Return address:

Literary Journalism Studies
School of Journalism
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2K3

In This Issue

Published at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University
1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208, United States

LITERARY JOURNALISM STUDIES

VOL. 12, NO.1, AUGUST 2020

Roundtable: The Promise of Graduate Studies in Literary Journalism

Literary Journalism Studies

Vol. 12, No. 1, August 2020

special issue
lusophone literary journalism

The Journal of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies

Literary Journalism Studies
Vol. 12, No. 1, August 2020

Website: www.literaryjournalismstudies.org

Literary Journalism Studies is the journal of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and is published twice yearly. For information on subscribing or membership, go to www.ialjs.org.

Indexed in Elsevier; Scopus
Member of the Council of Learned Journals

Published twice a year, June and December issues.
Subscriptions, $50/year (individuals), $75/year (libraries).

ISSN 1944-897X (paper)
ISSN 1944-8988 (online)

Literary Journalism Studies

Editorial Offices

Literary Journalism Studies
School of Journalism
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5B 2K3
Email: literaryjournalismstudies@gmail.com

Published at the Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University
1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208, United States

SUBMISSION INFORMATION

LITERARY JOURNALISM STUDIES invites submissions of original scholarly articles on literary journalism, which is also known as narrative journalism, literary reportage, reportage literature, New Journalism, and the nonfiction novel, as well as literary and narrative nonfiction that emphasizes cultural revelation. The journal has an international focus and seeks submissions on the theory, history, and pedagogy of literary journalism throughout the world. All disciplinary approaches are welcome. Submissions should be informed with an awareness of the existing scholarship and should be between 5,000 and 8,000 words in length, including notes. To encourage international dialogue, the journal is open to publishing on occasion short examples or excerpts of previously published literary journalism accompanied by a scholarly gloss about or an interview with the writer who is not widely known outside his or her country. The example or excerpt must be translated into English. The scholarly gloss or interview should generally be between 1,500 and 2,500 words long and indicate why the example is important in the context of its national culture. Together, both the text and the gloss generally should not exceed 8,000 words in length. The contributor is responsible for obtaining all copyright permissions, including from the publisher, author, and translator, as necessary. The journal is also willing to consider publication of exclusive excerpts of narrative literary journalism accepted for publication by major publishers.

Email submission (as a Microsoft Word attachment) is mandatory. A cover page indicating the title of the paper, the author's name, institutional affiliation, and contact information, along with an abstract (250 words), should accompany all submissions. The cover page should be sent as a separate attachment from the abstract and submission to facilitate distribution to readers. No identification should appear linking the author to the submission or abstract. All submissions must be in English Microsoft Word and follow the *Chicago Manual of Style* (Humanities endnote style) <http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html>. All submissions will be blind reviewed. Send submissions to the editor at <literaryjournalismstudies@gmail.com>.

Copyright reverts to the contributor after publication with the provision that if republished reference is made to initial publication in *Literary Journalism Studies.*

BOOK REVIEWS are invited. They should be 1,000–2,000 words and focus on the scholarship of literary journalism and recent original works of literary journalism that deserve greater recognition among scholars. Book reviews are not blind reviewed but selected by the book review editor based on merit. Reviewers may suggest book review prospects or write the book review editor for suggestions. Usually reviewers will be responsible for obtaining their respective books. Book reviews and/or related queries should be sent to Nancy L. Roberts at <nroberts@albany.edu>

Note from the Editor . . .

Greetings and welcome to this special issue of *Literary Journalism Studies*, which focuses on work produced in lusophone, or Portuguese-speaking, countries. For this occasion, I am delighted to hand over the editorial reins to two of my earliest and dearest colleagues in the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies, Isabel Soares and Alice Trindade, both of whom toil mightily at Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal.

Way back in 2006, at the initial conference, before there was an IALJS proper, the presence of Alice and Isabel went a long way to helping us realize that we could, and should, extend literary journalism's geography beyond the usual U.S.-centric boundaries and, indeed, start to shape the lens with which to view a truly international discipline that had been hiding in plain sight for decades.

And so, yes, Alice and Isabel understand the laborious process of carving out intellectual space for such a formidable international undertaking. This particular project, which has been in the works for two to three years, is a labor of love and we are so pleased to be able to bring it to our audience at this time.

