's Catullus: The Politics of Literary Appropriation', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 128, The Johns Hopkins University Press (1998), p. 265.

³⁹⁰ Goethe quotation in his journal *Propyläen* cited in Fritz Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, trans. by C.A.M. Sym (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 35.

³⁹¹ Sanders, p. 120.

author who ‘had dramatized in his time two-hundred-and-forty-seven novels as fast as they had come out – and some of them faster than they had come out’.³⁹²

Don Juan: Adopting the Adapted

One of the largest problems with investigating *Juan in America* as a novel inspired by a source text is the fact that the story was not original to Byron. Beaty states ‘literary tradition’ as one of the many aspects in which to judge the success of Byron’s satire, and *Don Juan* stems from a lengthy tradition. The concept of this character has origins in oral legend, and the theme of Don Juan moved to the stage as far back as 1630 with Tirso de Molina’s ‘El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra’. Moliere’s ‘Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre’ was the first to notably satirise the character of Don Juan in 1665, and from that point onwards a plethora of Don Juan stories were either published or produced for the stage, including Mozart’s ‘Don Giovanni’ in 1787. By the time Linklater wrote *Juan in America*,³⁹³ there had been over fifty-four ‘imitations and adaptations’ of Byron’s *Don Juan*,³⁹⁴ and by the publishing of ‘Don Juan Theme: Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography’ in 1965, over 4,460 versions, criticisms and fictions based on the theme of Don Juan/Don Giovanni were in existence, starting with a six lined epigram entitled ‘Callimachus of Cyrene’ (310 - 241 BC) written in Alexandrine Greece, in which a huntsman chases animals until he catches them. Once he has caught the animal, he loses interest and lets them go; the poet says he ‘resembles the hunter, for he doesn’t want girls once they surrender themselves to him.’³⁹⁵

³⁹² Charles Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839) p. 477.

³⁹³ In this list, *Juan in America* is classified as an ‘imitation’ and ‘adaptation’.

³⁹⁴ Armand E. Singer, ‘Don Juan Theme: Versions and Criticism: A Bibliography’, *West Virginia University Bulletin*, 66, 6-4, (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, December 1965). <www.donjuanarchiv.at> [accessed on 14 April, 2010].

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Jane Stabler notes the referential nature of Byron's *Don Juan*: '*Don Juan* is hospitable to many different voices and wants its readers to be aware that very little is "unborrowed". Extensive catalogues of other authors serve to remind readers of the different texts which make up consciousness and identity.'³⁹⁶ Stabler highlights this with the following stanza:

Ovid's a rake, as half his verses show him,
 Anacreon's morals are a still worse sample,
 Catullus scarcely has a decent poem,
 I don't think Sappho's Ode a good example,
 Although Longinus tells us there is no hymn
 Where the sublime soars forth on wings more ample;
 But Virgil's songs are pure, except that horrid one
 Beginning with '*Formosum Pastor Corydon.*' [I: 42]³⁹⁷

For Byron it is not simply a character or a narrative from which he finds inspiration. Byron learned form and style from the masters, adding to the multiplicity of voices in his text. A. B. England argues that Byron's conflicting voices (the hard chastising tone versus the warm comedy) is in reference to a tradition earlier than the Romantic period, and is most noticeable in the structure of dialogue in *Don Juan*. England argues that early in Byron's career he, even if unwittingly, mimicked Pope, seeking out a voice of authority, but 'elsewhere, when he is seeking a lighter note, he often imitates the rhythm and the tone of Swift's comic verse-letters to his friends.'³⁹⁸ Although as practice and maturity set in, Byron blends the Pope and Swift styles formulating a voice in which the two sit near each other in a 'burlesque style' manifesting 'a high degree of tolerance for disorder, impurity, and discontinuity of rhetoric and diction',³⁹⁹ thus also explaining Byron's successful attempts at mixing the horrific with the humorous. This 'borrowed' nature of the poem most certainly applies to the satiric form of

³⁹⁶ Stabler, pp. 107-108.

³⁹⁷ Stabler citing Byron's 'Don Juan', p. 108.

³⁹⁸ A.B. England, *Byron's 'Don Juan' and Eighteen-Century Literature: A study of some rhetorical continuities and discontinuities* (London: Associated University Press, 1975), p.14.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

the text. Beaty suggests that the multiple satiric styles in *Don Juan* can be problematic for those who wish to classify the poem:

Critics who have felt uneasy about calling *Don Juan* a ‘hold-all’ have resorted to designating it as a metrical novel, a mock-epic, an epic carnival, an epic of negation, epic satire, or merely satire. While excellent cases can be made for all these labels, none is utterly satisfactory for the poem as a whole.⁴⁰⁰

Byron’s pick-and-mix approach to borrowing from literary tradition conjures problems for the critic attempting to classify *Don Juan*, but it may not be an issue for the adapting writer. For the adaptor, the multiplicity of inspiration may be freeing. For the young author, who studies and admires the work of Byron, the poem *Don Juan* could act as a literary reader – teaching the novice writer how to employ specific techniques and satiric styles, then allowing the adaptor to choose whichever form best suited his/her needs.

Linklater, forever protesting the autobiographic elements of his fiction, does admit to writing *Juan in America* as a sort of ‘practice’, honing his skills as a writer: ‘It was pure fiction, the sheer product of invention, and I wrote it as an exercise from which I hoped to learn something of the strategy and tactics necessary, as I believed, for the construction of a novel.’⁴⁰¹ Yet, Byron may not have been the only template from which Linklater worked.

Multiple Traditions: Satire and Influence

Juan in America fits into a long standing tradition of appropriated narrative, and while obviously paying homage to Byron as a mentor and teacher, Linklater’s text is more than a strict Byronesque adaptation. Parnell argues that Linklater’s style in *Juan in America* is as varied as Byron’s:

⁴⁰⁰ Beaty, p. 138.

⁴⁰¹ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 104.

His tone and attitude sometimes recall that of Montesquieu in the *Lettres Persanes*, or of Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World*; in moments of rather more pointed irony or of more grotesque perceptions, the reader might be reminded of Swift in at least the earlier chapters of *Gulliver's Travels*.⁴⁰²

Parnell continues to suggest that even Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* has more resonance with Linklater's text than does Byron's *Don Juan*. Parnell also lists inspirations spanning from Dickens to Linklater's peers, such as Samuel Beckett. Parnell finally suggests that *Juan in America*'s structure is more similar to Voltaire's *Candide* than to Byron's *Don Juan*.⁴⁰³

Twain, Goldsmith, Swift, Carroll, Dickens and Beckett, each author has a unique voice, a notable satiric tone and influenced Linklater's novel. Motley's travels through America were bizarre: a woman throwing herself off a building but no one is disturbed, flood victims living in trees, and beautiful mobster princesses held captive on an island. These incidences are reminiscent of the magical travels of Gulliver and Alice. Also, the representation of another culture by an exotic traveller is inspired by *Lettres Persanes* (1721) and *The Citizen of the World* (1760), and Dickens' ability to create memorable characters can be seen in the likes of Olympia and Cohen. Each of these authors had influence on *Juan in America*, yet the novel still retains Linklater's own voice: one that is a Horatian satire, written with clarity and in the plain style, a story that is as entertaining as it is a profound reconstruction of culture and humanity. Linklater can borrow from a multitude of authors, and still keep a single unwavering voice.

One such additional influence upon *Juan in America* is very likely to have been Ben Jonson. Linklater travelled to America to study the work of Jonson under the tutelage of a

⁴⁰² Parnell, p. 108.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Professor named Quincy Adams; therefore it is not inconceivable that a Jonsonian style found its way into the text. The fact that Linklater was working on an academic text while also writing *Juan in America*, may equally explain the plain style of writing in the novel – Jonson wrote some of his memorable works in the plain style.

As previously noted, Linklater maintained jovially that his desire to study Ben Jonson was nothing more than a last minute thought in order to receive the Fellowship, and a chance to travel America. However, it is difficult to believe that a man as scholarly, as calculating in his writing and as passionate about classic literatures simply chose Ben Jonson on a whim. Linklater maintained the public image of a man who was lackadaisical and somewhat lucky in his career, but Linklater took his Fellowship quite seriously and spent much time researching the work of Jonson. Parnell describes Linklater studying at Cornell (and later Berkeley):

During the day he read in what seemed to him luxurious freedom in the university library, which turned out to be excellent. Notes on the life and times of Ben Jonson and his contemporaries accumulated steadily until, by the end of his Fellowship, he had a suitcase full.⁴⁰⁴

This study resulted in a wonderful volume about the satirist Ben Jonson and his patron King James. And while Linklater was writing in daylight hours on Jacobean dramatists, his evenings were spent dashing notes for what would become *Juan in America*. With this split lifestyle – interrupted by social engagements and lengthy travels – a Byron-Jonson combination of style and tone is not inconceivable.

