"THE SCENE MOSCO": CREATING EASTERN EUROPE FOR EARLY MODERN ENGLISH AUDIENCES IN JOHN FLETCHER'S *THE LOYAL SUBJECT (1618)*

Katja Pilhuj

The Citadel

In 1562, English merchant and explorer Anthony Jenkinson produced a map of Russia, Muscovy, and Tartary, covering a large area of Eastern Europe. The work, in particular the colored versions, is visually striking, featuring not just cities and rivers but also people, animals, and small scenes throughout. Jenkinson's creation found an even wider audience when it was published in Abraham Ortelius' 1570 Latin atlas, the first of its kind. The map also appeared in the multiple later editions of the atlas, including the English one published in 1606 (see figure 1). Viewers then and now can see warriors with bows and arrows on horseback, men gathered outside of peaked tents, a few bears, a perhaps unexpected number of camels, and religious supplicants gathered around figures. Like many maps during the early modern period, Jenkinson's work is not meant to be used for directions; rather, geographic products like this map function as a repository of knowledge about various parts of the world. That knowledge, however, would often be as fanciful as the camels lurking near Moscow. Cartographers and other travel-oriented writers of the time employed geography in the literal sense; working in the discourse of "world-writing," they often produced a world and its people as they thought it should be, not necessarily as it was. Nevertheless, in the early modern period, the increasing accuracy of both the maps themselves and the sense of mapping as a science meant that these texts were imbued with an authority that became imprinted on the creators and their version of the regions of the world, making their reports "true" ones for readers and spectators.

This geographic discourse affected other creative endeavors, most notably drama. As John Gillies states, "atlases were generically 'theaters' before they were 'atlases,'" and many

playwrights drew from the language of geography in plays set abroad, creating new lands and new ideas for their audiences.[1] In the context of these geographic and theatrical developments, John Fletcher created a version of Russia, or Muscovy, for his 1618 play *The Loyal Subject*. Fletcher would have been especially influenced by geographic works, since his uncle Giles

Figure 1: Russiae, Moscoviae et Tartariae descriptio. Shelfmark: Bodleian Library BOD: Douce O subt. 15. From a manuscript by Anthony Jenkinson, 1562. In Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. English edition as *The Theatre of the Whole World*, London 1606. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0. digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

Fletcher, under whose care the younger Fletcher was placed from 1596 to about 1601, traveled to Moscow in 1588, eventually producing a work called *Of the Rus Commonwealth* in 1591.[2] Works like Giles Fletcher's Russia treatise, Jenkinson's map, and others contributed to an English audience's perception of Eastern Europe, providing creative writers like John Fletcher both the ideas and the language to formulate their own authoritative versions of these faraway lands that could have an impact on how English men and women viewed themselves and their

[1] John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 35.

[2] Monica Matei-Chesnoiu notes this probable influence as well. *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Madison and Teaneck: Farleigh Dickinson Press, 2009), 156. For biographical details on Giles Fletcher, see Lucy Munro, "Giles Fletcher the elder" (bap. 1546, d. 1611) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (03 January 2008), accessed 27 July 2020.

own country. In *The Loyal Subject* in particular, Fletcher depicts a place whose inhabitants use geographic discourse to create spaces and identities with thrillingly porous and blurred borders between inhabitant and foreigner, masculine and feminine, and even subject and object. Ultimately, this ability to move across literal and figurative borders allows women in Fletcher's Muscovy to inhabit and control bodies that act and move freely within the space and action of the play. While these women are portrayed as living in remote Muscovy, they present to Fletcher's English audience a model for how English women and men could view and interact with their world.

To create such female characters, writers like Fletcher the playwright drew on widely understood discourses of geography that connected the female body to land, such as the common reference to "virgin territory." The very first atlas—the 1570 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius—features on its frontispiece women who represent the known continents. The *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* became well known for these figures as its editions and translations were published throughout Europe.[3] And the Jenkinson map of Muscovy featured in all of these editions of Ortelius; so, Fletcher and his audience would very likely have been familiar with the atlas, its vivid map of "Russiae," and the ideologies of gender and geography within, especially after the publication of the 1606 English edition, which again featured the same cover image of women representing each of the continents (see figure 2). The depictions of these continents embody the qualities their lands are supposed to possess: the enthroned and fully clothed Europe placed above the others, framed by and holding markers of agriculture and justice, contrasts with a nearly nude and reclining America, whose barbarity is reflected in a spear and severed head.

[3] Frans Koks specifies, "The *Theatrum* atlas first appeared in 1570 and continued to be published until 1612. During this period, over seventy-three hundred copies were printed in thirty-one editions and seven different languages-a remarkable figure for the time." Frans Koks, "Ortelius Atlas," The Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/collections/general-maps/articles-and-essays/general-atlases/ortelius-atlas/, accessed 23 January 2020.

These allegorical figures appeared in art and geography throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, along with the nearly fully clothed (and thus more "civilized") Asia on the left, who nonethless holds an incense-burner which, according to frontispiece's accompanying poem by Adolf van Meetkerke of Bruges, makes Asia smell of "Arabic spices." As Paul Binding notes, this poem and Asia's figure recall the early modern spice trade, a connection to commodities that further underscores the potential objectification of these female figures.[4] The partially naked Africa, whose fewer clothes, darker skin, and sun-crown mark that continent's difference, also has her body open to the maze.[5] But while these images and the larger connection of women to land can lead to their objectification, the added element of the map or atlas as an object can open up interesting complexities for subjects like mapmaker, viewer, or female character. Veronica della Dora details how, "from mere documents, maps have been revisited as dynamic non-human actors that take life from their interactions with their users."[6] And with increasing availability of products like maps, atlases, and globes, more people could interact with geography. Viewers and readers actively encounter maps and similar products; they read, turn sheets, point, mark, and add or remove pages. In this way, the reader also becomes a geographer who can write the world. Women are doubly encoded in this relationship: their bodies could be marked as territories, and land could be delineated as a female body. But since representations of that land—maps—are, as della Dora asserts, "dynamic actors" that authoritatively present a vision of the world and are also open to change by a reader, then women as both chartable land and map-reader are

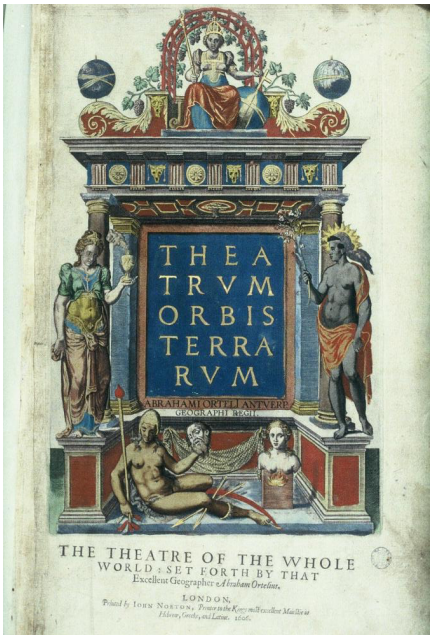
[4] Paul Binding, *Imagined Corners: Exploring the World's First Atlas* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 2003), 213.

[5] The bust next to America denotes the theorized southern continent "Magellanica," unknown and thus an incomplete depiction. Some of the meanings behind these figures are explained in Rodney Shirley, *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons: The Art of the Decorative Cartographic Titlepage* (The Netherlands: HES & DE GRAAF Publishers BV, 2009), 46.

[6] Veronica della Dora, "Performative Atlases: Memory, Materiality, and (Co-)Authorship," *Cartographica* Vol. 44, No. 4 (2009): 241.

inextricably intertwined in a system of meaning-making that, with the addition of the map, can also afford a woman the double subject-position of both geographer and geographic product. In such a way can women, in this case Fletcher's Russian women, map their own bodies, the space around them, and their roles within that space by occupying and manipulating their positions as geographer, territory, and map. Women are often figured as land to explore (and territory becomes a female body to claim), but these new and evolving relationships with geographic products and the authority those products can confer upon an owner who manipulates the map means that women as map-readers could make charting their bodies and thus identities their own prerogative.

Figure 2: [Ortelius, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Title-page with four figures which embody the four known continents]. Shelfmark: Bodleian Library BOD: Douce O subt. 15. Ortelius title-page for Antwerp Latin edition of 1570, adapted for London 1606 English edition. Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford. Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC 4.0. digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.



Of course, early modern women's relationship with space in general is a fraught one, with corollary ideas about the female body occupying public space and the importance of policing that body and its boundaries to maintain chastity. In fact, Fletcher the elder in his *Of the Rus Commonwealth* provides an example of this surveillance and control of women, in particular

in public, when he describes what he believes are Russian wedding practices, though the modern editor, Albert J. Schmidt, notes that, throughout the treatise, Fletcher mixes "personal observation, strong bias, gossip, and moralizing with data casually lifted from varied written sources."[7] But as a geographer, Fletcher can write a world where these strictures around women's bodies, space, and therefore sexuality are confirmed by virtue of their presence in a work of the geographic (and thus scientific and true) genre. Memorably, Fletcher recounts how, before and during a wedding ceremony, the bride wears a hood that covers her upper body. She has never seen her groom, nor he her. Once the priest has solemnized the joining, the bride stands in front of her new husband and "falleth down at his feet, knocking her head upon his shoe in token of her subjection and obedience. And the bridegroom again casteth the lap of his gown or upper garment over the bride in token of his duty to protect and cherish her."[8] After further rituals, during which the bride still retains the veil over her face, the couple each goes to separate dinners. The bride then lodges with her husband, still veiled, and must not speak for three days after the wedding. Fletcher's description illustrates a conception of extreme, supposedly Eastern European, ideas of male control over women's movement, appearance in public, and even voice that an English reader would believe.

An even more striking example of purported Eastern European attempts to police women's movements can be found in the 1606 English translation of Ortelius' atlas, in the section devoted to describing Russia. The text records, "The state of women in this country is most miserable: for they thinke, except shee like a snaile do carry her house over her head, and be continually mewed up in her closet, or so watched, that by no means she may start out of

[7] Giles Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966), xliii.