I want to thank the blind reviewers for their contributions as well as *LJS* associate editors William Dow, Miles Maguire, and Roberta Maguire for working so diligently with individual writers and the special issue editors through the editing process. And I want to especially thank our associate editor in charge of copy editing and fact checking, Marcia R. Prior-Miller, for her resilience, diligence, and professionalism.

Working in two languages always presents its own peculiar challenges, as we have found out in the past with special editions dedicated to Norwegian and francophone literary journalism—and will again with upcoming spotlights on Swedish, German, Australian, and Spanish literary journalism. But we are always gratified to know that, invariably, we become more open-minded and more knowledgeable from these experiences.

And now I shall pass the microphone to our hard-working guest editors, Isabel Soares and Alice Trindade.

— Bill Reynolds

Lusophone Literary Journalism

Isabel Soares, guest editor
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Isabel Soares holds a PhD in Anglo-Portuguese studies and is associate professor at Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal), where she coordinates the Language School and serves as vice-dean. She was a founding member of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and its president between 2016 and 2018. She is a research fellow at the Centre for Public Administration and Policies (CAPP) and the African Studies Centre. Her research areas include literary journalism, cultural and language studies, and imperialism.

A Special Issue

Alice Trindade, guest editor
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Alice Trindade is associate professor with ISCSP, ULisboa, serving as vice-dean since 2012 and a member of one of its research centers, the Center for Administration and Public Policies, CAPP. Trindade is one of the founding members of IALJS and served as president from 2010 to 2012. She has most recently published on Portuguese language African literary journalism and the adoption by Angolan journalists of crónica as a tool for active citizenship and engagement, especially since the end of the Civil War in the early years of the twenty-first century. In 2018 she coedited with Andrew Griffiths and Audrey Alvés a volume, Literary Journalism and Africa's Wars*, part of a series edited by John Bak at the University of Lorraine.*

Portuguese is a minority language in Europe, yet it is a full-fledged global language. It is also a giant in terms of speaking community, whether as first or second language. At a glance, it is spoken by 3.7 percent of the world's population, and the combined geography of Portuguese-speaking countries occupies 7.25 percent of the earth's surface and generates 4 percent of the world's revenue.[1] These are impressive figures made all the more so if we bear in mind that there are currently 7,117 spoken languages in the world, twenty-three of which account for over fifty percent of the global population, according to the 2020 edition of *Ethnologue*, the authoritative repository of languages' status and statistics.[2] In the cluster of those top twenty-three most spoken, Portuguese ranks ninth, a position comprising both native and second-language speakers.[3]

Historical reasons explain the geographic dissemination of Portuguese from the westernmost shores of Europe to Africa, South America, and Asia. It was Portugal that kick-started the Age of Exploration in the early fifteenth century when, in 1415, on the pretext of waging a holy war against Islam in the North of Africa, the Portuguese Crown set out to conquer the city of Ceuta, today a Spanish enclave in Morocco. From then onwards, the spread of Christianity, the establishment of new trade routes, overseas exploration, and, later, colonialism spread the Portuguese language across oceans and continents. Navigation, trade, religion, and imperialism allowed the far reach of Portuguese. The same can be said about the spread of English, the language holding pole position in the *Ethnologue* ranking. However, "the expansion of England . . . was a conscious act of imitation"[4] of what Portugal and then Spain had accomplished: the creation of vast, profitable spheres of influence. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portuguese had "spread as a tool of trade and international communication, i.e., as a lingua franca."[5]

Tarnished as it is, imperial history carried the languages of Europe across the globe as countries that included Portugal, Spain, Britain, and France amassed economic, political, religious, and cultural power over all continents. When, already in the second half of the twentieth century, formal imperialism met its epilogue with the independence of the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, European languages did not die out in the once-colonized territories. No great skills of observation are needed to verify that "the language map of the contemporary world has the same broad colours as the markings on the old ones showing the extent of the European empires. Spanish, French, Portuguese and . . . English are the linguas francas of the planet in the twenty-first century."[6] Globally, these language colossi are, today, the main binding ingredient uniting nations separated by oceans and a shared history—with many a dark chapter. The so-called language organizations such as the Commonwealth, the *Francophonie*, or the Community of Portuguese-speaking

Countries (CPLP), were created as peace instruments to promote harmony and mutual help among peoples whose primary common denominator is the use of a shared language even if not at the mother-tongue level. Indeed, a postcolonial paradox lies in the fact that European languages were given official status in once-colonized territories to serve as communication bridges between distinct, non-mutually intelligible, linguistic communities. Take, as paradigmatic, the case of Mozambique, where Portuguese enjoys official status, national languages include Shona, Tsonga, Chichewa, Makonde, and Lomué. Apart from these, there are a further forty-three dialects.[7] In this context, Portuguese acts as a communication facilitator, a contact language.