In *Ben Jonson and King James*, Linklater describes the humour of the era by arguing that as London became truly self aware, the emphasis of comedy moved from ‘the courts of Portugal and the precincts of the Sophy’ to a ‘new human pabulum’ emphasising the satire of

⁴⁰⁴ Parnell, p. 82.

those in everyday view – such as other dramatists and public figures.⁴⁰⁵ He continues to explain that because of this social self-awareness, ‘Satire must be the new medium, satire as vigorous as the old romance had been, and in the abundance of topical *humours* the satirists found good bones to pick.’⁴⁰⁶ Linklater plays with the word ‘humour’⁴⁰⁷ linking comedy to the medieval physiology, which,

[...] declared the constituent materials of the human body to be the four elements, fire, air, earth, and water, with which the four major humours corresponded, and determined the proportion in which they combined determined the temperament of the individual.⁴⁰⁸

Linklater says in his biography that Jonson, as a purist, focused on these individual traits in order to mock specific individuals: ‘caprice was often really the burgee of an individual, if not of individuality.’⁴⁰⁹ That while, at times, Johnson’s targets may have even been members of court or even royalty, it was not necessarily the position that was satirised, but the individual holding the position. This is quite the contrast to Byron who satirised both the individual and the office.

Consequently, how can it be argued that *Juan in America* follows a satire befitting Jonson’s ability to mock a public figure’s personality, when *Juan in America* employs mimicry of a society not of the individual? A Jonsonian satire is easily noticed in *Magnus Merriman*, where both society and individuals, such as Hugh MacDiarmid, are ridiculed in a friendly manner. But was this same approach taken with *Juan in America*?

The answer to this question is ‘yes’, but it is important to remember the context of the novel. *Juan in America* is an attempt at recreating some semblance of reality, by painting a

⁴⁰⁵ Linklater, *Ben Jonson and King James*, p. 52.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴⁰⁷ Jonson’s use of ‘humours’ in his plays is heavily noted, especially with *In Every Man in His Humour* using it as a pun in the title.

⁴⁰⁸ Linklater, *Ben Jonson and King James*, p. 53.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

distorted picture of what he saw in America, including caricatures of friends and acquaintances. While the Jonsonian style is more noticeable in a novel such as *Magnus Merriman*, where those that are being fictionalised are obvious public figures, in *Juan in America* there is an equal amount of stealing from life. From the landlady in San Francisco to the two actresses in Hollywood, to the mortician and the female author, many of the people in the novel are disguised caricatures of friends and acquaintances of Linklater. Like both Byron and Jonson, Linklater replicates the people in his life – sometimes lampooning and other times describing – to create humour and satire so that, even when Linklater specifically places real people in the text, the satire turns to the personality not the person.

Linklater plays with the original concept of humour in *Juan in America*, and uses it to showcase Jonson's form of satire. Linklater gives his characters personalities that revolve around the humours/elements: the acrobatic operatic Olympia flying through air but with the temper of fire, and Lalage rescuing him from water and her hands tapping on the typewriter keys like droplets of rain. Linklater was accused of creating a one-dimensional protagonist, and it can be argued that his secondary characters are not terribly well rounded either. In fact, Motley's static and unchanging personality, with very specific list of character traits – the lucky, womanizer with a sense of wanderlust – is certainly an aspect in which Jonson influenced the text more than Byron. All of the characters embody a tone and spirit reminiscent of what Linklater saw as Jonson's creation of the 'temperament of the individual'.⁴¹⁰

⁴¹⁰ Linklater, *Ben Jonson and King James*, p. 53.

As has been discussed, Linklater too mocks and jovially satirises an entire nation, making the reader wonder if *Juan in America* is *Don Juan* or *Alchemist*, Don Giovanni or Candide?

As previously stated by Parnell, perhaps the true inspiration for *Juan in America* was not Byron but Voltaire. *Candide*'s structure lends itself to the form of the picaresque novel, seeming to wander with no destination, yet as the final climax appears to the reader, the narrative comes full circle. Also like *Juan in America*, the narrator speaks in a neutral third person, focusing on the perspective and experiences of Candide. Additionally, much of *Candide*'s plot follows loosely to that of *Don Juan*, so the question must arise whether Linklater borrowed from *Candide* or did he borrow from *Don Juan* – or did he even borrow from Byron through the eyes of Voltaire. So as Don Juan, Juan Motley and Candide are cast away at sea, stranded on an island, mugged, and as they chase after women who, they can only hope, will love them, the lines blur between original and adapted.

Transatlantic Influence: Satire and Traditions

While Linklater's satiric influences, such as Jonson, Byron and Voltaire, are necessary to this investigation, let us not forget the large transatlantic and American canons to which Linklater may have been reacting. From colonial satires to modern American critiques, Britain and America seemed to be fascinated with each other, and this provided an almost limitless amount of fiction, satire, non-fiction and journalistic works on the transatlantic connection.

Llewelyn Powys's *The Verdict of Bridlegoose* (1926) is a satire of American culture which takes the same tone as a celebrity gossip column. Fuelled by the desire to learn more about the new medium of film and the Hollywood stars that went with it, this book was part

cultural record and part fiction. The name Bridle goose is an allusion to Rabelais' Judge Bridle goose and is a travel tale in which a group of New York celebrities are exposed for their true nature. Much of the background for the book was obtained through his marriage to Alyse Gregory, who was the managing editor of *Dial* magazine and New York novelist and essayist. The work of Powys is similar to that of Linklater as they both utilise a life lived in a foreign country, while still reporting with foreign eyes.

The two further authors who are notable for making a transatlantic connection are P.G. Wodehouse and Aldous Huxley. Wodehouse is a very interesting case as his contribution to transatlantic literature is not always immediately recognised. Creating characters which have come to be synonymous with English high-society, such as Bertie Wooster and Jeeves, it is easy to forget that Wodehouse spent the majority of his adult life in America and helped reinvent the American musical. In 1915 he partnered with Jerome Kern and Guy Bolton,⁴¹¹ and the three have since been attributed with recreating American theatre musical by transforming it from the European operetta to the show-tune-based plays that are common today.

Wodehouse first came to America in 1904 and initially worked as a journalist and freelance writer, then slowly began writing short stories and novels. His first novel of acclaim was *Love Among the Chickens* which was published in the UK in 1906 and in the US in 1909, but it is argued that the School stories – short stories set at the fictional public schools of St. Austin's and Wrykyn – are the titles that brought him acclaim. However, it is his *Psmith* *Journalist* novel (originally released as a serial in the UK boys' magazine 'The Captain', but not published as a novel until 1915) that highlights the transatlantic voice of Wodehouse. The

⁴¹¹ Bolton was also an Englishman living in the US. He was born in Hertfordshire but educated in France and the U.S.

story was influenced by his career as a journalist in New York, and the plot revolves around Psmith accidentally becoming involved in the seedy side of New York through dealings with gangsters, boxers and slum lords. While the text is a comedy, it has more of a social conscience and is far more satiric than his other works.⁴¹² A connection between the dangerous hyjinx of Psmith and the life of Juan Motley are not difficult to find: two English men relying on their wits to keep them safe when faced with the seedy underside of America. P.G. Wodehouse is very aware of his transatlantic connections, and in his introduction to *Psmith Journalist* he highlights the differences between London and New York, thus satirising the trend to 'compare and contrast' American and English culture in a non-fictional style.⁴¹³ What this introduction also does is create a veil of reality which surrounds the text:

⁴¹² Wodehouse's writing had been perceived as predominately apolitical, until recently when a series of parodies were unearthed. It has been discovered that he, 'wrote the sketches with his friend Bertram Fletcher Robinson, known as "Bobbles", and they were published in the Daily Express and Vanity Fair before disappearing into publisher archives.' These sketches were parodies of 'the debate of the time about tariff reform and proposed changes to tax law that split the Conservative government, and led to a Liberal landslide in 1906.'* After World War Two, it is possible that Wodehouse avoided writing about politics due to the fact that he had been involved with Nazi during the War. Wodehouse had been living in France during, but was moved to Berlin and given a job recording a series of wartime broadcasts for the Nazis in 1941. There has been some question over Wodehouse's involvement with the Nazis, however MI5 papers were released in 2011 suggesting that Wodehouse was not a Nazi sympathiser. Wodehouse argued to MI5: 'I thought that people, hearing the talks, would admire me for having kept cheerful under difficult conditions'.** The *Daily Mirror* columnist William Connor, writing as Cassandra, incited rumours by saying that Wodehouse was guilty of 'worshipping the Führer'. Yet, despite the fact that there was no evidence to support this statement, and several came forward to defend Wodehouse, the author was ostracised after the war by the British public.***