[8] Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, 137.

doores, nore posibly be honest."[9] Despite being focused on Russian practices, the description neatly encapsulates widespread ideas about women's "honesty" or chastity and its relationship to a woman remaining enclosed and out of public spaces. The Russian view on women's honesty here seems especially restrictive: unless the woman can carry her house over her like a snail, she cannot honestly venture out of doors. The snail image is meant to suggest the impossibility of women's honest travel outside the home, but what if there were something women could carry with them in order to be active participants in the wider world without being seen as "dishonest"? Maps and atlases, specifically their geographic discourse, afford that power. Fletcher the playwright would have seen how a geographer like Ortelius could order and shape the world, compiling a flexible group of documents for consumers to purchase and modify. And he would have also seen how geographic products could have powerful impacts on world affairs: his uncle's treatise *Of the Rus Common Wealth* was eventually suppressed on the orders of royal advisor Lord Burghley, in response to an outcry from the merchants of the Russia Company who feared that the less flattering descriptions within would affect their trading relationship with the Russian government.[10] These are only two examples of how geography and its creators and owners could continually and reciprocally impact each other and the world by shaping and disseminating ideas about its land and people. So, Fletcher the playwright had clear examples of how geographic texts could be used to write and re-write the world, and women in particular, due to their bodies' figurative ties to territory and thus geography, could have unique access to the discourse within maps and other geographic products. With those tools, women could thus create

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[9] Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum Abrahami Orteli Antverp : The theatre of the whole world* (London: John Norton, 1606), 104 (seq. 230). Full text online at Harvard Library: http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990088585650203941/catalog.

[10] Lucy Munro, "Giles Fletcher the elder," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (03 January 2008), accessed 27 July 2020. See also Albert J. Schmidt, Introduction to *Of the Rus Commonwealth,* ed. Albert J. Schmidt (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966)*,* xxiv–xxv.

a powerful and even chaste form of agency. After all, the women carry not a snail’s house but their own bodies and their associated values; they thus have the ability and opportunity, as both geographer and map, to redraw meanings about both. And women in remote and supposedly strange Eastern Europe could have more opportunity for geographic and identity experimentation, as they were theoretically far-removed from their English counterparts, and yet still appeared to them through geographically inflected art and products.

In Fletcher’s play, the most striking instance of a woman writing the world to her benefit can be found in Honora, a daughter of Archas, the loyal subject of the play and a decorated general. Honora and her sister Viola are to be unwillingly sent to the Duke’s court, a place of not only military danger but moral hazards as well. The sisters’ trials at court, in particular Honora’s, demonstrate Fletcher’s conception of a Muscovy that holds peril but also opportunity for its women, if they can but take up the double subject-position of both territory and geographer. Fortunately, the political and social concerns of the court are also spoken of in geographical terms, establishing the language for Honora’s later challenges as also delineated through mapping. The loyal general’s son Theodore conflates both military and moral dangers when he reminds the Duke’s advisor that he and the Duke should be grateful for what his father the general has done for the dukedom. Theodore describes what would have happened to its space and people if Archas had not taken up arms against “the Tartar.” The Duke’s

> enemie
> That would have burnt his City here, and your house too,
> Your brave gilt house, my Lord, [...]
> That would not only have abus’d your buildings,
> Your goodly buildings sir, and have drunke dry your butteries,
> [but they also would have], trim’d your Virgins,

Trim'd 'em of a new cut, and't like your Lordship,

'Tis ten to one, your wife too…. (2.1.84-94)[11]

Theodore's description concerns invading and penetrating not just national borders but domestic and bodily ones as well. Not only the city, but the buildings themselves will be entered, plundered, and destroyed. And Theodore saves the most alarming invasion for last: the bodies of the dukedom's women will be violated as the invaders move through the city, sparing not even wives of high-ranking officials. But these Tartars are not the only threat to women's bodily borders; the Muscovy court is considered a space of licentiousness by Theodore and his sisters. Viola expresses her unhappiness to her father, saying, "Now you have moulded us, and wrought our tempers / To easie and obedient waies, uncrooked, / Where the faire minde can never lose, nor loiter." Going to court, she claims, will "divert our Natures" (3.2.15-18). Interestingly, Viola speaks of this moral upbringing and its encounter with the court as one of space and travel beyond the literal journey from country to court. Their behavior has been wrought (or drawn or created) as lines or pathways that have been straight. Now they fear these paths will be diverted in the dangerous space of the Duke's court.

Theodore also expresses his frustration with the change in his sisters' placement and corresponding moral dangers through geographic language. After bringing Honora and Viola to court, he snarls to some passing courtiers regarding his sisters, "[W]hat would ye give now / To turne the globe up, and find the rich Moluccas? / To passe the straights?" (3.4.13-15) Although vehemently opposed to such outcomes posed by his rhetorical questions, he shows his understanding of the connection between women and territory when he sexualizes his sisters as spaces to be explored. Their sexual availability is figured as a precious resource to be gained

[11] All quotations from play are cited in-text and are from John Fletcher, *The Loyal Subject*, ed. Fredson Bowers, in *Beaumont and Fletcher: Dramatic Works, Vol. 5*, general editor Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 153–269.

through travel, as the Moluccas were popularly known as islands of rich spices. Further compounding this geographic perception, he bids his sisters good-bye with, "Farewel wenches, keep close your ports, y'are washt else" (3.4.53). Though the latter half of the sentence indicates he speaks of them as ships, the previous lines about the Moluccas islands and their straits indicate ports as a place too, furthering the women's connection to territory. But the ship metaphor is also a geographic one in the sense of travel and exploration, and the comparison affords more agency to Honora and Viola. Instead of simply passive territory or a drawing of such, the women can and do take up the role of active mapmaker or owner embarking on a journey. Their own father reassures them of their safety and power using similar images. Archas says they will be supported by

> my prayers,
> The card of goodnes in your minds, that shows ye
> When ye saile false; the needle touch'd with honour,
> That through the blackest stormes, still points at happines;
> Your bodies the tall barks, rib'd round with goodnes;
> Your heavenly soules the Pilots, thus I send you;
> Thus I prepare your voyage, sound before ye,
> And ever as you saile through this worlds vanitie,
> Discover sholes, rocks, quicksands, cry out to ye
> Like a good Master, tack about for honour" (3.2.45-53).

There are multiple geographic images here, beginning with the "card" of goodness that will guide the sisters through dangerous voyages. Card here refers to a chart or map, a sense of the word still in use at the time.[12] Coupled with mention of the compass needle in the next line, the

[12] II. Senses relating to maps or charts. 3 a. A map or plan; = chart *n.1 Obsolete*. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*.

term can also refer to a mariner's card, the stiff piece of paper marked with the 32 points of the compass.[13] In either case, the women are actively using these instruments and the qualities of honor and goodness they represent to guide them through storms and narrow straits. Indeed, they not only use these geographic products, they *are* those items, as Archas states the cards are "in your minds." Their father's description of the women's persona firmly links them with geography even as he blurs the distinction between the women and these objects. Moreover, the women are also figured as steering pilots, an authoritative role that has them actively using geography to chart and travel their destinies at court. The scene introduces Honora and Viola as well as the fundamental ways that they (and potentially all women) are uniquely tied to this discourse and can thus wield it for their own ends.

This imparting of geographic agency on the women has an especially galvanizing effect on Honora, who responds to her father in similar geographically coded language. After the above speech, she declares to her father, "[Y]ou have made me halfe a souldier, / I will to court most willingly, most fondly. / And if there be such stirring things amongst 'em, / Such travellers into Virginia, / As fame reports, if they can win me, take me: / I think I have a close ward, and a sure one…."(3.2.66-71). In her speech, Honora now calls herself a soldier travelling to court, but she also figures herself as territory to be won, daring brave explorers to venture to "take" Virginia, as she jokingly refers to her virgin status. But she does not resign herself to passive territory; she first calls herself a soldier, and she dares any potential suitors try her skill at fighting, as she has a "close ward, and a sure one." Ostensibly referring to sword-fighting, the words 'close,' 'ward,' and 'sure' can also, coupled with the geographic language above, refer to the space about Honora

[13] II. 4 a. The circular piece of stiff paper on which the 32 points are marked in the mariner's compass. *Oxford English Dictionary Online.*

that she will protect and perhaps choose to cede to a worthy opponent. The geographic pep talk serves especially Honora well in her later encounters with the overly amorous Duke. Proving that she is more than the half a soldier she claimed earlier, Honora lectures the lascivious Duke, "[W]e are poore triumphs; / Nor can our losse of honour adde to you sir: / Great men, and great thoughts, seek things great and worthy, / Subjects to make 'em live, and not lose 'em; / Conquests so nobly won, can never perish" (4.3.42-46). While speaking of conquest, a topic covered in many atlases, Honora moves fluidly between placing herself and by extension all women in both subject and object positions. She figures herself and her sister as passive conquests, but she then lectures the Duke to seek out worthy subjects that give life to the leader. Subjects here can be taken both as those people subject to the monarch but also as individuals, like Honora, in the subject position, an active role confirmed by her assertion that such subjects actively "make" a ruler live. While giving life to the ruler, these subject-conquests also benefit, as, according to Honora, they achieve a kind of eternal life when nobly won. The martial imagery connects with Honora's earlier speech when she herself was a soldier fighting for her honor. Victor/conquest, subject/object become further ellided, continuing the pattern established earlier with Honora and Archas' initial geographic dialogue during the sisters' very first scene that presented the women as both pilots and ships, territory and soldier.

Archas' and particularly Honora's use of the language of navigation and travel, which David Woodward points out were very much a part of geographic discourse. He writes that there is "[a] striking continuity between the medieval and Renaissance periods [which] involves the persistence of textual descriptions of the world."[14] Despite the proliferation of eye-catching illustrated maps in the Renaissance, Woodward relates that established geographic products like

[14] David Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance: Continuity and Change," in *The History of Cartography, Volume 3 (Part 1): Cartography in the European Renaissance*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 7.

portolan charts, route maps, and itineraries continued to be used: "It is not that the huge increase in graphics usurped the functions of the written word, but rather that a new idiom was added to the old."[15] Fletcher's characters here draw on both traditional textual descriptions like itineraries and visual ones like portolan charts that contribute to the play's overall geographic motifs. The continued use of this language dissolves distances between spectators and foreign territories, also blurs boundaries between active mapmaker, geographic product, and the supposedly passive viewer. Honora has laid the foundation, based on a dynamic understanding of geography that sees both person and product as active, which provides her the agency to stand up to the Duke or anyone else and chart her own life. Near the conclusion of their encounters, the Duke expresses frustration at Honora's intransigence and protection of her sister, exclaiming, "Why do I stand entreating, where my power—." Honora immediately cuts him off to say, "You have no power, at least you ought to have none / In bad and beastly things: arm'd thus, Ile dye here, / Before she suffer wrong (4.3.89-92). Her power here culminates in her ability to silence the Duke and again assert a sense of martial agency; Honora also confirms her role as a subject by further fighting for herself, her sister, and reforming the Duke. Furthermore, she dismisses the Duke's desire to make her a mistress, instead claiming, "And were I fit to be your wife (so much I honour yee) / Trust me I would scratch for ye but I would have yee. / I would wooe you then" (4.3.68-70). Here she first raises the possibility that she would be not only be his wife, but actively fight for him in her courting. Her "wooing" or "scratching" for him place her again in the position of a fighter, upending her earlier assertion that she is a conquest, and connecting to her earlier assertion that she is a soldier, which itself stemmed from the geographic discourse in which both she and her father engaged. Her continued expositions to the Duke on the meaning of honor and the practice of good rule do have a material effect, as the Duke does change and proves himself