No longer, however, can a binary perspective opposing the language of the colonizer to that/those of the colonized be adopted. Addressing the issue of global languages, Crystal writes that "if there is one predictable consequence of a language becoming a global language, it is that nobody owns it any more. Or rather, everyone who has learned it now owns it . . . ."[8] Portuguese is hence owned by its millions of speakers in a geography comprising the nation-states of Portugal in Europe, Brazil in South America, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Saint Tomé and Principe in Africa, and East Timor in Asia. The language also has special status in Equatorial Guinea and in the territories of Macao in China and Goa in India. Because most of the countries that make the CPLP are south of the equator, Portuguese is the most spoken language in the southern hemisphere.[9] An extended geography such as this is further expanded in diasporas. In immigrant communities around the world, Portuguese is therefore the inheritance language, a link to countries left behind in pursuit of a better life.

This long, albeit abbreviated, contextualization not only illustrates the standing of the Portuguese language in the world but also provides solid ground on which to anchor a special issue of *Literary Journalism Studies* dedicated to literary journalism in the context of this language of Latin origin. What this journal and the conferences of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies have abundantly shown is that literary journalism is an international occurrence that transcends languages and, at the same time, takes on distinctive features that accommodate and adapt to the languages in which it is produced. *Crónica* is an example: the form of literary journalism dwelling in the Spanish and Portuguese languages.[10] That is, language enriches literary journalism. The contribution of Portuguese to the genre is seen as *crónica*, the meaning of which is best understood from cultural and historical perspectives, all of which inform the articles that shape this special issue.

Addressing literary journalism in Portuguese from a historical standpoint, Isabel Soares analyzes the still relevant question of a parallel in Irish

self-determination. In her article, "A Vision of Empire: Irish Home Rule, the Scramble for Africa, and Portuguese Literary Journalism," she focuses on the literary journalism of Portuguese late nineteenth-century journalists Eça de Queirós and Batalha Reis, to show both how Irish self-rule was discussed in the British Parliament and how it was perceived by these Portuguese journalists as an exercise in imperialism by Britain. The articles written by Queirós and Reis not only provide an interpretation, outside an English discourse, of the question of Irish nationalism, self-rule, and government/occupation by a foreign power, they also constitute valuable historic sources, thus giving evidence of the rich, lasting nature of literary journalism.

In "The *Crónicas* of José Luís Peixoto: Landmark of Portuguese Literary Journalism," Rita Amorim and Raquel Baltazar focus on an internationally recognized Portuguese author whose fiction has been translated into twenty-six different languages. The youngest recipient of the prestigious José Saramago literary award, José Luís Peixoto also writes nonfiction and literary journalism, reviving the long tradition of Portuguese writer-journalists that dates back to the nineteenth century, as analyzed in the article previously mentioned and written by Soares. Peixoto is also a world traveler, but a twenty-first century world traveler who uses his *crónicas* to tell close-at-heart stories of family and friends, of life in small Alentejo villages. His characters are contemporary Portuguese people living their lives of joy and sorrow but feeling pride in their national belonging and appreciation of national qualities, dimensions often absent in *crónicas* that were written at other moments of Portuguese literary journalism.

Readers will be introduced to Raquel Ochoa, the travel writer/literary journalist Baltazar and Amorim discuss in their second article, "Of Wind and the Other: Literary Journalism by a Portuguese Female Travel Writer." Ochoa matches travel and wind, two words that often go together in traditional expressions in the Portuguese language, always carrying a meaning of wandering and wonder. The movement of air and the movement of people seem to go together, and Ochoa's writings reveal the attention and care the author uses to be as unobtrusive in her wanderings and observations as possible, in societies and of people that she guesses do not much appreciate the presence of foreigners. Possibly, from old memories of times past, some a long time ago, others not so much, when the presence of Europeans or North Americans was not good news in the Latin American countries she visited. Contact between a Portuguese writer and the geographic location of one of the strongholds of *crónica* in current times enables a collection of personal, delicate articles, from a female perspective.