*Vanessa Thorpe, 'Earliest Wodehouse satires discovered: Writings from 100 years ago emerge to cast new light on the author's politics', *The Observer* (Sunday 26 July 2009)

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2009/jul/26/pg-wodehouse-political-satires>> [accessed 15 June 2010]

** Richard Norton-Taylor, 'I was not a Nazi Collaborator, PG Wodehouse told MI5', *The Guardian* (26 August 2011) <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2011/aug/26/pg-wodehouse-denied-collaborator>> [accessed 14 September 2011]

***Christopher Howse, 'PG Wodehouse was foolishly naive over Nazis', *The Telegraph*, (26 August 2011) <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/booknews/8724155/PG-Wodehouse-was-foolishly-naive-over-Nazis.html>> [accessed 14 September 2011]

⁴¹³ See a further discussion of non-fiction works about American culture on page 176.

The conditions of life in New York are so different from those in London that a story of this kind calls for a little explanation. There are several million inhabitants of New York. Not all of them eke out a precarious livelihood by murdering one another, but there is a definite section of the population which murders -- not casually, on the spur of the moment, but on definitely commercial lines at so many dollars per murder. The 'gangs' of New York exist in fact. I have not invented them. Most of the incidents in this story are based on actual happenings.⁴¹⁴

Not only was he influential in creating the American myth abroad, most notably through his musicals, his Jeeves and Wooster characters have, to many unwitting Americans, become synonymous with England. This stereotypical view was encouraged by Wodehouse, and satirised by Linklater through the many misconceptions of England noted by Americans in *Juan in America*: Lords, estates and public schools.

Wodehouse may have provided both sides of the Atlantic with colourful fictions, but few British citizens immersed themselves in American life as did Aldous Huxley. Huxley did not permanently reside in the United States until after *Juan in America* was published but, after his first trip to the United States, he never fully returned to England and eventually settled in California. He first arrived in America in 1926, as part of a trip that initially took him to India, and then afterwards to the United States. Quickly, Huxley's political voice, which often found fear in a European future, was a major talking point amongst those interested in transatlantic literature. *Antic Hay* (1923) was condemned by some for explicit discussions of sex, while others took umbrage with his frank discussion of the withering upper classes after the First World War. Despite its controversy, this novel set the tone for the rest of Huxley's career: a succession of fictional works that expressed ideas and representations of the disenfranchised. In *Jesting Pilate: The Diary of a Journey* (1926) he chronicles his journey from India through to America, with the latter half of the text dedicated to his

⁴¹⁴ P.G. Wodehouse, *Psmith, Journalist*, (Rockville, MD: ARC Manor, 2008), p. 5

American journey. In this work, he denounced the egalitarian nature of English society by stating that it is 'a most elaborate system of humbug'.⁴¹⁵ He continues to state of America: 'The thing which is happening in America is a reevaluation of values, a radical alteration (for the worse) of established standards'.⁴¹⁶

As Linklater left India and began a search for another adventure, Huxley's Indian-American journal may have been an influence on Linklater's decision to follow the trend of authors and begin his own grand American tour; however, Huxley's style is markedly different to that of Linklater. Huxley has been called an author of ideals, while Linklater's pre-WWII novels focus on character and situation in order to take a more unbiased approach. Perhaps, the best way to initiate an investigation of Linklater as a part of an American tradition would be to turn our back on the British writers, and instead focus on those native to the United States.

Humorists such as Mark Twain, Washington Irving and George Ade, built a long standing tradition of American wit and comedy, much of which is found in Linklater's work. Mark Twain gained international popularity, not only through his writing but also on his world lecture tour, and Twain's fondness for England is evident in his fictions and in his lectures. His *The Prince and the Pauper* (1881) has since created a myth that extends beyond Twain's original story, and *A Confederate Yankee in King Author's Court* (1889) reflects his ability to combine the two nations in a playful manner. Howard Baetzhold in 'Mark Twain: England's Advocate' argues that Twain's visits to England from 1872 to 1874 so effected his political outlook that for a time he preferred the English form of government. Baetzhold argues that:

⁴¹⁵ Aldous Huxley, *Jesting Plate: the diary of a journey* (London: Granada Publishing/Flamingo, 1985), p. 196.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Much of Twain's criticism was based on a growing conviction that most of the corruption stemmed from the possession of political power by the ignorant and incompetent -- a theme on which he had touched briefly during his Western years and which was to be of major concern to him during the remainder of the 1870's.⁴¹⁷

His English visits strongly influenced his writing – most specifically *The Gilded Age* (1873) – and eventually he would become the quintessential anglophile, advocating the placement of British traditions in America.

The influence of Mark Twain upon Linklater's work is hardly incidental. In *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, Linklater acknowledges that Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* (1884) had pride of place on his book shelf next to his own novels.⁴¹⁸ Twain's witticisms are matched by few, but his style of writing – clear with a healthy dose of satire and irony is entangled in plot devices and pre-twentieth century heroes – can be compared to Linklater. Both authors are more often categorized as regional writers, despite the fact that much of their respective works encompass themes and settings outside of their national identities. As Linklater's style matured and he learned to blend elements of Horatian and Juvenalian forms, stronger connections can be made to Mark Twain. Twain's picaresque form and *picaro* anti-heroes are evident in Linklater's work, and it would not be a stretch to find Juan Motley rafting down the Mississippi with Huckleberry Finn. While Twain and Linklater do differ on their use of language⁴¹⁹ – with Twain's use of regional dialect pre-empting the Scottish Renaissance's hope of reinstating Scots as a national language and the justification of political nationalism – Linklater's dry wit is certainly reminiscent of Twain.

⁴¹⁷ Howard G. Baetzhold, 'Mark Twain: England's Advocate', *American Literature*, 28, 3 (November 1956), p. 331.

⁴¹⁸ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 123.

⁴¹⁹ Linklater found the American accent fascinating, and made attempts to include several American dialects in *Juan in America*. *Man on My Back* recounts an incident in which he and a friend perfected the southern American accent to the point of fooling locals. Linklater, *Man on My Back*, pp. 193-194.

George Ade is often described as Twain's successor. Ade's *Fables in Slang* (1899) investigated American colloquial vernacular more than it did 'slang', and informally has become a dictionary for late nineteenth century colloquialisms. Yet, it is not Ade's use of the vernacular that is of interest to this investigation, it is his American satiric style which parodied the vanishing countryside of America. In the same way that Linklater portrays the changing face of Scotland's farmlands and wilderness in novels such as *Magnus Merriman* and *White Maa's Saga*, Ade was an advocate for American prairies. *In Babel, Stories of Chicago* (1906) investigates the joy of moving out of the city and near to the prairies and showcases Ade's use of objectivity in satire. Ade, as does Linklater, portrays a society – complete with problems – in a farcical way, so to the average observer the story seems light; however, upon closer inspection, the reader is to find a myriad of meaning. *The Slim Princess* (1907)⁴²⁰ is a prime example of the romping nature of his stories, which takes a note from traditional form of comedy – boy seeks girl, folly ensues, boy gets girl. Usually presented as a fable with a specific character acting as the object of the satire, there is a clear moral at the end. Similarities between Ade and Linklater lie in the farcical nature of the romantic relationships, but Ade's commentaries tend to be more heavy handed in moralistic tone.

No discussion of American humour is complete without Washington Irving. Born at the close of the American Revolution in 1783, he was named for the first president of the United States. Irving's mother was from Falmouth and his father was from Orkney, which may lead one to wonder if he inherited his dry humour and mythic-story telling from his Scottish counterparts. Linklater finds similarities with Irving in his fable-like works such as *Men of Ness* (1932), *A Spell for Old Bones* (1949), and *The Revolution*. Here Linklater draws,

⁴²⁰ *The Slim Princess* was adapted for a Broadway musical in 1911 and also made into a 1920 film starring Mabel Normand.

as did Irving, upon history and landscape to create a scene, yet places within it a voice that is of his own time period.