[15] Woodward, "Cartography and the Renaissance," 12.

so through a test derived by Honora.[16] Having, in a sense, drawn a Duke to her liking, she chooses to marry him by the play's end, but only after establishing herself as an active shaper of him and her world.[17]

To return to the world-writing done in maps, I would like to revisit the Jenkinson map and briefly explore a more specific potential inspiration for Fletcher's foray into writing an Eastern Europe where a woman could be granted powerful agency. At the very top of the map, near the middle, is a drawing of figures gathered around a pedestal upon which a woman stands, her arms around a smaller figure, possibly a child. Inside a nearby cartouche, a description in Latin reads:

> Zlata Baba (Golden Woman), [sic] is seated and holds a boy-known [sic] as the ancestor at her knees. Obdorians and Iogorians worship the statue of Golden Woman and offer her their most valuable animal skins. They sacrifice deer to her, smearing the mouth, eyes, and other parts of the goddess with the animals' blood. They eat the entrails raw. During the sacrificial ceremony, their priest asks the goddess for advice, and strange to believe—receives credible answers, and certain incidents follow.[18]

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[16] Daryl W. Palmer argues that the Duke's seemingly sudden conversion can be explained by a familiarity with Russian literature, drawing on a "convention of the ruler's epiphanic reformation." *Writing Russia in the Age of Shakespeare* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 226. Fletcher appears to draw ideas for both his female and male characters from his uncle's and perhaps other descriptions of Russia.

[17] For a different view on Fletcher and female agency in this play, mainly in comparison to many works in the Fletcher and Beaumont canon, see Peter Berek, "Cross-Dressing, Gender, and Absolutism in the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Spring 2004): 359–377; see esp. 366–368.

[18] Translation found in Krystyna Szykuła, "Unexpected 16th Century Finding to Have Disappeared Just After Its Printing – Anthony Jenkinson's Map of Russia, 1562," *Cartography: A Tool for Spatial Analysis,* ed. Carlos Bateira (Rijeka, Croatia: Intech, 2012), 139. Available online at https://www.intechopen.com/books/cartography-a-tool-for-spatial-analysis/unexpected-16th-century-finding-to-have-disappeared-just-after-its-printing-anthony-jenkinson-s-map-.

This scene of goddess worship reflects Fletcher's depictions of powerful women who use geography to occupy multiple spaces and meanings at once. While again raising the specter of women's objectification with the unmoving statue upon a pedestal, this seemingly passive object of devotion is quite different—Zlata Baba has a voice that imparts knowledge to her worshippers and appears to have effects on the real world, since after her answers "certain incidents follow." This statue, on a geographic product, occupies multiple subject and object positions at once: passive statue, active speaker; receiver of worship, consumer of blood; artistic object, powerful deity. Zlata Baba thus also encapsulates and perhaps inspires the play's depiction of Honora (and potentially other women in Muscovy) as a woman who can also be both subject and object, but more specifically, given the play's and early modern women's connection to geography, a woman as both map and map-maker. Ultimately, Honora, at least in the remote and strange territory of Muscovy, can negate any potential objectification by wielding the very souce of it: she can be the active geographer and navigator of where she, through her body, moves in the space of the court and her life. But perhaps Moscow and its dukedom are not so remote after all: Jenkinson's image of Zlata Baba blends for the early modern English spectator the familiar and the strange and seemingly disparate elements: similar to Honora's multiple positions, they see a woman deity, animal sacrifice, divination, and talking statues, but they also see a divine mother and child pair like Mary and Jesus, prayer rituals, and sincere devotion. In this figure, the map depicts distance but also connects lines between England and Muscovy. The scene is different enough to motivate Fletcher to stretch his imagination in creating his women characters, but sufficiently familiar to seem possible. More simply, this bit of geography may have shown Fletcher a Muscovy that could be both an exotic and familiar space of inspiration where he could write a world filled with women as memorable as Honora and Zlata Baba.

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STILL HIDDEN: ACKNOWLEDGING THE INFLUENCES OF THE *JUSTES'* HISTORIC HETEROTOPIA

Emma Rose Cowen

University of North Carolina Wilmington

Existence is blatant. It is every element of our lives functioning cohesively, evidently. However, what we fail to realize is that since existence is entirely habitual it can take heed of our innate lack of awareness in order to sustain its occasional latent form. The awareness of apparent elements of regularly encountered space that are seemingly irrelevant to our conscious minds is what allowed for the infinite successes of *la résistance lyonnaise*[1] throughout World War II, in particular, those who are now referred to as the *Justes parmi les Nations*.

The *Justes parmi les Nations*, otherwise referred to in English as the "Righteous Among the Nations," were first formally identified in 1953 by Yad Vashem, an Israeli organization whose mission is to seek out and preserve information that contributes to a historically accurate remembrance of the Holocaust.[2] This prestigious honor is bestowed upon those who helped the

This project would not have been possible without Alfred and Anita Schnogs' generous contribution. This article honors Holocaust survivor Alfred Schnog's passing in November 2019. En outre, je vous remercie, Dr. Cindy Banse and Micha Roumaintzeff, the passionate historians who shared their insight with me whilst in Lyon. Lastly, I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to all those who supported me on this side of the Atlantic; in particular, my humble guide, Dr. Pascale Barthe, who has graciously encouraged me to pursue this research endeavor.

[1] The French term for the resistance movement specific to Lyon, France.

[2] "Etude De Cas: Les "Justes De France" (1940-1944)," Mémorial de la Shoah réalisé avec le soutien du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et de la Vie associative, last modified 2011, http://www.enseigner-histoire-shoah.org/outils-et-ressources/fiches-thematiques/le-regime-de-vichy-et-les-juifs-1940-1944/etude-de-cas-les-justes-de-france-1940-1944.html.

Jews, without any requests from other groups affiliated with the resistance, in their time of peril.[3] In order to be declared a *Juste*, it is stipulated that the rescuer aided at least one Jew; that the rescuer received no compensation or reward of any kind, apart from this title; and most importantly, that the rescuer's efforts be formally documented by the rescued party.[4] According to Cindy Banse and Laurent Beauguitte, the *Justes* were modest citizens performing gestures in a "natural" manner, many of whom, for this reason, chose to maintain their anonymity even after the war had ended. More often than not they believed they were doing nothing exceptional, simply helping a neighbor.[5] The Jewish Virtual Library emphasizes that the *Justes* "were ordinary human beings, and it is precisely their humanity that touches us and should serve as a model."[6]

In contrast to our understanding of the overly generalized French Resistance, "the reality was far more complex than the image so often presented today, with 100,000 resisters, 100,000 collaborators and nearly 40 million people living in stubborn and cautious 'politics of patience.'"[7] In "Fitting in to the French Resistance," resistance specialist, Valerie Deacon acknowledges that more recent scholarship on the Resistance "has highlighted its diversity."[8] These efforts to categorize the French Resistance have indeed complicated our understanding of

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[3] "Qui sont les Justes?" Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed May 24, 2020, https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/qui-sont-les-justes/.

[4] Mordecai Paldiel, "Righteous Gentiles," *French Politics, Culture & Society 30*, no. 2 (2012): 135, http://www.jstor.org/stable/42843757.

[5] Cindy Banse, Laurent Beauguitte, "Mesurer l'efficacité d'un réseau de sauvetage d'enfants juifs: l'exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944)," Colloque CTHS (2015), https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01150975.

[6] "'Righteous Among the Nations': History & Overview," Jewish Virtual Library, accessed January 26, 2021, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/history-and-overview-of-the-righteous-gentiles.

[7] Laurent Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," *Contemporary European History 28*, no. 1 (2019): 24, https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/contemporary-european-history/article/perilous-history-a-historiographical-essay-on-the-french-resistance/C22DD3AEC2A1FB4A5CFB8E6C0D35B762/core-reader.

[8] Valerie Deacon, "Fitting in to the French Resistance: Marie-Madeleine Fourcade and Georges Loustaunau-Lacau at the Intersection of Politics and Gender," *Journal of Contemporary History 50*, no. 2 (2015): 260, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43697374.

the resistance at large. Nevertheless, it has also given scholars ample opportunity to recognize the movement's participants and their efforts.

In the case of the numerous networks functioning against the Nazi and Vichy regimes, the essence of heterotopic space was—and still is—the driving force to their success, seeing as their space allowed their societies' existence to be ever-present, yet at the same time, remain entirely unnoticed. Today, the lived experiences of the anonymous, and debatably forgotten, resistance members exist in an unchartered heterotopia[9] that lies beyond our collective conception of history. Our minimal understanding of the actual historic reality causes for the lesser known, yet equally influential, resistance members, such as the *Justes*, to remain hidden within what I refer to as a historic heterotopia.

By analyzing the archival evidence present at *Les Archives départementales du Rhône* and *Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation* pertaining to the French resistance and the agential capacity offered by the metropolitan landscape of Lyon as seen through personal ethnographic encounters, this work demonstrates in what ways the *Justes*—whose experiences remain preserved in their heterotopic form—understood and, therefore, made use of the agency their space provided to aid the Jews who were being threatened by the era's attempt to eradicate all non-Aryan persons. To do so, I will be referring primarily to French scholar Henri Lefebvre's theory articulated in his work, *The Production of Space*, originally published in 1974 as *La production de l'espace*.[10] To justly recognize the monumental impacts the infamous *Justes* had in favor of the protection of the Jewish population during the World War II, this article unveils the

[9] "Heterotopia" is a space originally defined by philosopher Michel Foucault in his essay, "Des espaces autres", originally published in 1984. Henri Lefebvre expands on this idea in *The Production of Space* which is the primary text referenced throughout this article.

[10] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2009).

substantial efforts that took place within their historical social space via a newfound production of mental space.[11] This research thus surpasses the simple act of name recognition and, instead, argues for the importance of spatial interaction within our understanding of the past. In turn, the significance of *Justes'* willingness to secure the lives of those vulnerable throughout the war will, consequently, be seen in a "new light."[12]

Lefebvre argues that lived experience exists within its own entity and that it is unable to be genuinely understood by anyone who cannot claim said unique experience as their own.[13] Therefore, for articulations of these experiences to become viable resources when analyzing history there must be a correlation between both the history of space and its representations.[14] However, this essential qualifying correlation is often difficult to achieve when unveiling historic recounts. Thus, there is a generalized conception of what history is that disregards the relevance of the other lived experiences that have passed without definitive claims of their existence. For example, the French are notorious for holding the French Resistance in high regard, but it is because of history's natural "reduction of reality" that only a select few well-known historical encounters are reduced to what Lefebvre defines as "logic."[15] It is the emphasis on the French Resistance that leads to the general disregard of the substantial influence of individuals, in particular the *Justes*, who also opposed the anti-Semitism that plagued Europe from 1939 to 1945.