Alice Trindade takes readers south of the equator and focuses on Angolan literary journalism: "Memory and Trajectory: *Crónica* in the Portuguese-Speaking World." A land of promise, vast in size and resources, Angola has

suffered colonialism, liberation, and civil wars that have turned the fate of its people into a much harder challenge to face. Two journalists worked in different eras: Ernesto Lara Filho wrote his *crónicas* in the late 1950s, just before Angola's war for independence, while Luís Fernando's *crónicas* cover the early years of the twenty-first century. Lara Filho was a talented writer and journalist who experienced the last years of Portuguese colonial domination in Angola and portrayed the tearing of fidelities and sense of belonging experienced by his countrymen in the late 1950s. Fernando, on the other hand, experienced the years of independence, the growing pains of a giant of southern Africa and the consequences of its position within a twentieth-century Cold War climate and its aftermath. Although Fernando's texts are more recent, the consequences of the events that lie in the past are still visible. However, despite hardship, his Luanda *crónicas* have the rhythm and joy of Angola mixed with Latin American influences. Again, the Latin American model is there, with texts portraying people on the streets, their beliefs and experiences, told from a perspective from within, by a journalist comfortable with his surroundings and sense of belonging.

Manuel Coutinho and Mateus Yuri Passos cross the Atlantic with a common theme, war. Their contribution to this issue, "Voices in War Times: Tracing the Roots of Lusophone Literary Journalism," makes it clear that war and its manifestations have given the world acclaimed literary journalism pieces: John Hersey's *Hiroshima* and Martha Gellhorn's pieces on the Spanish Civil War are just two examples. Articles written in Portuguese by journalists Hermano Neves, a Portuguese World War I correspondent, and Brazilian author Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões: Campanha de Canudos*, a collected volume of his contributions to the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo*, are examples of war as a topic for literary journalism on both sides of the Atlantic. The Portuguese and Brazilian pieces were written about twenty years apart, but they both approach the events witnessed as social and political phenomena that must be understood in context, and not as simple expressions of belligerence among countries.

In her article, "Gender, Women, and Literary Journalism Studies: A Brazilian Perspective," Monica Martinez takes a closer look at the operation and power structure of the journalism business in Brazil and the uneven importance and place given to male and female authors, especially in this genre. Over the last decades, Brazilian newspaper and magazine newsrooms have witnessed a markedly misogynist structure, reflected in the choice, opportunities, and distribution of power granted to male and female journalists. The fact is that even this special edition seems to point in that direction, as most articles are about work written by men. Portuguese-language societies, and

Brazil that is specifically analyzed in Martinez's article, have reserved most editorial and management positions for men, who have the chance to choose and direct, leaving their female colleagues often in minor or less relevant (and underpaid) editorships, genres, and positions. The same seems to happen in the academic world, where male researchers and professors still hold positions considered to be of most importance. Moreover, Martinez provides a brief history of the relevance of literary journalism in Brazil, a journalistic expression that provides national and international readers the diverse reality of the largest Portuguese-speaking national community.

In contradistinction to the gender-biasedness of the historical record that Martinez explores, Alice Trindade and Isabel Nery interviewed Susana Moreira Marques, a well-known, contemporary Portuguese literary journalist whose book, *Agora e na Hora da Nossa Morte* (*Now and at the Hour of Our Death*) is the catalyst for the interview. Marques has had a distinguished career, both in Portugal and abroad, as she explains in the Q&A section of this special Portuguese language edition of *Literary Journalism Studies*. In the interview, readers get a sense of newness in literary nonfiction, which results in a delightful conversation at her home, shortly after she had her second child.

Literary journalism in Portuguese, heir to a long historic lineage, is thriving. With a projected speaking community of 400 million by 2050,[11] the prospects for the enduring global status of Portuguese suggest it will sustain the language's literary journalism traditions. Martinez expresses one of the difficulties this issue of *Literary Journalism Studies* seeks to address: in her words, and the subtitle of a section of her article, "The Language Bottleneck: Portuguese." May these contributions from Portuguese-language members of the IALJS help open literary journalism written and researched in this language community to the rest of the world.