Before becoming the toast of both America and Europe for his fiction, Irving and his brothers published a newspaper that would resemble a modern spoof journal, such as the *American Onion* or *British Private Eye*. The Irving's *Salmagundi: or, the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq and others* (1807-1808) featured Swift-like satires and comedy exposés aimed at politics, culture and society. The mission of the paper was 'to instruct the young, reform the old, correct the town, and castigate the age.'⁴²¹ Never one to shy away from the humour of impossibly long titles, Irving's first novel, *History of New-York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty, by Diedrich Knickerbocker*⁴²² (1809), most certainly could have influenced the style of Eric Linklater. The piece is narrated by the character Diedrich Knickerbocker and combines history and fiction to satirise the lives of the early Dutch settlers of Manhattan. The piece brilliantly creates a mock historic text in which the reader is never sure when it is truth or fiction being presented.

As noted, Eugene O'Neill's play *Strange Interlude* is found in *Juan in America* under the name *Black Bread*:⁴²³

⁴²¹ Washington Irving, 'Salmagundi: or, the Whim-Whams and Opinions of Launcelot Langstaff, Esq and others' in *The Complete Works of Washington Irving: In One Volume with a Memoir of the Author*, 1 (Saturday, January 24 1807) repn. Paris, France: Baudry's European Library, 1854, p. 2.

⁴²² In the same vein as 'The Author of the Waverley' novels, Irving used a pseudonym to create publicity; however, Irving took his viral marketing campaign a little farther. He placed a missing person advert in various New York newspapers claiming that information was needed regarding the missing historian Diedrich Knickerbocker. He also circulated a rumour that if Knickerbocker did not return to the hotel to pay his bill, the manuscript he left behind would be published. This initiated a frenzy of speculation, which also increased publication sales. *Richard Henry Stoddard, 'Life of Washington Irving', foreword in Irving, Washington, *The Sketch Book and Others* (Rockville, MD: Wildside Press, LLC, 2008), p. 20.

⁴²³ Frederick Wilkins, 'The Eugene O'Neill Newsletter', 4, 3, Suffolk University (Winter 1980).

Black Bread was the story of Kathleen and her three lovers, Sidney Bush, Walter Hood, and Gerald Tomkins. A secondary plot dealt with the affection entertained by Livia (Kathleen's sister) for Walter Hood; a vain affection. There was not very much action in the play. Every half-hour the scene shifted. Kathleen was introduced on the verandah of her home in the Adirondacks. She was talking to Sidney and Gerald. Then she was shown in bed, talking to Walter. Then in the living room, the dining room, on board a train, in an art gallery (some enlightened observations were offered here), a corridor, a garden, and a bathroom. But wherever she was she talked, and Walter, Gerald, and Sidney very often replied to her. But more often they wrote in their diaries. For this was the revolutionary device invented by Mr. Knut Blennem for discovering to the audience the true and secret thoughts of his *dramatis personae*.⁴²⁴

The play came to be a favourite of women and was known to be terribly long; in fact, in 1937 a *New York Herald-Tribune* interview acknowledged that the audience predominately was composed of women.⁴²⁵ Linklater must have picked up on this as Isadore states in to Juan Motley: '[...] after all, if you got nothing to do all night you can park your fanny here for four and a half hours – instead of two and a half at any other theatre [...]'⁴²⁶

Fanfare for a Tin Hat gives several clues to the writing community in which Linklater was immersed while in the United States. Linklater reveals, with almost star-struck abandon, the number of noted literary figures he befriended while in the states. Aboard the ship that brought Linklater to America he made the acquaintance of Hamilton Gilkyson and his wife Phoebe Hunter Gilkyson – a noted poet and literary figure of women's magazines. Also on this ship was Josephine Pinckney – the poet and novelist who helped form the Southern literary revival after World War One – with whom Linklater maintained a friendship.⁴²⁷ It was

⁴²⁴ Linklater, *Juan in America*, pp. 81-82.

⁴²⁵ Felicia Hardison Londre, 'Twitting O'Neil: His Plays of the 1920s Subjected to *La Critique Creatrice*', *The Eugene O'Neill Review*, ed. by Zander Brietzke, 26 (Boston, MA: Suffolk University, 2004) <<http://www.eoneill.com/library/review/26/26j.htm>> [accessed 8 August 2010].

⁴²⁶ Linklater, *Juan in America*, p. 184.

⁴²⁷ In *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, Linklater describes Josephine as poor but quiet descendent of a historic plantation in North Carolina. Linklater oddly attempts to justify the Pinckney family's place in the slave trade by suggesting that North Carolina's 'surplus slaves had been manumitted.' (p. 109) Her homestead resembles the island plantation on which Lalage lived, making her a possible inspiration for a modern day Haidée.

Josephine and Hamilton who introduced Linklater to Joseph Hergesheimer, James Branch Cabell, Owen Wister, and Emily Balch.⁴²⁸ He speaks of these authors fondly and states that Wister changed the view of the American west with his scenes of gunslingers and one-horse towns, and it was Emily Balch that would eventually patron the beat poets.

Linklater found himself amid America's brightest authors, many of whom became fodder for characters and stories in *Juan in America*. In *Fanfare for a Tin Hat* he recounts attempting to meet Sinclair Lewis through Emily Balch, who took him to Lewis' home late one evening. Unfortunately, Lewis had already gone to bed and had to be roused by his wife Dorothy Thompson. Linklater states:

She let us in, however, and with deep resentment hardening her voice told us how earnestly she had tried – but tried in vain – to keep Red Lewis sober. Then, as vainly to keep him awake. But an hour ago she had put him to bed, and now the Nobel Prizewinner⁴²⁹ was fast asleep.

‘And so,’ she said – now with triumph in her voice – ‘you’ve come for nothing!’

‘Indeed we have not!’ and Emily in her sugar-cured Southern tones. ‘It was you we came to visit with, it wasn’t Red!’

From then on a pleasant but ill-governed evening again became pleasant, and anger, mollified by judicious flattery, vanished to make room for hospitality...⁴³⁰

It would be hard to imagine that these connections with the youthful writers of the American jazz age did not have an effect on Linklater's style. *Juan in America* is the influence of Linklater's literary life, and as he pushed his literary knowledge into the text, traditions from across the Atlantic arose.

⁴²⁸ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 111-112.

⁴²⁹ Lewis won the Nobel Prize in 1930. It is uncertain if this event happened before or after Lewis won the prize.

⁴³⁰ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, pp. 113-114.

America versus Britain: Ethnological Representations

Not all texts relating to transatlantic relationships were satiric, fictional or even literary. In the early twentieth century, many British authors initiated discourse on U.S. culture. George Knoles' essay, "'My American Impressions': English Criticism of American Civilization Since 1919' (1953), succinctly summarises the ethnological interest the British took in American culture from 1919. From the start he states:

Englishmen, particularly since 1919, have demonstrated an increasing concern with the growth, development, and spread of American civilization. In their concern, they have sought to explore and examine the inner workings of our collective life and to seek out the spirit that informs the American character.⁴³¹

Yet, these ethnographers seeking to record American life did not always take an unbiased view, and at times amateurishly attempted to mimic early anthropological methodology by investigating a less 'civilised' culture. George Knoles, in two extensive and detailed texts,⁴³² surveys British perceptions of America and notes that transatlantic ethnologies often suggested that Americans were uncivilized and did not warrant the growing global economic and political power they enjoyed. Others were generally critical and C.E.M Joad, despite never having visited the United States, argued that meeting Americans in the U.K. and reading their literature was sufficient evidence to make the statement that America was in fact a 'Babbitt warren'.⁴³³

Many who took a negative view of American life, did so because it was quintessentially 'different' from English culture, and therefore inherently 'wrong'. Margo

⁴³¹ Knoles, 'My American Impressions', p. 113.

⁴³² Knoles' entertaining examination of transatlantic literary relations in the early twentieth century is a much more detailed and extensive resource than the brief discussion included in this thesis. Anyone wishing to study British perceptions of America in the 1920s should refer to Knoles' *British Criticism of American or, "'My American Impressions': English Criticism of American Civilization Since 1919'*. (See bibliography and further footnotes.) This thesis owes a great deal to Knoles' dedication to the subject.

⁴³³ C. E. M. Joad, *The Babbitt Warren* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1926), pp. xiii-xiv.