The subject of the Resistance is one that is continuously debated among scholars, historians, and enthusiasts alike. British historian Rob Kedward elaborates on this subject

[11] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 296.
[12] Lefebvre, 27.
[13] Lefebvre, 149.
[14] Lefebvre, 42.
[15] Lefebvre, 44.

throughout one of his many articles on the French Resistance, "Resisting French Resistance," where he states that "discovering what is specific to those places, groups, events and institutions, which created or sustained the resistance, has replaced the search for generalized categories," such as *la Résistance Française*.[16] In her work mentioned above, Deacon refers to Kedward's proposal that, "it may be more appropriate to discuss 'resistances,' in the plural, than resistance, given how many kinds were found in France."[17] Throughout the duration of the war, as acts of resistance evolved, the definition of the term resistance transformed over time. Cécile Vast's work analyzes this evolution particularly in the southern region of France between the years 1940 and 1944. Her study insists that "the changes that the identity of the resistance underwent," discredit the stereotypes that inaccurately distinguish the "different levels of resistance" from one another.[18] Kedward notes, and rightfully so, that only recently have we begun to reshape our perspective. Now, what was once a question of what resistance had to offer to certain places and people is being approached based on the more prevalent question of what places and people had to offer to the resistance.[19] It is imperative, in this case, that there is a distinction between not only specific terminology being used to define these groups, but also between the demographics of the members of each unit of resistance and their respective contributions to the overarching movement.

With the complexity of the contextualization of the "resistance" in mind, based on my findings collected during my time spent in Lyon, France, I argue that from the years 1939 to 1943, all French citizens opposing the Nazi and Vichy agenda were referred to as part of "la

[16] Kedward, "Resisting French Resistance," 271.
[17] Deacon, "Fitting in to the French Resistance: Marie-Madeleine Fourcade and Georges Loustaunau-Lacau at the Intersection of Politics and Gender," 260.
[18] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 19.
[19] Kedward, "Resisting French Resistance," 272.

resistance." On June 18, 1940, Charles de Gaulle called on those who wished to resist the Germans to reach out to him. The manuscript of "*l'appel à la résistance*,"[20] heard on the BBC shows *la résistance* as a general noun.[21] However, as the war progressed, members of the French resistance acted through various forms of participation and began either to form specialized movements or to act on their own accord. In this sense, the resistance, written as a general noun, is referring to *résistants*, in its plural form, including all those who partook in the movement through many differing forms of opposition. This includes the now world-renowned—and as I argue, overly generalized—French Resistance Movement in addition to the many other participants of these clandestine efforts such as the *Justes*. Mid-way though the war, *Résistance* as a proper, singular, noun began to refer solely to the formalized Resistance Movement whose specific motives were established on May 27, 1943 at the first *Conseil National de la Résistance* run by head *Résistant*, Jean Moulin.[22] From this point on, any time the Resistance is referred to as a proper noun, it is referring to the specific French Resistance Movement whose *Résistants*, otherwise known as declared Resistance Members, are notorious for having functioned collectively against the Nazi and Vichy Regimes. It is because of the direct evidence and testimonies that the lives and actions of the *Résistants* are historically celebrated more so than those of the lesser known, yet equally essential, *résistants*.

Given the importance of historical accuracy when validating claims of involvement with the resistance, again, it is imperative that a discrepancy be made between *les résistants* and *les Résistants.* The significance of this distinction is exemplified via the demanding process

[20] Note: All translations of texts originally published in French are my own, unless otherwise noted.

[21] "Appel du 18 Juin 1940 - L'appel à la Résistance lancé par le général de Gaulle," Fondation Charles de Gaulle, last modified 2017, http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Appel-à-la-résistance-sur-les-ondes-de-la-BBC-Londres.pdf.

[22] "La lettre de la Fondation de la Résistance," Humancom, last modified 2019, https://www.fondationresistance.org/catalogue_2019_2020/index.html#page/1.

necessary to be declared a formal Resistance member. This process is depicted through documents available at *Les Archives départementales du Rhône* which reveal a correspondence between Général Granier and Madame Marcelle Bonnefoy, the wife of a man who participated in the resistance but had yet to be deemed a Resistance Member due to lack of formal acknowledgement from the nation's government officials.[23] Since his name was not formally noted as one of those affiliated with the highly regarded *Résistants* under the direction of de Gaulle, substantial evidence would need to be provided to prove his participation in this specific form of combat operated by the widely acknowledged Resistance Movement. Therefore, at this stage in the recognition process, Monsieur Edouard Bonnefoy would be considered a *résistant* whose actions were seen as independent while furthering the movement as a whole. Based on the formal historic recognition required to be deemed a Resistance Member, this group is not to be confused with, or perceived as, the numerous *résistants*, such as the *Justes*, who functioned separately, but for the same cause.

There is speculation that there are tens of thousands of French *Justes* who actively participated in *la résistance*, yet only 3,000 French citizens have been duly noted as such.[24] This lack of recognition is due to the fact that one can only be deemed a *Juste parmi les Nations* by Yad Vashem when inquiries of having sheltered Jews, saving children procuring false identification paperwork, or aiding in the clandestine migration to Switzerland or Spain[25] are confirmed directly by a person who was saved.[26] An example of a *resistant* who also holds the

[23] Marcelle Bonnefoy, "Letter to Général Grainer" (unpublished letter, 1952-54), manuscript.
[24] Mémorial de la Shoah réalisé avec le soutien du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, de la Jeunesse et de la Vie associative, "Étude de cas : Les 'Justes De France' (1940-1944)."
[25] "À propos des Justes parmi les Nations," Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed May 24, 2020, https://www.yadvashem.org/fr/justes/a-propos-des-justes.html.
[26] "Comment soumettre une demande de reconnaissance," Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, accessed May 24, 2020, https://www.yadvashem.org/fr/justes/a-propos-des-justes.html.

official title of *Juste* is Blanche Milono. Though she is most commonly accredited with having hid one of the most famous Jewish *Résistants*, Marc Bloch, in Caluire on rue de l'Orangerie,[27] her formal acknowledgement from Yad Vashem has only been awarded based on the testimonies of persons saved. These testimonies include those of M. Renée Mayer and the Bruhl and Morguleff families.[28] However, had all those Madame Milono helped perished before the end of the war, substantial documentation proving the claim would be sufficient when declaring her a *Juste*.[29] Though many *résistants*, by definition, could be categorized as *Justes* based on their demonstrations of resistance, the vast majority either wishes to be, or simply remains, anonymous. Therefore, since there are few direct depictions of how the *Justes*, named or not, saved the lives of many Jews, their historic heterotopia remains a pertinent point of research.

When discussing the relationship between the Resistance Movement and the *Justes*, it is understood that, "relationships of this kind may be figuratively represented by means of rectangles or squares."[30] In this regard, if the *Justes* are understood to be the squares, they, too, could have been declared a part of the formal Resistance Movement—which for the sake of this argument, would be the rectangle. For example, Jean Mallen of Caluire-et-Cuire, a district of Lyon, is recognized as a *Juste parmi les Nations* for providing false identification work paperwork and his home as a shelter to Jewish refugees. However, his biography, as per Yad Vashem's database, notes his collaboration with the Resistance Movement and also refers to him as a *Résistant.* Mallen was known to have offered his home as a security point to those actively participating in the Resistance Movement under the leadership of *Résistants* Jean Moulin, Henri

[27] Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 306.
[28] "Milono Blanche," Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed June 2, 2020, https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/les-justes-de-france/dossier-297/.
[29] Yad Vashem Institut International pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, "Comment soumettre une demande de reconnaissance."
[30] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 294.

Fernay, and René Hardy.[31] *Résistant* is a title that can be awarded based on various acts of resistance as long as they coincided with the Resistance Movement's formal agenda. In this sense, like a rectangle, these individuals take form in many variations of the same shape. Whereas, like a square, the *Justes* have more specific parameters used to categorize them as such. Therefore, the *Justes*, who, I argue, have not yet properly been recognized for their actions, are their own entity, thus proving that when a rectangle is seen in reference to a square, both deserve equal and independent recognition.

On September 14, 1944, leader and future president Charles De Gaulle, declared Lyon *la capitale de la Résistance* proving the existence, not only of the most renowned Resistance Movement, but inevitably the other equally influential clandestine peoples that resisted the Nazi and Vichy influences.[32] Though all resisters aimed to sustain their covert existence, since, in Lyon, *la Résistance* prevailed over the others who constituted *la résistance*, it was these individuals' imperceptible functionality that provided their Nazi and Vichy predators minimal evidence of the growing movement. Throughout this form of heterotopic space, in which the various resistance groups functioned, it is understood that, "in space, or behind it, there is no unknown substance, no mystery. And yet this transparency is deceptive, and everything is concealed: space is illusory and the secret of the illusion lies in the transparency itself."[33]

As previously stated, though the existence of the underground resistance was evident, their heterotopic space was achieved by the Nazi and Vichy government's lack of viable resources when trying to make predictions about their locations, operations, and the other

[31] "Mallen Jean," Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, accessed June 2, 2020, https://yadvashem-france.org/les-justes-parmi-les-nations/les-justes-de-france/dossier-9717/.

[32] "20 ans du CHRD," Centre d'histoire de la résistance et de la déportation, last modified 2012, http://www.fondationshoah.org/sites/default/files/2016-09/CHRD_20ans_reouverture.pdf.

[33] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, *287*.

countless acts of resistance against the newly instated societal expectations. Therefore, it was not the representational space alone which permitted these clandestine undertakings, it was also the participants' ability to seamlessly interact in accordance with the general social order whilst, at the same time, defying the Nazi and Vichy regulations. Well-known *Résistant*, Marc Bloch, was determined to continue his life's work as a renowned historian and active Resistance member. To function within this heterotopic space, not only did Bloch require a secure dwelling, but he also needed to make himself appear homogenous within his seemingly law-abiding society. Bloch was known for being, "singularly adept at fitting in," acting as a traveling businessman under the name M. Blanchard.[34] It was this way of interacting with heterotopic space that allowed for the *Justes'* social order to remain hidden within the order of space.[35]

The lives of these *Résistants* have been recorded by historians, such as Carole Fink who wrote the biography *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*.[36] These works have proven the distinct presence of Lyon's once-heterotopic Resistance Movement. However, again, it is important to recognize that, "the French resistance is only partially known," as many of the *résistants'* lived experiences remain hidden in a historic heterotopia. The appropriate recognition of the French Resistance's numerous counterparts, such as the *Justes*, whose contributions greatly altered the outcome of the war, have still not been formally investigated and then inserted into our history of the resistance movement.