Notes

[1] These data are available on the Portuguese Language portal of the University of Porto (Portugal) and are drawn from the 2012 study coordinated by Luís Reto, *Potencial Económico da Língua Portuguesa*, https://up.pt/portuguesuporto/o-portugues-no-mundo/. See Porto, Universidad.

[2] Eberhard, Simons, and Fenning, *Ethnologue*, "How many languages . . . ?" https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/how-many-languages.

[3] Eberhard, Simons, and Fenning, *Ethnologue*, "What are the top 200 . . . ?" https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/ethnologue200.

[4] Ferguson, *Empire*, 2.

[5] Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 387.

[6] MacQueen, *Colonialism*, 157.

[7] Baltazar and Amorim, "Cidadania Lusófona," 194.

[8] Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, 2.

[9] Graciete Teixeira, of Portugal's Porto Editora, as quoted by *O Jornal*, May 5, 2020. See also, Porto, Universidad, Portuguese Language portal, https://up.pt/portuguesuporto/o-portugues-no-mundo/.

[10] Galindo and Cuartero Naranjo locate the *crónica* in a "latino" journalistic environment, and Soares contextualizes its Portuguese occurrence in the nineteenth century. See Galindo and Cuartero, "La Crónica," (unpaginated); and Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118–33, respectively.

[11] Porto, Universidad, Portuguese Language portal, https://up.pt/portuguesuporto/o-portugues-no-mundo/.

Bibliography

Baltazar, Raquel, and Rita Amorim. "Cidadania Lusófona: A Tentativa de Inversão Babélica." In *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa: A Afirmação Global das Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, Cidadania Lusófona*, coord. Sónia Sebastião. Vol. 2, 185–200. Lisboa: Instituto superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, 2018.

Crystal, David. *English as a Global Language*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Eberhard, David M., Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, eds. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* 23rd ed. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Online, 2020. Accessed April 14, 2020. http://www.ethnologue.com.

Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World.* London: Penguin, 2004.

García Galindo, Juan Antonio, and Antonio Cuartero Naranjo. "La Crónica en el Periodismo Narrativo en Español/The Crónica in the Narrative Journalism in Spanish." *Revista Famecos: Mídia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, no. supl. (October 2016): https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/4955/495553929005.pdf.

MacQueen, Norrie. *Colonialism*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Longman, 2007.

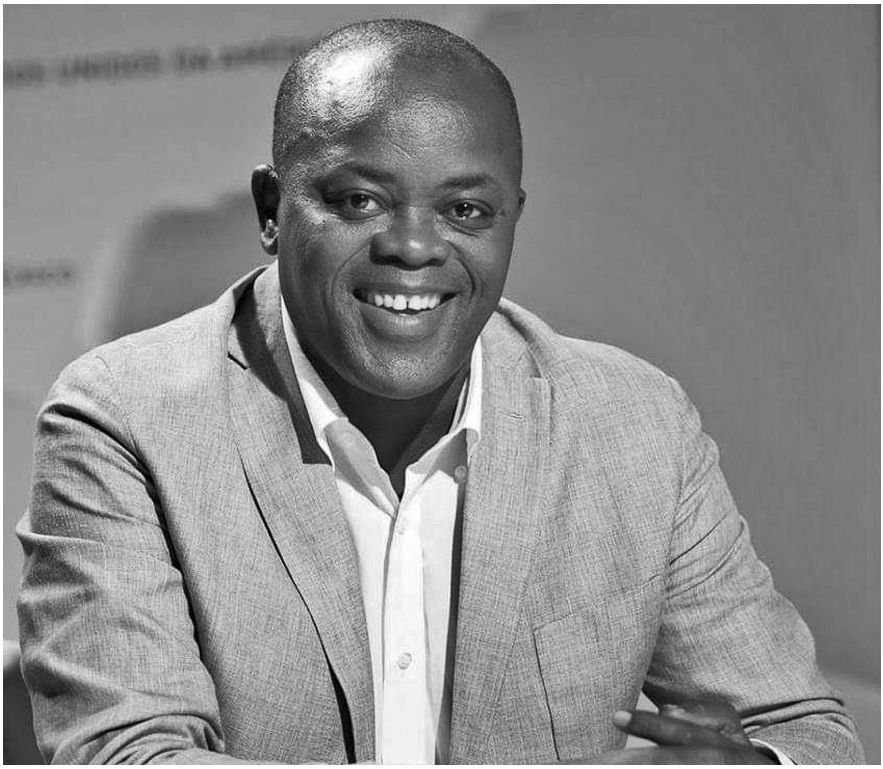
O Jornal. "World Portuguese Language Day Celebrated for the First Time Today, to be Marked with New Literary Contest." *Herald News*, May 5, 2020, para. 11. https://www.heraldnews.com/news/20200505/world-portuguese-language-day-celebrated-for-first-time-today-to-be-marked-with-new-literary-contest.