Asquith's *My Impressions of America* (1922) suggests that America was nothing more than illegal cocktails, jazz, advertising and crude materialistic salesmanship,⁴³⁴ and an anonymous author asked in *The Amazing American; His Mind, Methods and Ideals* (1925):

Will America, with all its genius for organization, with all its progress along material lines, give to posterity gifts anything like so valuable as those received from the past? [...] Has America any special mission other than that of vulgarizing mankind?⁴³⁵

In *The Jazz Age Revisited: British Criticism of American Civilization During the 1920s* (1955), Knoles suggests that this masked American answered his own questions with a 'no', and that *The Amazing American* suggests:

America has been a borrower, not a lender. It received the best of its innumerable religions from the Jews, its laws from the Romans, and nine-tenths of its art, music, and literature from Europe. No matter how ingenious they have proved to be, the 'Americans will never grind out' a Shakespeare or a Darwin 'from their idealized automata of iron and steel.'⁴³⁶

One of the oddest of derogatory texts is Beverly Nichols' *The Star Spangled Manner* (1928). This work, which was considered to be a serious study of American society, is composed of exceedingly odd story upon odd story, nearly each one highlighting anti-Semitism, racism and general bigotry. However, the nature of the intolerance does not lie at the feet of the American society, but at the author:

⁴³⁴ Margo Asquith, *My Impressions of America* (New York, NY: Doran, 1922), pp. 191 cited in George H. Knoles, "'My American Impressions': English Criticism of American Civilization Since 1919", *American Quarterly*, 5, 2 (Summer 1953), p. 114.

⁴³⁵ Anonymous, *The Amazing America: His Mind, Methods and Ideals by "an American"* (London: Witherby, 1925), pp. 76-77 cited in George H. Knoles, *The Jazz Age Revisited: British Criticism of American Civilization During the 1920s* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 23.

⁴³⁶ *The Amazing American* cited in Knoles, *The Jazz Age Revisited*, p. 23.

At the table next to me sat six boys dressed as girls. Four were white and two were coloured. One was powdering his nose, another was rouging his lips, a third was sipping gin in a lady-like manner, a fourth was casting languourous glances in my direction. The two coloured boys, charmingly gowned in pale green, were so drunk that they had forgotten any of the conventions which apply to either sex.

As soon as you read these words you will, of course, hiss to yourself 'Berlin!' Only Huns go in for 'that' sort of thing! As all really nice people know, Germany is riddled, throttled, and overrun with every sort of perversion. Germany and no where else.

I greatly regret it, but the scene is not laid in Berlin. It is laid in Harlem⁴³⁷

For many of those who wrote about transatlantic cultural relations, the problem was not necessarily a lack of 'decorum' or the allowance of inter-racial homosexuality in public places, but simply that America was not England. Ramsay Muir's title *America the Golden: An Englishman's Notes and Comparisons* (1927) makes no excuses for writing a simple text that compares and contrasts the two cultures. Maxwell Armfield's *An Artist in America* (1925), Edward Garnett's *Friday Nights* (1922), and Stephen Graham's *In Quest of El Dorado* (1923), provide a definition of America that was not so much about another place, society or culture but about comparisons with England. Knoles argues that, 'In the process, critics contrasted American standards with English standards, American mass production with English craftsmanship, and American barbarism with English civilization.'⁴³⁸

Others, according to Knoles, resented 'the emergence of the United States to a place of commanding power and potential leadership in world affairs.'⁴³⁹ Some, such as J. Ellis Barker, hailed America's newfound wealth. In *America's Secret: The Causes of Her Economic Success* (1927), he proclaims that the American model of production is a revelation and Britain's reluctance to overhaul its production practices could be detrimental to its

⁴³⁷ Beverly Nichols, *The Star Spangled Manner* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928), p. 87.

⁴³⁸ Knoles, 'My American Impressions', p. 114.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

economy. Reviewer, Padraic Colum, stated of the book, 'Mr. J. Ellis Barker's book illustrates the legend about America that is being created and accepted in various European countries. It glorifies the great American producer [...] It is wholly uncritical in this glorification.'⁴⁴⁰ And Barker was not the only author showing American life, culture, politics or economics in a positive light. A less pessimistic view can be found in G.K. Chesterton's *What I Saw in America* (1922) and C.C. Wakefield's *America Today and Tomorrow: A Tribute of Friendship* (1924), who wrote fondly about American politics finding common ground between the two countries. During a time when books on American culture and society were commonplace, Ramsay Muir was sure to make a statement of unbiased intention regarding the nature of his book:

[...] this little book is not a systematic treatise. It does not attempt to survey the conditions and methods of American industry. Still less does it pretend to frame any sort of judgement upon American civilisation. [...] I have been content to put together, in a series of more or less disconnected chapters, some notes and comments upon a few aspects of American industrial development.⁴⁴¹

Juan in America would have found its place amongst the many who felt the need to discuss America and, as Linklater witnessed and lived amongst the people of America, he would have acted as an ethnologist taking into account the context of the current discipline as well as his own accounts and opinions. Additionally, Linklater approaches a satire of American culture with friendly joviality, and leans away from representing them as the savage other. Therefore, while Linklater used basic ethnographic principles, he was slightly ahead of his time in his treatment of the foreign culture by remaining fairly open minded. Knoles

⁴⁴⁰ Padraic Colum, 'America To-Day and To-Morrow', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 16, 63 (September 1927), p. 381.

⁴⁴¹ Ramsay Muir, *America the Golden*, reprn. in *Foreign Travelers in America 1810-1935* series (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1974), p. 135.

recognises his joviality when he discusses *Juan in America*: '[...] sharp satire, less bitter than Joad's only because of his generous use of the comic spirit, provoked gales of laughter from his readers as they followed Juan from one sink of American civilization to another.'⁴⁴²

Regional Influence: Linklater and Scotland

Before jumping into a discussion about Linklater's relationship with Scotland, perhaps it would be best to first investigate Byron's Scottish heritage. Byron's relationship with Scotland began during his childhood. He was raised in Aberdeenshire until the age of ten, when his great-uncle died leaving young Byron the title of Baron. With this peerage came land and opportunity, and his mother moved Byron down to England. Despite only spending the early part of his life in Scotland, he references it frequently in his work. In *Don Juan* the narrator slips into that perceived autobiographical mode and professes a love for Burns and Scotland:

To make such puppets of us things below),
Are over: Here's a health to 'Auld Lang Syne!'
I do not know you, and may never know
Your face, — but you have acted on the whole
Most nobly, and I own it from my soul.

And when I use the phrase of 'Auld Lang Syne!'
'T is not address'd to you — the more 's the pity
For me, for I would rather take my wine
With you, than aught (save Scott) in your proud city.
But somehow, — it may seem a schoolboy's whine,
And yet I seek not to be grand nor witty, —
But I am half a Scot by birth, and bred
A whole one, and my heart flies to my head,—

(Quotation continued on next page)

⁴⁴² Knoles, p. 115

(Quotation continued)

As 'Auld Lang Syne' brings Scotland, one and all,
 Scotch plaids, Scotch snoods, the blue hills, and clear streams,
 The Dee, the Don, Balgounie's Brig's *black wall*,
 All my boy feelings, all my gentler dreams
 Of what I *then dreamt*, clothed in their own pall,
 Like Banquo's offspring;—floating past me seems
 My childhood in this childishness of mine:
 I care not — 't is a glimpse of 'Auld Lang Syne.'

And though, as you remember, in a fit
 Of wrath and rhyme, when juvenile and curly,
 I railed at Scots to show my wrath and wit,
 Which must be owned was sensitive and surly,
 Yet 'tis in vain such sallies to permit,
 They cannot quench young feelings fresh and early:
 I '*scotch'd* not killed' the Scotchman in my blood,
 And love the land of 'mountain and of flood.' [X: 16, 4-8, 17-19] ⁴⁴³

As the Scottish stanzas step out from Byron's epic poem, the first reaction is to read this as a nostalgic love for the homeland. However, one must wonder if, as usual, there is more to Byron's writing than first impressions. *Don Juan* was the product of an age which, according to Stuart Kelly, saw Walter Scott introduce the commercialization of Scotland.⁴⁴⁴ Scott promoted the 'Scotch plaids, Scotch snoods, the blue hills, and clear streams', and one must wonder if Byron's Scottish stanzas are satiric.

However, not all critics are convinced. Angus Calder claims that only a 'very obtuse person could miss the signs that his Scottish childhood left a strange mark on him, or fail to see some significance in his eager appreciation of Burns and Scott, poets who demonstrably influenced him.'⁴⁴⁵ Yes, Byron was influenced by Scotland, and 'influences upon the text' is the main theme of this dissertation; yet, there is danger in putting too much weight on a

⁴⁴³ Byron, 'Don Juan', p. 703.