Scholar Laurent Douzou stresses that though "silence is indeed part of this story and must be taken into account,"[37] many of these crucial details that create the reality of what history was are lacking. When discussing the role of women in the resistance, for example, Catherine

[34] Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 306-8.
[35] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 289.
[36] Fink, *Marc Bloch: A life in History.*
[37] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 22.

Lacour-Astol notes that, "although women's resistance was very efficient it can be difficult to uncover not only because it was often restricted to the domestic and private sphere of home," and their lack of formal government recognition is due to their role in society as women.[38] Similarly, because the *Justes* were individually motivated, they were often disconnected from the resistance groups being directly influenced by the Resistance Movement. Since the influences of the *Justes* were overlooked by those who had the power to dictate history directly after the war, when compared to those who were part of the Resistance Movement, they, too, remain difficult to uncover. Therefore, whether it be to maintain their own safety due to a lingering fear of punishment for their actions, lack of opportunity to formally declare their contributions, their humble demeanor, or the fact that they genuinely did not perceive their influence as significant, the *Justes* deliberately preserved their heterotopic society to surpass historic timelines, and—ironically—remain hidden within them.

Yet, to fathom the complexity of space's historical influences on the French resistance movement, when looking to understand what lies behind the veil of time, one is forced to rely on the analysis of the representational space in which the lived experience took place, and the depictions of said experience through various representations of space.[39] Representational space is, as understood by Lefebvre, an ever-present environment, "and hence the space of 'inhabitants.'"[40] It is this space which offers its occupants, and in this case, those who wish to sustain a covert existence, the necessary means to function based on their own agential accord. Based on this definition, it is no wonder Lyon was the ideal representational space for the French resistance movement. Being geographically located between Paris and Marseille, it naturally

[38] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 17.
Note: Douzou is referring to Catherine Lacour-Astol's *Le Genre de la Résistance*.
[39] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.
[40] Lefebvre, 39.

became a major node for the nation's rail lines and main roads. Another key attribute to the success of the underground activity was the fact that Lyon possesses a plethora of old homes and warehouses along the banks of where the Rhône and Saône rivers converge with one another. With additional "buildings on the hills of Fourvière and the Croix Rousse with their seemingly endless staircases, entries on different levels, and passageways (*traboules)*, in its labyrinthine alleyways and along the avenues of its working-class quarters, there were ample opportunities to distribute and gather information, take shelter, and carry out evasive maneuvers."[41] However, in these upcoming pages, I will demonstrate how representational space is merely the overarching setting which hosts the various abstractions required to "modify spatial *textures*"[42] within the space itself. It is the texturization of space[43] that permits the various forms of lived experience— or more specifically, how the inhabitants take heed of the agential capacity available within a given space— at a certain point in time.

When these lived experiences are then recounted, since lived experience cannot be fully comprehended by another being, or even, arguably, by the self, these articulations of past endeavors are then seen as representations of space. Prime examples of these include images, testimonials, and legal documents that offer "knowledge." These lived experiences are then reproduced through "codes"[44] such as language. The earliest traces of written representations of space regarding the French resistance began to be seen as early as April 1944. In fact, "many publications on the resistance were to follow, totaling almost 4,500 between 1946 and 2001."[45] However, the lived experience, can only be rendered a valuable contribution to our universal

[41] Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 301.
[42] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.
[43] A term deriving from Lefebvre's use of the word "texture".
[44] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* 33.
[45] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 2.

historic timeline if the language used depicts the event in a way that can be visualized via mental space. From this perspective, language is the "vehicle of understanding."[46] This idea of visualization that contributes to our cognitive relation to history is well represented by the description of Resistance Member Lucie Aubrac's thesis titled *La Résistance (Naissance et organisation)*.[47] It was through this representation of space that she "painted a general picture" that was understood by readers to be both "authentic and inspiring."[48] These articulations of lived experiences, or representations of space, must therefore have a substantial role in the production of space that one recognizes as history.[49]

Our faith in the logic used to inquire about the reality of those whose lived experiences remain in a historic heterotopia based on various representations of space can be understood in the form of "absolute" space.[50] These clandestine social orders were motivated by a production of space that was seen as "purely mental, and hence 'imaginary.'" However, the term "imaginary" is not to be used to devalue the influence of this form of space based on its commonly accepted definition. In this case, to conceptualize a historic heterotopic space, one must understand that "a discourse on space implies a truth of space, and this must derive not from a location within space, but rather from a place imaginary and real – and hence 'surreal,' yet concrete."[51]

For the *Justes*, as well as many other resistance participants in France, there was a common aspiration to counter how anti-Semitism was dictating the war-torn society. Among the

[46] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 133.
[47] The English version of this book can be found under the title, *The Resistance (Birth and Organization)*.
[48] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 1.
[49] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.
[50] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space, 35*.
[51] Lefebvre, 251.

resisters, the shared vision of the enemy, [52] which was "purely mental,"[53] acted as a catalyst to the growing resistance movement. Since "everyone fought in accordance with the image of the enemy," this created an illusory, or absolute, space in the mind that initially encouraged the French to combat the many antisemitic injustices of the time. Yet, there was no singular absolute space responsible for the continuation of this subconscious motivation to resist. Writer and Resistance Member, Jean Cassou, articulates how "death was constantly on the mind of each resister," and demonstrates how this sense of death could only be understood via an absolute space when he states that it is "something unheard of, 'almost a dream' (*presque un songe*)."[54] Though the concept of death seems "surreal," its lingering presence as a probable fate was certainly "concrete."[55] With these more common versions of absolute space motivating the resistance movement, one must not overlook the more specified absolute spaces that, based on logic, must have encouraged individuals who functioned based on motives similar to those of the *Justes*.

Seeing as this idea of absolute space is most commonly practiced in the form of religion, given that *Justes* were "non-Jews"[56] primarily following various denominations of Christianity, I argue the origin of these gestures used to combat anti-Semitism were heavily dependent on the Church's ideals. Absolute space is, more specifically, the belief in a "non-place"[57] as though there is confirmation it, indeed, exists. In this case, the absolute space motivating the *Justes* would be Heaven. In 1942, a Christian group known as *Amitié Chrétienne* asked the priests and pastors of *Haute-Savoie*, a French department in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region, to aid in the

[52] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 14.
[53] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 251.
[54] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 15.
[55] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 251.
[56] Comité Français pour Yad Vashem, "Qui sont les Justes ?"
[57] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 35.

opposition of the antisemitic legislation brought forth by the Vichy government. The federal chaplain, Camille Folliet, responded favorably to the idea.[58] The word of the Lord that Christians were told to abide by in order to guarantee an afterlife in the absolute space known as Heaven was what inspired its followers to see their physical elements of space in a way that would be used to protect those defenseless against the wrath of the Nazi and Vichy agenda. In return, they had faith that they would one day be welcomed into the promised land.

Though certainly not all resistance participants were influenced by such spiritual motives, seeing as the majority of French citizens were affiliated with either Catholicism or other Christian groups, the morals created through this form of absolute space were seen as not only religious, but political as well. From a linguistic perspective, the effect of said absolute space can be seen in General Charles de Gaulle's broadcast to France on June 6, 1944. In this speech, De Gaulle refers to the obligation of the sons of France as "simple and sacred."[59] This choice of language associating the morals of resistance movement with that of the "sacred" further supports the notion that the absolute space often derived from religious beliefs was a driving force for one of France's key political movements during the war.

Though the space that cannot be seen outside the mental realm surely played a significant role in the foundation of the resistance movement during this era, this opposition was also heavily dependent on the role of physical space.[60] When analyzing specific forms of resistance, such as those of the *Justes*, in terms of their geographical spatial relations, Lyon's role as resistance hegemon throughout World War II becomes evident. Very quickly, Lyon established itself as a resource because of its prospects to enable powerful resistance movements based on its

[58] Cindy Banse, "Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes."
[59] Richard Doody, "The World at War: Operation Overlord," The World at War, accessed May 14, 2020, http://worldatwar.net/article/overlord/.
[60] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 6.

relative distance to the *ligne de démarcation*. This demarcation line was the most well-known checkpoint that permitted entrance into the *zone libre*[61] of southern France. The lack of occupation in this zone until 1942 offered ample time and opportunity for the *Justes* to identify in what ways they would be able to aid the Jews who were rapidly beginning to migrate to the South. The Garel Network, whose primary objective was to use "spatial logics" to save Jewish children in the Lyon region from 1942-1944, demonstrates how the *Justes* were likely preforming the same task. Managing to save almost 2,000 children, this group's members, most of whom were Jewish women, interacted with their designated geographical zone in a way that allowed them to identify safe homes, visit the children they had saved, and pay the host families without being detected by the Nazi and Vichy forces who were closely observing the area.[62] The positioning of this city, both on a national and global scale, provided the *Justes* with agential opportunities, not only to shelter Jews within the city of Lyon, but to help "those hopeful of reaching Switzerland."[63] The Garel Network member, Fanny Loinger, was known to have specialized in the migration of children to Switzerland,[64] proving this type of aid was possible for the *Justes*, as well. These geographical, and therefore physical, characteristics of space explain, without a doubt, the elevated number of *Justes parmi les Nations* in the Rhône-Alpes region of France.[65] More specifically, however, it was the geographical evolution of Lyon's metropolitan landscape since the time of the Gaul that allowed for numerous abstractions to be texturized to serve various purposes throughout the centuries. Though it was the geographical space which

[61] French term referring to the "free zone" located in the south of France until 1942.
[62] Banse, Beauguitte, "Mesurer l'efficacité d'un réseau de sauvetage d'enfants juifs: l'exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944)."
[63] Banse, "Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes."
[64] Banse, Beauguitte, "Mesurer l'efficacité d'un réseau de sauvetage d'enfants juifs: l'exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944)."
[65] Banse, "Sauveteurs et sauvés en région Rhône-Alpes."

offered the opportunities to aid the Jewish population, the texturizations of space were what permitted the *Justes* to fulfill their promise of providing for both migrating and sedentary Jewish refugees.

Space's texture would not be possible if space was not also acknowledged in its abstract form.[66] Contrary to the common definition of the term abstract, in Lefebvre's theory, abstract space includes all of the tangible elements within a physical spatial region. This detailed form of space was what made an area such as Lyon capable of supporting such heterotopic endeavors. Tangible space, or abstractions,[67] can be identified through elements, such as architectural influences, that enable the rhythm of a given area. The most notorious architectural abstractions in Lyon are the *traboules*. These hidden passageways, which are prevalent throughout the city, were initially texturized in accordance with the social priorities of the Middle Ages; in particular, for the facilitation of the distribution of silk. In order to accelerate the silk trading process, the *traboules* were fashioned in a way that would protect this vital good, while also allowing for the shipment of silk despite the geographic obstacles the city possessed.