Ostler, Nicholas. *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World.* New York: Harper Perennial, 2005.

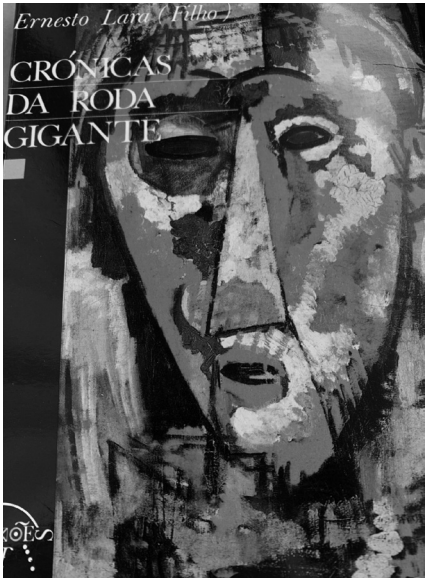
Porto, Universidad. Portuguese Language Portal. Accessed April 14, 2020. https://up.pt/portuguesuporto/o-portugues-no-mundo/.

Reto, Luís, coord. *Potencial Económico da Língua Portuguesa/Economic Potential of the Portuguese Language.* Lisbon: Texto, 2012. Accessed April 14, 2020. https://www.uc.pt/international-applicants/oportunidades/linguas/economic_potential_portuguese.pdf.

Soares, Isabel. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: 'New Journalism' and the Portuguese at the Fin-de-Siècle." In *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*, edited by John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds, 118–33. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.



Angolan journalist Luís Fernando.



Angolan journalist Ernesto Lara Filho, and the cover of *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, an anthology of his stories written between 1956 and 1962.

Memory and Trajectory: *Crónica* in the Portuguese-Speaking World

Alice Trindade
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Abstract: Literary journalism is a genre that narrates verifiable events using techniques and strategies that are culturally meaningful to their reading public(s). This cultural-specific approach in form and content is visible in Portuguese language texts that follow the model of *crónica*. Following a century-old tradition, *crónica* has evolved in at least three phases: medieval and *crónicas* of the East Indies; late nineteenth- to early twentieth century, written journalism; and the late twentieth- to early twenty-first century shift to a variety of platforms that include written and other than written. This study narrows focuses on *crónicas* written by two Angolan journalists, Ernesto Lara Filho and Luís Fernando, who, despite working decades apart, clearly demonstrate how literary journalism adapts to changing political, social, and economic circumstances. While Angola became independent in their lifetimes, Lara Filho's texts are pre-independence war, and Luís Fernando's are post-independence and post-civil wars. Their narratives show that the authors and their characters alike demonstrate understanding, denial, acceptance, and rejection as the events unfold. Lara Filho, a mid-twentieth-century Angolan journalist of European descent, tries to navigate his divided allegiance between his home country and distant Portuguese cities. Fernando, an Angolan who experiences his country's independence as a youth, fosters other influences he has acquired in Latin America. This study aims to show the path from memory texts to *crónicas* that depict current event trajectories. Angolan *crónicas* in the present show an African reality defined by African, not European, characters and life styles: the genre may be global, but the characters, situations, and writers' tone are local, and proud to be so.