⁴⁴⁴ Stuart Kelly's *Scott-Land* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2011) is an excellent read on Walter Scott's influence of Scotland's global image.

⁴⁴⁵ Angus Calder, *Byron and Scotland: Radical or Dandy?* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), p. 2.

Scottish alliance. Having read *Don Juan*'s Scottish stanzas, Linklater – a man claiming a long Scottish and Orkney ancestry – could have followed Byron and placed his own representations of Scotland in *Juan in America*. However, instead he chooses to leave his novel free of Scottish digressions, and stamps an English voice and English influence upon *Juan in America*.

Eric Linklater spent much of his young adult life outside of Scotland – in France during the war, two years in India, an intermittent amount of time in London, and two years in America – and, without slipping into psychoanalytic critical theory, one can wonder if the physical detachment from Scotland which he experienced throughout his twenties may be the reason many of his works lend themselves to a more British tone (with possibly an international voice). In fact, it is important to remember that Linklater wrote much of *Juan in America* while in the United States.

Yet, there is something obviously missing from the nationality of *Juan in America* – Scottish identity. While a large number of his fictions are set outside of Scotland, the majority of his non-fictions reference Scottish historical figures or political events. What this suggests is that Linklater found pride and interest in a Scottish and Orkadian heritage, but chose to write against a larger global backdrop. He identifies with a Scottish heritage, an English language heritage and a British allegiance. George Blake describes Linklater's Scottish/British voice:

This [*Juan in America*] was not characteristically Scottish writing. The supple resourceful style was from the best English models – the Elizabethans among them. The nature of the fun – such a glorious riot of it! – was a sort that might have prompted a *Day of Mourning* in Drumtochty, and even in his maturity this most gifted of Orkneymen cannot resist the temptation to have a fling. We may wonder what such comic pieces as *Poet's Pub*, *Ripeness is All*, and *Private Angelo* have to do with Scotland. The fact remains that Linklater has contributed largely and seriously to the native canon.⁴⁴⁶

There is no doubt that Linklater has contributed to the Scottish canon; however, *Juan in America*'s relationship to Scotland is debatable. *Juan in America* is a text which investigates the cultural differences between Britain (mostly England) and America, and purposefully includes limited Scottish aspects. Admittedly, the very act of negating Scotland from the text in itself makes a large statement (in much the same way that erasing aspects of history from the novel infers a specific statement); however, this omission would be more important if it were by an author such as Hugh MacDiarmid or Neil M. Gunn – authors whose Scottish sympathies are the foundation for their work.

Much has been made of Byron's place amongst the Romantics, and to an extent this is important because it is a literary tradition to which he was reacting. M. H. Abrams excluded Byron from his discussion of the Romantics: 'Byron I omit altogether; not because I think him a lesser poet than the others but because in his greatest work he speaks with an ironic counter-voice and deliberately opens a satirical perspective on the vatic stance of his Romantic contemporaries'.⁴⁴⁷ According to G. K. Blank, Abrams' omission spurred a debate regarding the classification of Byron as one of the Romantics. However, he argues that an exclusion

⁴⁴⁶ George Blake, *Annals of Scotland (1895-1955): An essay on the twentieth-century Scottish novel*, related to a series of programmes with the same title to be broadcast by the BBC for winter listening, 1956-47 (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1956), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁴⁷ M.H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature*, (New York, NY: Norton, 1971), p. 13 cited in G. K. Blank, 'Teaching Byron in a Romantic Context' in *Approaches to Teaching Byron's Poetry*, ed. by Frederick W. Shilstone (New York, NY: The Modern Language Association of America, 1991), pp. 39-44 (p. 39).

of Byron from the movement need not be necessary as the term Romantics (which he calls the “R” word,⁴⁴⁸) is applicable to English literature only ‘inasmuch as we know more or less who – Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keates, Shelley, Byron – and roughly when – say, from 1798 (with the publication of Wordsworth and Coleridge’s *Lyrical Ballads*) to 1824 (the death of Byron).’⁴⁴⁹ In this instance, the classification of Byron as a Romantic is justified, especially as his death signals the end of the movement.

However, defining Byron as part of an artistic movement may be unnecessary. Instead, what is important is his reaction to his peers, their work, and their beliefs. Byron’s aggressive reaction to the work of his peers is similar to Linklater’s satire of Hugh MacDiarmid, T.S. Eliot and the multitude of other authors he chose to parody. Significantly, in much the same way Byron lashed out against the Romantics, Linklater reacted to the Scottish Renaissance movement.

Critical works regarding Linklater are all too often concerned with his place as a member of the Scottish Renaissance group. Linklater’s connection to the Hugh MacDiarmid circle clouds judgement when trying to classify him. Linklater was extremely friendly with a number of the authors who became known for early twentieth century Scottish nationalism. Texts such as *White Maa’s Saga*, *Men of Ness* and *Magnus Merriman* are a part of a wider Scottish context. Additionally, while Linklater boasted of his Orkney heritage and often wrote and lectured on Scottish topics, he does not need to be placed insistently within a Scottish canon and he certainly should not be placed as a part of the Scottish Renaissance Movement.

Hugh MacDiarmid in *Scottish Scene: The Intelligent Man’s Guide to Albyn* (1934) attempts to define the movement:

⁴⁴⁸ Blank, p. 39.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

The phrase ‘Scottish Renaissance Group’ was applied first of all by Professor Denis Sauraut, in an article he wrote in a French review, to the group associated with me in ‘Northern Numbers’ and ‘The Scottish Chapbook’. What has happened during the interval? The term ‘Scottish Renaissance’ has been wrested away from its original significance and applied loosely to all manner of activities directed towards a ‘national awakening’. [...] The programme that was announced years ago was that the time had come to develop a literature based not on Scotland’s affinities with England but its differences from England; that to do this involved a thorough revaluation of our literary past and a species of psychological *kulturkampf*; and that among our main tasks must be a systematic exploration of the creative possibilities of Braid Scots and a recapture of our lost Gaelic background. Many other points emerged almost at once, but these were, roughly stated, the main lines of the proposed development.⁴⁵⁰

Following MacDiarmid’s discussion, Linklater is not a proponent of the original view of the Scottish Renaissance movement – neither with the political element of the Nationalists⁴⁵¹ nor the artistic changes occurring from within the Scottish Renaissance. Regarding his time as a Nationalist, Linklater states, ‘At that time I was still an ardent Imperialist. And I was ardent Scottish National. So I was certainly the only Scottish Nationalist who was an ardent Imperialist.’⁴⁵² Whether or not Linklater was correct in his statement that he was the ‘only Scottish Nationalist who was an ardent Imperialist’ is irrelevant, as it is unlikely he was the only Scottish Nationalist who was also an Imperialist. What is important is that he did not want to disassociate himself from the United Kingdom as a whole, and that while he was passionate about Scotland he did not dismiss the rest of the country. Linklater spent the majority of his life in Scotland, and had a friendly association with many who were within the

⁴⁵⁰ Lewis Grassie Gibbon and Hugh MacDiarmid, *Scottish Scene: The Intelligent Man’s Guide to Albyn* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1934), p. 45.

⁴⁵¹ Linklater ran for Parliamentary by-election as a Nationalist; however, he saw Nationalism not as a means for which to break-up the Union but a way in which to strengthen the Union. He believed that if the colonies of Britain joined together to form a Federation, it may keep the Empire from crumbling. Much of this was recorded as fiction in his text *Magnus Merriman*. For a more in depth discussion of Linklater’s political beliefs, see Rachel Marsh, ‘Alliances not Alienation: Imperial Federalism via Scottish Nationalism in Eric Linklater’s *Magnus Merriman*’, *Alienation and Resistance: Representation in Text and Image*, ed. by Gordon Spark (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 188-203.

⁴⁵² British Universities Film & Video Council interview, *Stone in the Heather*.

Hugh MacDiarmid circle. But, under MacDiarmid's definition, these elements do not necessarily make one a member of the Scottish Renaissance movement. Additionally, it is important to note that Linklater did not write in Scots.