Though initially intended for the distribution of silk, these passageways allowed for the city to be texturized to influence the rhythm of social order during World War II. As economic production shifted with time, the *traboules* became a social system used to "link opposite worlds and establish connections; as they have become a town within a town they now bypass the city life and incite to secret, they build up, in the capital of silk, networks of a hidden occupation of places."[68] Therefore, this texturization of space via any abstraction can be seen as a code: "a code

[66] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 49.
[67] Lefebvre, 134.
[68] Poirieux, Corinne, and Fabienne Berganz. *Lyon et ses traboules : Cours, passages, Vieux Lyon, Croix-Rousse, Presqu'île : Guide*. (Lyonnaises D'art Et D'histoire, 2011), 10.

which allowed space not only to be, 'read' but also to be constructed."[69] The developing of codes within space can be seen in the context of medieval times as compared to World War II, in the sense that they were manipulated to cater to a given societal group. During wartime France, though the abstraction of the *traboules* appeared to be the same to both parties—clandestine and common passerby—the abstraction offered a sense of agential capacity to alter the "code" based on each group's own accord. Thus, when analyzing the use of the *traboules* by members of the resistance, we see a transition from silk exportation to the creation of a heterotopic rhythm that allowed for subjects to maintain their various disguised practices. To do so, members of such heterotopias, such as the *Justes*, "would have acceded by […] acting within that space and (in the broadest sense of the word) comprehending it."[70] Prior to Bloch's arrest, his familiarity with the *traboules* enabled him to take footpaths that were not visible on formal cartography of the region. The ability to read the codes within the landscape allowed the *Justes,* such as Blanche Milono, to secure Jews in a location where they could reach safety efficiently.[71] It then becomes clear that a spatial code should not be simplified to the act of reading and interpreting the abstractions within a space, but rather living among them, understanding them, and in turn, producing a new sense of space because of them.[72]

The *traboules* played a pertinent role in the resistance's interaction with their heterotopic space but were not the only abstraction utilized by the resistance. *Imprimeries*[73] are yet another example of how the *Justes* were able to texturize space. These facilities functioned as Nazi-approved newspaper companies by day, and as underground printing facilities by night. Initially

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[69] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 7.
[70] Lefebvre, 17.
[71] This was explained by Lyon native, Agnes Fereyre, when exploring the *traboules* Bloch was known to have used in his home neighborhood during the war, the *quartier Bissardon*.
[72] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 48.
[73] The French term referring to "newspaper printing facilities."

these printing locations produced clandestine newspapers. Papers such as, *Libération*,[74] blatantly listed the necessary considerations to be taken into account when partaking in any form of resistance. As noted in the paper published on May 18, 1942, covered, "*Consignes aux militants,*" this edition offered insight on how to appear to be congruent with the rest of society in order to maintain their heterotopic space. Suggestions in this column included: only refer to others by their pseudonyms instead of their first names, do not use the telephone, write as little as possible because 30% of all letters are monitored by authorities, never be seen (in public) with more than four fellow resistance members, and lastly, if you are arrested, remember it is a "*devoir d'honneur*"[75] to remain silent and request a lawyer.[76] However, as the coding of this space and its numerous abstractions progressed, further opportunity to protect Jews became apparent.

Imprimeries are a direct example as to how the *Justes* were able to code the machinery used to operate the newspaper facilities and create a new space that produced *faux papiers*.[77] Like Marc Bloch, who possessed the false paperwork identifying his as M. Blanchard,[78] many other vulnerable individuals were also heavily dependent on the materials resulting from the transformation of preexisting appliances. The text, *Cahiers de la Résistance: Imprimeurs et éditeurs dans la Résistance*, notes that the production of false identification started on a modest scale at the *Libération*'*s* publishing company, yet by 1942, majority of Lyon's *imprimeries* functioned as headquarters for false identification services after hours. The English translation of an anonymous testimony reads, "The calculation is simple. In one hour, I produce thirty false

[74] *Libération* was a popular clandestine newspaper used by the resistance during WWII that continued to be publicly published throughout France after the end of the war.
[75] The French term referring to "honorable responsibility."
[76] "Consignes aux militants," *Libération*, May 18, 1942.
[77] The French term referring to "false identification paperwork."
[78] Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History*, 306-8.

papers. If I sleep for one hour, thirty people will die."[79] Again, the idea of absolute space based on the concept of death, in this case the death of others, prompted the mentality used to inspire the texturization of abstractions in a way that would ensure the persistence of this heterotopic society's movement.

When considering the reality of the *Justes*, due to the fact that the truths of their experiences remain in a historic heterotopia, one has no choice but to actualize the *Justes'* significance based on their own cognition. The understanding of that which one cannot claim as their own is based on a theoretical practice which is seen as a, "central reference point for all Knowledge," otherwise known as the use of mental space.[80] Given the common misconception that history is a universal, and therefore all-encompassing, representation of the past, it is no surprise that, "there is a gap between the reality known and lived by the resisters and what appears when the reconstruction is complete."[81] However, even with new approaches, such as this effort to recognize the *Justes* in terms of their historic spatial encounters, history is perceived based on that which occupies the mind in the present. In this sense, it is impossible to interrogate the past without the influence of taught biases and an understanding of the modern world. Though this inability to conceptualize the past without bias may seem problematic in terms of seeking out the fuller truth behind the lives of the *Justes*, it is possible to observe and therefore gain respect for the past in new ways. To do so, Julien Blanc states, one must "forget this [modern-day perception of the world] entirely and to immerse himself in and discover the world he wanted to explore."[82] It is through the use of mental space that this becomes possible.

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[79] Thibault, Laurence. *Imprimeurs et éditeurs dans la Résistance* (Documentation Française, 2010), 165.
[80] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 6.
[81] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 22.
[82] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 20.

Ethnographic recounts of interactions with some of the most pivotal spaces utilized by the resistance in Lyon is certainly one way to promote the natural creation of mental space used to fathom the realities of the *Justes*. After surveying the home of *Juste*, Jean Mallen, located in Vassieux, it became clear that spatial encounters offer illustrative historic details which cannot be accurately envisioned when simply transcribed onto paper. This address was marked by *Résistant* Jean Moulin as "Point A" and is known to be one of the most highly trafficked points of security used to aid in the Jewish migration to neutral territory. The home temporarily housed Jewish refugees of all ages and provided them with the necessary means such as *faux papiers* to have a successful venture over the border to Switzerland. The current homeowner explained that the Jews were housed in a third-story annex whose entrance was located behind a bookshelf. The interior of the first two floors were so spacious that, when seen from the exterior, there is no impression that a third level to the house exists. Micha Roumaintzeff, a knowledgeable source who has spent a substantial portion of his retired life documenting the historic significance of various landmarks throughout the city, noted that seeing as the neighbor at the time was said to be a high-ranking officer working for the Nazi and Vichy forces, the illusive structure of the home and surrounding land were fundamental components of the operation's success. With an abundance of intentional overgrowth, the yard's bushes and trees allowed the back of the property to double as a historic "*traboule*-style" passageway. It only took 15 minutes by foot to get from the street address directly to the Rhône River, whereas it took the Nazi and Vichy troopers nearly 35-40 by vehicle when relying on maps. If this journey by foot was successful, Jews would find permanent refuge in the neutral Switzerland in a matter of hours. Though these individuals' agential capacity was great given the deceptive elements of their space, that did not lessen the great risk that loomed over the Mallen family who were well aware of the horrid fate

they would face if arrested. Using this representational space as a way to envision how all aspects of the *Justes'* efforts functioned cohesively conjured an overwhelming sense of respect for their historic influences. This effect of thoroughly understanding the significance of history would not be possible without our ability to regard all components of history, heterotopic or apparent, via our own mental space.

The wide array of exemplary tales of resistance from a once heterotopic space permits an understanding of the substantial impact the *Justes* had in favor of the Jewish population when opposing the antisemitism that dictated the order of Lyon's society throughout World War II. This chain of resistance can begin with a subtle act, such as identifying a new way of interacting with space. Or, it can be as drastic as risking a life to procure illegal paperwork in order to transfer and shelter families at risk of unjust persecution, just as the *Justes* did. Regardless, it is though these actions that are seemingly insignificant, or done in such a "natural" manner they are believed to be nothing exceptional,[83] that we are capable of contributing to the magnitude of a movement, such as that of the resistance.

These offerings, which exemplify the possible historic realities through the analysis of spatial relations according to Lefebvre's theory in *The Production of Space*, provide acknowledgement of the *Justes* in a way that goes beyond name recognition. This newfound mental space proposes the reality of—and consequently, pays homage to—the *Justes* whose true testimonies remain hidden within their historic heterotopia. "Nobody can fill this void, which is consubstantial with the reality being studied,"[84] however, it is by inquiring what lies beyond

[83] Banse, Beauguitte, "Mesurer l'efficacité d'un réseau de sauvetage d'enfants juifs: l'exemple du circuit Garel (Lyon, 1942-1944)."

[84] Douzou, "A Perilous History: A Historiographical Essay on the French Resistance," par. 22.

history's "reduction of reality"[85] that enables us to try and do so. Today, it is our "*devoir d'honneur*"[86] to recognize our understanding of history's shortcomings and to realize that we, too, must make use of the agency that is ever-present. It is because our space possesses infinite opportunities to not only see history in a "new light,"[87] but to understand this new perception of our own space that we are then able to utilize its agential capacity to combat discrimination. After all, it is through action we honor.

[85] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 44.

[86] The French term referring to "honorable responsibility" as seen in the newspaper article "Consignes aux militants" in *Libération* published on May 18, 1942.

[87] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 27.

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"LIFE, UH, FINDS A WAY": THE ARTIST'S VOICE IN *THE OVERSTORY* AS HUMANITY'S KEY TO SURVIVAL IN A WORLD THAT BELONGS TO THE TREES AND NATURE'S PRESENCE IN APOCALYPTIC HORROR

Diana New

Western Carolina University

Though the term "ecocriticism" was essentially coined by William Ruckert in 1978, ecological concern in writing is seen dating as far back as the seventeenth century with William Shakespeare and his concerns about deforestation. Ecocritical approaches to Nature writing have more popularly been linked back to the nineteenth-century Transcendentalists and Kantian philosophers seeking to define humanity's purpose in time and space. As concerns for the environment continued to grow into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, different fields of ecocritical studies began taking root within academia, but still seemed to have little impact on societal change. While essays grounded in scientific concern are continuing to become buried within the constraints of academia, artistic works have begun taking environmental concerns beyond the academic world and have prompted a new generation of ecocritical action. In his novel *The Overstory,* Richard Powers combines the non-fiction realities of contemporary society and the fictional realities of his characters to make an important statement about the artist's role in mediating a harmonious connection between humankind and nature that will allow for the preservation of human life in a world that belongs to the trees, which can further be used to understand the ecocritical statements being made in apocalyptic horror films such as M. Night Shyamalan's *The Happening* (2008), Garreth Edwards' *Godzilla* (2014), and even Steven Spielberg's *Jurrassic Park* (1993).