Keywords: Angola – *Crónica* – Global South – Portuguese language – Ernesto Lara Filho – Luís Fernando

> . . . que outra coisa não é errar senão cuidar que é verdade aquilo que é falso. . . . Porque, escrevendo o homem do que não é certo, ou contará mais curto do que foi, ou falará mais largo do que deve; mas mentira em este volume é muito afastada da nossa vontade. . .
>
> [. . . as erring is no more than taking some falsity for the truth. . . . In fact, as man writes about the uncertain, he will eventually report too little of the events, or say more than indeed happened; however, this volume does not want to stray away from the truth.]
>
> — Fernão Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*

Fernão Lopes (1380?–1460?), in the introduction to his volumes on the life and deeds of Portuguese King John I, discusses a distinctive trait that characterizes the historian's role, that is, his role in chronicling the life and times of the king. Lopes advises his readers that they will not find in his work a feature he recognizes in many contemporary counterparts': presenting their patrons in favorable image and action. He recounts the facts as he sees them and opposes the two King Johns of Portugal and Castile: "our wish was to write the truth without any mixtures, omitting any faked praise in successful events and showing the people any unsuccessful ones the way they happened."[1] And that is how the tomes of *Crónica d'el Rei Dom Joham de boa memória*, or simply *Crónica de D. João I*, were written.

Origins of the Portuguese Crónica

In Lopes's time, *crónicas* were written to preserve the memory of kings and warriors, the victors and the vanquished, in the never-ending struggles of power that took place all over medieval Europe and would continue for centuries. They have immense historical value because they depicted diverse contemporary events, even as they obviously paid more attention to the deeds of monarchs and noblemen. In the first Lopes volume there is a chapter, titled, in translation, "About the attempt of city folk to rob the Jews and how the Master prevented this,"[2] wherein the text covers battles all over the territory, but also popular chants such as the one girls sang about recent events in Lisbon:

> This is cherished Lisbon, Behold it and leave it. If you want lamb like the one given to Andero; If you want kid like the one the Archbishop got.[3]

Both men in the poem—Andero, the Portuguese traitor, and the Lisbon archbishop who was Castilian—had been killed during the upheaval and were popular anti-heroes, justly slain symbols of an enemy foreign power. The presence of everyday people as actors in the grand narrative, not only of their own lives but as seen in the larger canvas of collective national life in these *crónicas*, is timid but opens the way to new generations of Portuguese language chroniclers, especially the ones who will be the topic of this study, the non-European chroniclers.

As Lopes wrote in the opening lines that set the tone for this text, "erring is no more than taking some falsity for the truth." In the present times of fake news and inventive truths it is reassuring to recapture the lessons of a medieval historian and storyteller who, despite working for a patron, would not yield to interests that would keep his writing away from his desire to speak the truth.

Over the years, from medieval times, to the invention of the printing press, to early written journalism in gazettes, to current times, writing (in various genres) and reading have undergone radical transformations in usage and perception. Texts turned from pure artifacts—handcrafted pieces with minimum societal impact that held the "uniqueness, that is, [the] aura" that was derived from the original context of their creation and use: what Walter Benjamin called their "presence in time and space"[4]—to the current competitive situation of a plethora of platforms. Medieval chronicles generally were encomiastic, a charge ordered by an official source, authorized mouthpieces serving aggrandizement purposes. Later on, in the eighteenth century, Europe witnessed an increase in the number of periodicals. As a curiosity, the authors of *Encyclopédie* mocked the value of journalism. D'Alembert "scornfully called" journalism "the lower chamber of literature."[5] In France, "un nouveau journalisme" (a new journalism)[6] appeared at the time of the French Revolution, proposing independence from power. Journalists wanted to move away from what was called "d'information-celebration" (information-celebration), to a model of a "court of public opinion."[7] This model served the purposes of seeking the truth.[8]

In the Spanish-speaking, Latin American world, Claudia Darrigrandi divides the history of *crónica* into three distinct periods: *cronistas de Indias* (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), modern *crónica* (nineteenth century), and current work.[9] Darrigrandi does not mention the eighteenth century but an explanation for this interregnum in *crónica* outputs can be found in studies such as the one made by Botta.[10] This division applies to Portugal and Portuguese-speaking countries as well. No direct connections can be assumed between the different phases, Darrigrandi says, with her term for these interregnums being "silences."[11]

Following Darrigrandi, the *crónicas* this article will analyze belong to the final, current period. Lara Filho's career arc is from the early years within the current era, yet it still has resonance for a variety of reasons, whereas Luís Fernando's *crónica* form, being much more recent, is clearly a twenty-first century, Global South form of literary journalism.