Linklater openly spoke out against the 'experiment-for-experiment's sake' attitude of the Modernists; however, it was not just the Modernists of whom Linklater disapproved. In *Scottish Scene*, Gibbon comments on Linklater's aversion to the growing Renaissance movement: 'It would be even more regrettable if Mr. Linklater hampered his genius by an uneasy adherence to a so-called Scots literary Renaissance.'⁴⁵³ He then footnotes this with: 'This fear has been pleasingly dispelled with the publication of the excellent *Magnus Merriman*.'⁴⁵⁴ Through *Magnus Merriman*, Linklater satirises those in the Renaissance movement. He parodies Hugh MacDiarmid:

In Scotland the chief exponent of literal revolution was Hugh Skene, and he, as has already been noticed, attempted to revive the ancient Scottish forms of speech [...] But as Skene's genius matured he discovered that the Scots of Dunbar and Henryson was insufficient to contain both his emotion and his meaning and he began to draw occasional buckets from the fountains of other tongues. At time it was not uncommon to find in his verse, besides Scots, and occasional Gaelic, German, or Russian phrase. The title-poem of his new volume, *The Flauchterspaad*, was strikingly polygot, and after three hours' study Magnus was unable to decide whether it was a plea for Communism, a tribute to William Wallace, or a poetical rendering of certain prehistoric fertility rites.⁴⁵⁵

This sentiment is not only found in his fictions but in his non-fictions as well. Linklater prefers to not limit himself to regionalism, and he states in 'The Novel in Scotland':

They [the Scottish Renaissance] may avoid Scottish themes; or deal with them in a parochial spirit that belittles what is already small enough; or confine themselves to some remote parcel of geography, to some distant fragment of life, and find that in solitary corner a significance that is clearly lacking in the whole.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵³ Lewis Grassie Gibbon, p. 203.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203. This comment by Gibbon may also be a projection of his own uneasiness with the Scottish Renaissance, which may be why he is happy to mention Linklater's disapproval of the movement.

⁴⁵⁵ Linklater, *Magnus Merriman*, p. 73.

⁴⁵⁶ Eric Linklater, 'The Novel in Scotland', *Fortnightly Review*, 144 (1935), p. 621.

If this study were to investigate appropriations as found in *Magnus Merriman*, then perhaps a comparative literature reading of the text as a Unionist/Federalist response to the Scottish Renaissance may be in order; however, *Juan in America* places itself squarely within a British cultural sphere. Of course, not everyone was happy with the fact that Linklater – at times – wrote fiction which ignored his Scottish heritage. George Mackay Brown states of Linklater’s work: ‘But then Eric Linklater began to set his scenes in the great world – America, China – and that did not mean so much. But still, again and again, he gave a short story or essay or fragment of autobiography an Orkney setting, and the magic was astir again.’⁴⁵⁷ Hall insists on placing *Juan in America* in the Scottish canon by arguing that despite the novel’s void of Scottish characters or setting, and its lack of even the smallest Scottish theme, it can still be considered a Scottish text. Hall explains:

This pattern of the repeated puncturing of aspirations, the reductive idiom, is one which emerges in Scottish fiction with the hopes and romantic fantasies of Scott’s *Edward Waverley* and is a technique to which Linklater would return in *Magnus Merriman*. [...] In the fondness for satire and links with Byron and Scott, it can be argued that the novel belongs somewhere in the Scottish tradition [...] ⁴⁵⁸

This very loose categorisation of ‘somewhere in the Scottish tradition’ is a subjective interpretation. Stating that ‘This pattern of the repeated puncturing of aspirations, the reductive idiom’ is a Scottish attribute because it can be found in the style of Scott and Byron is even more tenuous. Hall also references Kurt Wittig to support his case:

⁴⁵⁷ George Mackay Brown, ‘Envoi: Edwin Muir at Newcastle’ in *Edwin Muir: Selected Prose* (London: John Murray, 1987), p. 203 cited in Hall, p. 82.

⁴⁵⁸ Hall, p. 88.

Kurt Wittig sees the grotesque comedy that permeates Linklater's novels as being quintessentially Scottish, going back to 'Christis Kirk', 'The Jolly Beggars' and Dunbar's 'The Dance of the Sevin Deidly Synnis'. Indeed, the riotousness of *Juan in America* might be said to resemble parts of MacDiarmid's *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* [...]⁴⁵⁹

Due to the multitude of allusions found in *Juan in America*, the view that Scott and MacDiarmid were influences upon Linklater is not surprising, but *Juan in America* resembling *A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle* (1926) through 'riotousness' seems like a stretch even for the alleged elasticity of appropriation. What may be more accurate is that both *A Drunk Man* and *Juan in America* are appropriations of Byron, and, as MacDiarmid completed his epic poem before Linklater's novel, Linklater wrote his adventures of Juan Motley as some sort of (almost anti-Scottish Renaissance) reaction to MacDiarmid's piece.

Linklater reacted to various literary traditions, movements, and authors as would any student of writing. He used some as forms of inspiration: appropriating styles, ideas and tones. Others, he either disregarded or reacted against, choosing to follow those who felt that the English language was something to be protected and not sullied. Of Linklater's poetry, James Sutherland stated that Linklater:

[...] owed something to Kipling, Masfield, Belloc and (I add reluctantly) Robert W. Service. Some of it was Bacchanalian, some in the sea-shanty vein, His Norse-Orkney strain comes out in 'Spilt Wine' ... 'Rubáiyát of Omar K. Lamb' is a skit on the on the FitzGerald poem. 'Carousal' is a pastiche of Meredith's 'Love in the Valley', which I imagined he had just discovered... All this merely adds up to saying that at the age of circa 24 he was, like other young poets, sill experimenting, and very much influenced by what he had been reading last.⁴⁶⁰

This is of his poetry, riddled with so much intertextual referencing that it was difficult to find the voice of Linklater, and perhaps this is why Linklater never found a career as a poet. But by his late twenties and early thirties, his prose was flourishing and he was learning exactly

⁴⁵⁹ Hall, p. 88.

⁴⁶⁰ James Sutherland in a letter to Michael Parnell, cited in Parnell, p. 63.

what to borrow from literary tradition and when he should appropriate from life, and by the writing of *Juan in America* he had discovered how to balance his inspirations.

Justifications for ‘Raw Materials’

This investigation relies heavily on the words of Linklater and Byron, two men known for exaggeration and fictionalising their lives. This study uses their fictions like they were memoirs, and it uses their autobiographies, letters and diaries as if they were literature. But, then, is the critic any different from the appropriating author? Or from the writer who uses material from his/her own life, interpreting memories long past, rereading found notes, searching for myth and story from school days past? When a text is steeped in appropriation, the line between author, reader and critic certainly becomes very blurred.

The ‘raw materials’ of *Juan in America* are autobiographic and anthropological; they are based on historic events and memories. Linklater places representations of people he knew and sights he saw while travelling into the text, these elements all add to the feeling of truth so necessary for a satire. Because a satire mocks humanity, the reader must believe the elements being mocked are true, therefore the autobiography, anthropological and historical elements add to the verisimilitude of the satire. However, this is just a *feeling* of truth, as the reader can not confirm the validity of the information in the text, and while the critic can research and attempt to make correlations between an author’s autobiographies and his fictions, the legitimacy of an historic event or memory written is tenuous. But whether or not these ‘raw materials’ are based in truth is unimportant, instead it is the *feeling* of perceived truth that is essential for a satire, and if we believe Linklater’s representation of America to be true then we become engaged in the satire.

**CONCLUDING REMARKS:
The Interpretation of an Influenced Novel**

There is potential for this investigation to expand. A study of the text as an instrument which expounds on the social history of America would be applicable, following topics such as: gender identity in the modern era, immigration and a multicultural America, or civil liberties in the years between reconstruction and the civil rights movement. Or, a close reading of *Juan in America* searching for allusion to Greek, Roman and Norse mythology would provide even further insight on Linklater's authorial inspiration. Possibly, this thesis could continue by looking at the progression of Byronic influence through Linklater's work as a whole, or even an investigation of other Linklater novels which are appropriations of other works of fiction would be interesting. Alternatively, a survey of Linklater's work and his use of the Horatian and Juvenalian satiric forms may prove worthy of further consideration, because as Linklater matured as an author, he began blending the two forms in ways that are more representative of Byron's multiplicity.