Before understanding the ways in which artistic endeavor has begun taking environmental concerns beyond the walls of academia, it is important to understand where environmental awareness began taking root and why it seems never to have expanded into effective action. Contemporary scholars such as Rob Nixon have credited society’s aversity to environmental concern to the lack of public accessibility across different cultures and nations. In addition to accessibility, Nixon suggests that there is a linguistic barrier between academic writing and common speech that hinders the effectiveness of ecocritical calls to action: “Ours is an age in which the combined wealth of the world’s 550 billionaires exceeds that of the 3 billion humans who constitute the planet’s poorest 50 percent . . . The isolation of post-colonial literary studies from environmental concerns has limited the field’s intellectual reach” (247). Contemporary society, much like society from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, has isolated environmental texts and ideas from those countries not considered part of the English canon, which has limited intellectual studies, as well as public awareness on the extent of environmental issues. As Nixon points out, much of the intellectual reach of environmental scholarship has remained confined within the walls of academia and the upper class due to linguistic barriers and accessibility. According to Nixon, literature departments are crucial to spreading environmental awareness: “Literature departments are likely to remain influential players in the greening of the humanities” (248). While essays and non-fiction accounts of humanity’s impact on the environment are significant in promoting environmental awareness, it could be argued that literature and art hold the keys to breaking linguistic barriers and encouraging environmental activism.

According to several ecocritical scholars, ecocriticism began taking root in the nineteenth century with Transcendental Nature writing and Kantian philosophy that explored the link

between human progress and morality. David Mazel claims that while environmental literary studies developed as an academic field in the 1980's, ecocriticism had been around for decades as a part of more general discourses of nature writing: "In the United States a recognizable ecocriticism first arose in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as criticism in general was beginning to undergo major changes . . . dominated by 'men of letters'" (3). The nineteenth century American Transcendentalists, or the 'men of letters,' are recognized for their ecocritical efforts, in which they combined Nature writing and Kantian philosophies of ambition and morality to reflect on humanity's place within both the natural and supernatural worlds. While the American Transcendentalists are often credited for their efforts in early ecocriticism as they focused on the dichotomy between the American Pastoral and the Industrial Revolution, many of their philosophical ideas are rooted in the philosophy Thomas Carlyle popularized in his criticism of the nineteenth century as an "Age of Machinery" (34). In his influential essay "Signs of the Times" (1829), Thomas Carlyle defines the age with a sense of environmental awareness seen across contemporary ecocritical compositions:

> It is an Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which, with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches and practices the great art of adapting means to an ends . . . This deep paralyzed subjection to physical objects comes not from Nature, but from our own unwise mode of *viewing* Nature. (34, 48).

Humankind is driven by progress, and individuals are unable to see how their subjection to the physicality of the industrial world has separated them from natural truths as they have forgotten how to live with Nature; instead, individuals have begun to live beside nature by *viewing* it as an objectual representation of beauty. As Carlyle also demonstrates, the sentiment behind ecocriticism becomes lost in academic linguistics.

Where some scholars suggest environmental awareness arose from the Transcendental philosophies of the nineteenth century, closer analysis of nineteenth-century texts suggests ecocriticism is linked to Romantic fiction. Scholars such as Leo Marx note Romantic writers combined pastoral idealizations and philosophies of the human condition to make a statement about humanity’s transgressions against nature in their need for progress: “The ideas and emotions linked to the fact of industrialization provide Hawthorne [and other Romantics] with just such an enlargement of meaning. Their function is like that of the secondary subject, or vehicle, of a grand metaphor” (29). Romantic writers such as Hawthorne not only wrote about the ways industrialization had begun changing humanity’s way of life, but also about how this change affected human nature and disrupted humanity’s connection with the natural world. In the same way Hawthorne could be seen making sense of pastoral idealizations and the industrial society through fiction, contemporary novelists can be seen making sense of ecocritical ideas put forth by modern essayists and environmental activists.

While many contemporary novelists making sense of ecocritical ideas seem to utilize post-apocalyptic dystopian fantasy as a way to express the severity of the relationship between human progress and the environment, Richard Powers locates nature’s voice in contemporary society with fictional characters who take on real-world events. Powers’ technique in locating the real in fiction is especially significant in his *The Overstory* as he makes an important ecocritical statement about the artist’s role in preserving human life in a world where activism and industrialism are subsumed by to the true nature of the earth. Gregory Day of the *Sydney Herald* notes *The Overstory’s* significance as an artwork that preserves art and projects the idea that art is the liminal space between the interactions of humanity and nature: “The Overstory. . . is that rare thing, a necessary book, and it reminds us that the novel, like the teeming earth it celebrates

and cries out for, is not now, nor ever will be, dead" (*Sydney Herald*). The novel will continue to celebrate and illuminate the cries of society; it will continue to act as a bridge for understanding between the human construction of self and the universe. Powers' novel, in particular, acts as a bridge for understanding humanity's connection to the natural world as Powers pulls from actual ecological research to produce a fictional mirror to contemporary society and project ecocritical ideas beyond the walls of academia.

Powers builds his novel from the ecological research posed by Dr. Suzanne Simard and forester Peter Wohlleben. According to an interview between Yale environmental scholar Diane Toomey and Simard, while researching her doctoral thesis, Simard discovered trees communicate their needs and send each other nutrients via a network of latticed fungi buried in the soil; since that time, Simard has pioneered further research into how trees converse, including how these fungal filigrees help trees send warning signals about environmental change, search for kin, and transfer their nutrients to neighboring plants before they die (*Yale*). Powers seems to utilize Simard's research as the foundation for his text as his novel is rooted in the ecological studies of his character Dr. Patricia Westerford. Westerford's research sets the premise behind the ancestral developments Powers creates between the trees and the people in his novel. Powers' trees become living characters in themselves as readers are led to see the lives of his human characters through the perception of the trees spanning throughout the novel. Powers uses art as a way to connect knowledge from unique disciplines to build an understanding of all living forces at work on earth, and as Kathryn Hume suggests: "Powers has an ability to connect different knowledges from separate disciplines such as Science and Philosophy, or Science and Art, throughout his works and this is effective in building our understanding of the complexities of the forces at work in our everyday lives" (2). With his ability to build his reader's

understandings of the complexities of the forces at work in the world, Powers is effectively able to create an ecocritical argument for environmental preservation.

One of the themes most significant to Powers’ work reflects on art’s ability to preserve history as Powers develops a compelling image with his text that mirrors the life of trees to the life of people. Powers builds his novel like a tree as he uses the tree’s anatomy to create a mold with which to fill the lives of his characters. In his tree’s “Roots,” Powers introduces nine characters with nine separate stories, and focuses on their upbringing, and ancestral roots. As Powers moves on into creating the “Trunk” of his tree, his characters begin coming together to work for a cause and develop rich relationships. As his creation branches out into the “Crown” of the tree, Powers’ characters branch out into their separate lives, though they are essentially still attached to the tree’s trunk by fate. As Powers’ tree sheds its “Seeds” the characters must each accept the fates handed to them, and this acceptance parallels the idea of accepting death as a natural part of life. In creating this mold and filling it with the lives of his characters, Powers essentially asserts the idea that the earth belongs to the trees and humanity is ancestrally linked to the tree’s roots. Powers develops this link at the beginning of his novel: “Old trees are our parents, and our parents’ parents, perchance. If you would learn the secrets of nature, you must practice more humanity. . .” (5). According to Powers, it is important for individuals to understand their roots in order to connect to their own human natures and eventually learn the secrets of nature. Death is the one secret of nature that Powers seems to reflect on most throughout his text, and while it is the one known fact in life, death also holds secrets about the structure of life itself; these are the secrets of nature Powers hopes to uncover for readers.

Death and rebirth are recurring themes throughout Powers’ text as he addresses the human constructs of space and time. Moments in Powers’ text speak to the transient notion of

human life in regard to the life of trees: "Say nothing, no matter what. Time is with us . . . But people have no idea what time is. They think it's a line, spinning out from three seconds behind them, then vanishing just as fast into the three seconds of fog just ahead" (358). Powers reflects on the idea that human life is not linear, and that *our* moment in time is like a dot on a continual cyclical force. The only sure thing in life is death, and death, along with the secrets it carries about life, is something that needs to be understood. According to Powers: "Dying is life too . . . we need to remember how to die" (464-5). Powers leads his readers to this conclusion through Nicholas Hoel, a character who has witnessed death and rebirth in the span of both human and non-human life. Further analysis of Nick's character and characterization as an artist suggests Nick comes to this conclusion through his understanding of art.

Nick's burying and unearthing of his artwork reharmonizes his connection with his ancestry, which he realizes is needed for individual growth. Art becomes a way to both preserve history and our own singular moments in time, and from art, new ideas can bloom. Additionally, as Powers shows with Nick's final masterpiece, art can teach individuals the secrets of nature. Powers concludes his novel with a reflection on the word "STILL" (502). The earth will *still* maintain its presence, its life cycles in the continuum of space and time, with or without humanity. Powers points out earlier in his text: "That's life; the dead keep the living alive" (423). Upon first read, it seems that Powers is making a statement about coping with death and suggesting that death becomes a nourishment for the living to keep on living. However, in reflecting on the apocalyptic movie trope and on Powers' concluding remarks, it could be understood that eventually human life will feed the earth. Powers' novel closes on Nick's final artistic achievement, the word "still" spelled out by old and soon-to-be decaying trees:

> Already, this world is greening. Already, the mosses surge over, the beetles and lichen and fungi turning the logs to soil. Already seedlings root in the nurse logs’ crevices, nourished by the rot . . . Two centuries more, and these five living letters too, will fade back into the swirling patterns . . . they’ll spell out for a while, the word life has been saying, since the beginning” (502).

Life is born of decay. While the earth may continue to decay with human progress, there are still seedlings of life that will continue to find a way and when humanity becomes one with the earth in death, new life will spring from the nourished ground.

Perhaps, the most powerful ecocritical statement Power’s makes with his text comes from this last image he leaves readers with at the end of his novel, which suggests nature will continue surviving with, or without, human life. The idea that humankind should “Do nothing,” echoes throughout the pages of Power’s novel and maintains the sentiment behind Dr. Westerford’s important environmental studies: “The best and easiest way to get a forest to return to any plot of cleared land is to do nothing—nothing at all, and do it for less time than you might think” (460). Human agency on the natural world becomes an insignificant strain of action when nature’s forces outweigh the integrity and lifespan of humankind. Westerfield begins grappling with this idea as she struggles with the title of her book, *How Trees Will Save the World*, when Dennis asks why she believes trees will not save the world: “What use are we, to trees? . . . Trees won’t save the world? . . . I’m sure they will. After the world shrugs off” (223). Trees may save the world but will only save it once the world constructed by humankind has died off. Once human kind can literally “do nothing” (460), trees will have the opportunity to reclaim their world.