However, these are only suggestions for further investigation and will not be discussed at this point. Ultimately, this thesis' final aim was to understand how Eric Linklater created a unique satirical text using various appropriated elements, and as *Juan in America* encompasses such a wide range of subjects and employs such a broad spectrum of influences, as an investigation it has the danger of continuing *ad infinitum*. Therefore, without proceeding further, the study has hopefully provided enough information to make a conclusive argument, which states that combining elements such as intertextual appropriation, historical, cultural and autobiographical representations in a single text creates an illusion of truth that is necessary for satire. Additionally, when these various elements are placed together as one

unit, it creates a distinct and unique voice and style. In *Juan in America*, Linklater aptly blends together representations of Byron, *Don Juan*, life, history, culture and influences from other literary traditions, to create a satirical tone that he would continue to hone over the course of his life. This investigation followed the principles of Frederick Beaty which stated that a critic must investigate an author's 'ability', 'temperament' and 'motivation' when interpreting a satirical text.

Linklater was classically educated, an astute individual, a biting witty man, and an avid researcher, all of which made him acutely aware of his own development as an author. From others he learned the secret to writing fiction: observe life, art, culture and politics. He found reverence in those who went before and he learnt from their writing. He interacted with his own generation, sometimes mocking while, on other occasions, acting as the student. As he often spoke honestly about his writing habits, his beliefs in what made excellent literature, and his thoughts on life, the universe and everything, it may be best to turn to Linklater's own words when concluding a complicated investigation which takes into account a multitude of ideas, theories and satirical elements

Linklater argues for his 'ability' as a writer:

I am, of course, a serious writer: that is to say, I have always shown proper respect for the language in which I write, a respect which is no longer general, nor even much applauded. But a true novelist is one who imposes his own character, his own way of thought and fashion for writing, on every page that leaves his table.⁴⁶¹

This excerpt shows Linklater's desire to not conform, and to write in a manner that used traditional language constructs, but still develop a uniqueness of style. Yet, it is not an author's ability alone that makes a satire; Beaty argues that it is also the public's reaction to the author's ability, and the author's 'temperament' towards public opinion. Additionally, the

⁴⁶¹ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 133.

‘motivation’ for writing a satire must be taken into consideration. For example, the public’s reaction to Byron’s ‘ability’ caused an outpour of support and disdain, and from these reviews Byron was motivated to write in a very specific – often harsh – satiric form that is as much a part of his talent as a writer as it is his temperament as a person (or even the temperament bestowed upon his persona).

Linklater recognised how important an author’s temperament was to creating a unique voice:

The giants of my trade – few in the beginning were conscious artists – shaped and subdued their material to conform with their own temper and understanding. From Fielding to Flaubert they set their own mark on what they created. Dickens and Balzac patented worlds of their own; and so did Sterne and Smollett.⁴⁶²

An author’s temper motivates him/her to take a specific view when recreating life in a text, and it is the representations of life – which can also be called representations of society and literary tradition – that Beatty termed ‘raw materials’. Byron incorporated autobiographic elements into his work which highlighted his motivation and temperament for writing, and these autobiographic elements can also be considered ‘raw materials’ of a satire. But the critic was never to know if the autobiographic elements were real or false; Byron blended reality and make-believe, creating texts that could be categorised as ‘autobiografiction’, and Linklater followed suit.

Linklater placed autobiographic elements into *Juan in America*, which played a primary role in the style and tone of his novel. This Linklater learned from those he considered to be the Greats, those who also placed themselves into their texts in an attempt to capture something much larger:

⁴⁶² Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 133.

Walter Scott and Tolstoy, as God before them, took clay and fashioned it in their own image; and Dostoievsky, like Lucifer, distorted creation and darkened it with evil.⁴⁶³

Yet, many of the ‘raw materials’ which were to be integrated into the text surpassed the autobiographic. Learning from Byron, Linklater used cultural and historic references, sociological representations, and influences from literary tradition. Linklater saw the novel as an entity that was to represent the world, and he became exasperated with contemporary styles that took too narrow a focus in their narrative:

Since the death of the giants there have been many lesser men who with smaller justification, have looked at some parcels of the world through eyes that measure only the capacity of their own retinas, and photographed repeatedly all they have perceived through view-finders that never change direction. There has grown up, indeed, a belief in the virtue of the individual view-finder, however small its radius or limited its range. The writer – in accordance with that belief – should assert his honesty by reporting only what he sees, through his vision may be limited by myopia or distorted by astigmatism.⁴⁶⁴

Juan in America was not Linklater’s first work of fiction, or even his first published work of fiction, but it was a novel which premiered a satirical style that he would continue to hone. *Juan in America* highlighted his abilities as an author who was aware of his surroundings, who had learned not just from writers past, but also from the world around him:

My own practice which came into being largely by accident – has been more humble and realistic. To a very large extent I have allowed my subjects to determine the style and temper in which I have written of them.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ Linklater, *Fanfare for a Tin Hat*, p. 133.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

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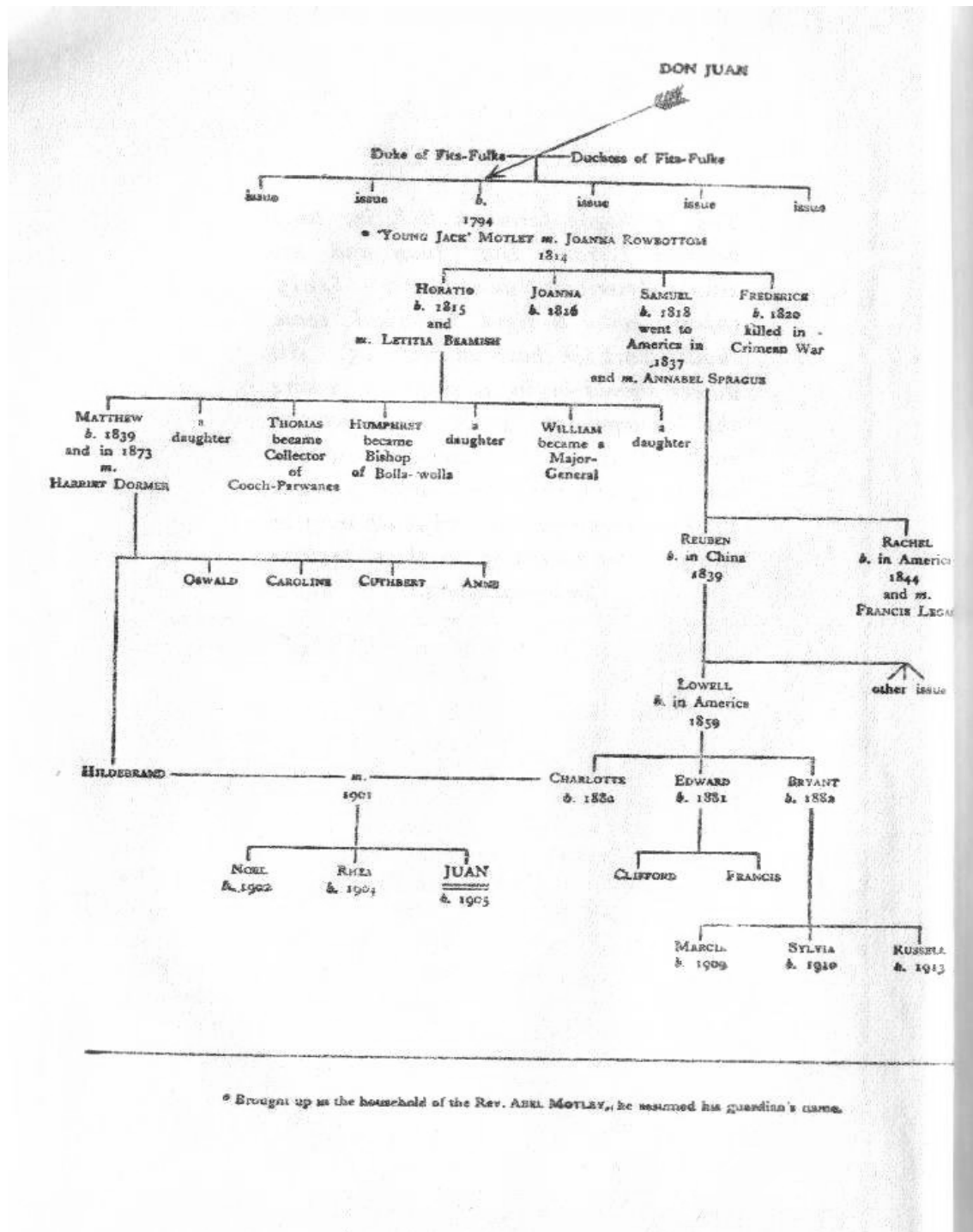
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(Figure 1) Linklater, Eric, *Juan in America*, the Orkney Edition (London: Jonathan Cape, 1953), p. 14.



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