The same thoughts that both haunt and offer hope for Westerfield, find Nick in his dreams as the trees laugh at him and the naivety of the human condition: “*Save us? What a*

human thing to do. Even the laugh takes years" (329). When human existence has been wiped clean from the earth and the trees have reclaimed their territory, it is implied that the old trees will look back at the times humanity attempted to save them and laugh at their fruitless ambition to save themselves. The haunting laugh left by the trees in Nick's dream points to a theme most often found in science-fiction and apocalyptic horror, which suggests if human kind cannot learn to live in harmony with nature, nature will be victorious in the end. Andrew Smith and William Hughes coin the term "ecogothic" in the first journal for ecogothic criticism (2013), in which they locate a belated presence of ecological awareness in criticisms of the Romantic Gothic: "In most of these novels, the desecration of the natural world is met with psychological trauma and can usually be traced to an oppressive ruling power. . . As the attack on nature progresses in these novels, the environments become more frightening" (5-6). Smith and Hughes point out that Romantic authors not only delve into the dark consciousness of the human psyche, but also identify the ways in which the human psyche can pit humankind against the natural world, even if they think they are doing something beneficial for the human race. As concluded most famously in novels such as Mary Shelly's *Frankenstein* (1818) and Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851), humankind's monomaniacal attempt to tame nature inevitably ends with nature being victorious in the end as the human characters ultimately commit suicide by ambitiously attempting to control their fates and claim power over natural life.

If the laugh that takes years in Nick's dream does, in fact, come from the ancient trees who have lived long past human life, and if they are poking fun at the way human ambition to save the earth and improve human life has actually killed the human race, then the trees have essentially witnessed a slow mass suicide and this effectively encompasses an ecogothic theme found not only in Gothic fiction, but also in contemporary apocalyptic horror. While this concept

can be seen in many contemporary novels and movies where scientific ambition results in mass extinction and post-apocalyptic narratives, M. Night Shyamalan's *The Happening* offers an unequivocal ecogothic mirror with which to view Powers' narrative. Shyamalan's movie offers viewers a fast-forwarded narrative of Powers' philosophical glimpse into a future world, free of human agency and re-inhabited by endless supplies of vegetation. Where Powers hints at the idea of nature's ability to adapt and survive despite of humanity's slow suicide, Shyamalan shows nature surviving when threatened by too much human progress and the brevity of humanity's self-endorsed extinction.

Where Powers' artistic work endorses ecological awareness as it is presently happening in our contemporary society to alter the mindset of readers about these issues, Shyamalan takes his art to the horrific level and uses fear to alter the mindset of viewers through reflections of what could be, and of what is essentially slowly happening in terms of our relationship to the environment. As with Powers, it has been speculated that Shyamalan's environmental efforts led him across the studies of Suzanne Simard and Peter Wohlleben, which may account for the premise of Shyamalan's film. When threatened by a surplus of human abuse, the plants in Shyamalan's film essentially communicate with one another to emit chemicals that cause mass suicide. In a TED talk video Suzanne Simard discusses the ways in which trees talk to each other and make calculations about the world around them: "[Trees] are the visible manifestations of 'this other world' underground, a world of infinite biological pathways that connect trees and allow them to communicate, and allow the forest to behave as if it's a single organism. It might remind you of a sort of intelligence" (OpenCulture). Trees are intelligent organisms and while they may not be plotting their revenge on humanity, they are learning to adapt to their changing environments.

Closer analysis of Shyamalan’s film in light of Powers’ novel suggests that the trees are not intentionally seeking revenge on the human race for their ongoing destruction of the natural world but are fighting back against their own possible extermination as they begin a game of the survival of the fittest. The trees in Shyamalan’s film sense an apocalyptic danger to their species and begin emitting chemicals as a way to speak with each other and ward of predators—which, in an environmental sense, are human beings. According to Peter Wohlleben, scent is the primary communication method for trees and this stems from the way acacia trees communicate crisis by giving off a warning gas that signals to neighboring trees to pump toxins into their leaves and prepare themselves for the danger of being eaten (7). Similar processes take place with trees in our local environments. Wohlleben addresses the ways in which trees such as beeches, spruce, and oaks produce different scent compounds that can help trees relay environmental dangers that are affecting their structure: “If [a tree’s] roots find themselves in trouble, this information is broadcast throughout the tree, which can trigger the leaves to release scent compounds. . . they disperse quickly in the air. Often, they can be detected within a range of about 100 yards” (8-9). While scent is not the only way trees communicate, as they may also communicate through electrical signals transmitted by nerve impulses in their roots, according to Wohlleben, it is the quickest way for trees to warn others close by of impending danger.

If trees communicate by emitting scent to ward of predatory insects and a multitude of trees begin emitting the same scent, it could be suggested that the communal scent would extend over 100 yards. Additionally, as Shyamalan presents in his film, if trees were to encounter a bigger threat, they might, hypothetically, produce a more potent toxin that has a wider reach. A scientist at the end of Shyamalan’s film explains: “This was an act of nature and we will never fully understand it . . . this event may have been a prelude or a warning, like the first spot of a

rash . . . we have been a threat to this planet" (*The Happening*). If we have been a threat to this planet as the scientist suggests, and if plants communicate with each other to signal warnings as Wohlleben indicates, then the event in the film is not a warning for the human race, but a communal communication between the plants warning one another of an apocalyptic human threat. In an interview with Bruce Kirkland of *Toronto Sun* Shyamalan identifies his position on the topic of environmentalism and recalls an enlightening moment in his research for the film as he notes the way humanity has become a threat to the planet: "Any rational person can see that there will be nothing left if we continue to do what we are doing. We have to change and then admit, perhaps, that we don't have carte blanche on this planet. Planet Earth is one entity . . . and it is capable of defending itself" (Toronto Sun). Shyamalan's sentiments are not far from Powers' stance which calls for humanity to "Do nothing" (460), as he notes humans do not necessarily have an unlimited discretionary power to act as the planet earth is capable of defending itself.

Not far from Powers' and Shyamalan's assertion that the earth will still continue living with, or without, the human race are environmental ideas surrounding apocalyptic narratives such as Garreth Edwards' *Godzilla* and even Stephen Spielberg's *Jurassic Park.* While human progress could result in the eventual end for the human race, as Powers asserts in his novel: "Human progress is still not the end for nature" (497). Nature will continue finding a way to survive, no matter how hard humanity pushes against its forces. These same sentiments are shared by mathematical theorist Malcolm in J*urassic Park* as he famously states: "Life, uh, finds a way" (*Jurassic Park*). As Malcolm realizes, however, there is a deep-seated flaw in the human condition in attempting to preserve and create life. Like the scientific ambition that pushes characters against natural forces and disrupts the human bond with nature in the Gothic

Romance, the scientists in *Jurassic Park* push against the forces of space and time in *Jurassic Park* to create their own small apocalypse within the gates of the park. Matti Rissanen points to Shakespeare’s *Macbeth* (1623) to define nature’s power over humankind, claiming humankind is allowed to live on this planet for a certain amount of time as leased by nature: “There is a contract, a ‘bond,’ between man and nature: man has his life from nature by lease, by copyhold” (716). Where Macbeth fought against nature’s lease by claiming human lives to preserve his own, the scientists in *Jurassic Park* are disrupting the lease by bringing back an organism that had already outlived its lease; both scenarios are disruptive to the natural forces of space and time and, as concluded in both timelines, are detrimental to the human race. This idea that humankind can beat nature is disclosed and disproved further in Powers’ novel, as well as in Edwards’ *Godzilla*.

Powers lightly hinges on another ecocritical idea that can be seen evolving into a Gothic trope with Nick and Olivia’s fight for nature against the timber companies. While seated in the great tree Mimas, Nick and Olivia contemplate their battle against the logging industry. Olivia reassures Nick their fight to save the trees will not be in vain: “They can’t win. They can’t beat nature” (292). Olivia knows that while the logging industry will be successful in the removal of many trees, they will never control nature. While the *Godzilla* movies are generally interpreted as mere monster movies, newer writers have extended the original metaphor of the dangers that come from nuclear testing to the dangers that come from trying to kill or control the powerful forces of nature; Godzilla becomes a visual representation of nature itself.

The movie begins with military forces luring Godzilla into the ocean to kill him with a nuclear bomb, which could already be understood as dangerous to the environment. It is later discovered that the nuclear strike may not have killed Godzilla as a skeleton and two hatched

spores are found in a uranium mine. Like the trees and the earth at the end of Powers' novel, the trees in the *Happening*, and the dinosaurs in *Jurassic Park*, life has found a way to survive. As a nuclear powerplant begins to disrupt the environment again later in the movie, Godzilla resurfaces and attempts to avenge the destruction of his environment. As human forces attempt to fight Godzilla to protect themselves, and *their* world, Godzilla attempts to restore the world as his own. Dr. Ishiro Seriwaza further draws a connection between Godzilla and nature, and humanity's attempts to control and destroy: "The arrogance of man is thinking nature is in his control, and not the other way around. Let them fight . . . Nature has an order, a power to restore balance" (*Godzilla, 2014*). The same idea Powers puts forth with his "do nothing" (460), resurfaces again with Dr. Seriwaza's acknowledgement of Godzilla as a force of nature. However, where Powers suggests the best thing humanity can do for nature is to do nothing, Seriwaza recognizes that humanity will, in fact, continue to fight. Because Seriwaza recognizes humanity's inability to give up the fight against nature, he is able to predict the devastating future for himself and his crew as he alone steps away to acknowledge defeat.

As the seedlings spring up from the decomposition of the dead trees at the end of Powers' novel, life will find a way to exist past death. Powers combines the non-fiction realities of contemporary society and the fictional realities of his characters to make an important statement about the secrets of nature that exist around death. Through his work, Powers illuminates the capacity art has to shed light on these secrets and the artist's role in mediating a harmonious connection between humankind and nature by suggesting there is nothing we can do to prevent death or to keep nature from finding a way to survive. The earth does not need humankind to survive and may, in fact, thrive off of humanity's extinction as new life is born from decay. If nature does not need humanity to survive, then the important ecocritical statement being made by

artists such as Powers, Shyamalan, Garreth, and Spielberg is that humanity needs to focus on environmental issues as a way to preserve itself, and as Powers illustrates, the artist is essential in revolutionizing this idea and preserving human life in world that belongs to the trees.

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