Angolan *crónicas* in the present show an African reality represented by African, not European, models: the genre may be global, but the characters, situations, and writer's tone are local, and proud to be so. Fernando shed the doubts and split fidelities and identity that Lara Filho had towards Angola and Africa, or Portugal and Europe. Fernando's *crónicas* may use an international, Global South genre to write, but his topics, allegiances, and heart go to Angolan people and their way of life.

Of Time, Place, and People: to the Present

In Portuguese-speaking countries, there are numerous examples of reporting that fit the characteristics of literary journalism, a plastic genre, one that is still subject to debate in matters that concern the most fundamental aspects of its existence, namely its designation.

The discussion about designations, and the nature of the kinds of texts to be included, is generated by the fact that, internationally, literary journalism has developed within different traditions and cultural, economic, political, and social circumstances. In Portuguese-speaking territories, certain kinds of texts could be considered literary journalism, namely journalistic reflections on travel experiences[12] and stories on topics that are more perennial than most pieces of news.[13] Still, they are news stories because they contain verifiable facts drawn from research and are written up in a way that often accomplishes one of the tasks fulfilled by chroniclers such as Lopes. He was ordered to write the deeds of a king so that future countrymen would not forget the heroic accomplishments of the past. Literary journalists often assume the task of ensuring that the topics they approach are not overlooked by contemporaries, or next generations.

As noted earlier, and based on Darrigrandi's division, there are three major moments for *crónicas* written in languages originating from the Iberian Peninsula. The first includes the early royal and discovery chronicles, which affected a small contemporary readership, but are now seen as historical sources. The second, late nineteenth-, early twentieth-century social and customs *crónicas* were widely read at the time and are even now studied as examples of a journalistic subgenre that is included in literary journalism. And, finally, the twentieth- and twenty-first-century texts find a readership that is, in some cases, dwindling but still has societal impact and is included by the academic community in literary journalism.

The first (proto) phase, still distant from a writing genre that was yet to be born, told the deeds of kings, noblemen, and seafarers. The second phase reached peaks of readership at a time of popular, widely read newspapers, and enlarged the scope of topics deserving of journalistic treatment. The third, current phase has evolved over a number of decades up to the present but has been accompanied by a major shift in reading platforms. An increased range of themes and approaches has accompanied the growing variety of digital platforms.

Over time, examples range from Lopes's rendering of the deeds of kings, to Caminha's narrative of the discovery of Brazil, to Portuguese authors' renditions of dismal living conditions in London (by authors such as Eça de Queirós), to the basic issues confronting early twentieth-century African (Cape Verdean) islanders by author Pedro Monteiro Cardoso, in his *A Manduco* series of articles.[14] In current times there are no less disturbing texts, such as Portuguese author Susana Moreira Marques's *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*, and Brazilian journalist Eliane Brum's collection, *A Vida que Ninguém Vê* (Life that nobody sees).[15] Portuguese-speaking authors have taken on the role of chroniclers of diverse times and countries, and of their citizens' lives, under the most varied circumstances.

In fact, information is now so abundant that the main issue is not storytelling but rather the competition to find the audience. Hierarchies of importance in this field are established via the multiple criteria that senders and recipients of news set for themselves and their respective roles. The question is where literary journalism might find and hold its position in the Portuguese-speaking space of 261 million speakers throughout the five continents?[16] If 3.8 percent of the population of the world is able to speak and understand this language, which forms are adopted (and adapted) by writers who work as literary journalists and regular journalists who also write literary journalism?

The focus of this study, of course, is the *crónica*, a journalistic kind of writing that has a respected, even ancient legacy. Massaud Moisés, in his 2004 *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, explains that this genre of writing dates back to ancient Greek times, to the use of the word *khronikós* (annals, from *khronos*, time). It evolved from the Greek into its Latin form, *chronica*, meaning a report on facts, a narration.[17] As *crónica* evolved over the centuries, it remained connected to its original meaning—a chronological rendition of facts and people's deeds.

Crónicas written now can often be understood as texts to be read as literary journalism. The similarities are too close to miss: the deep knowledge of a topic, the detailed rendering of circumstance, welcoming quotidian matters

into the text, and reliance on facts and actual dialogue, as well as accepting the author's right to interpretation. The *crónica* has been a prolific source of information for readers interested in depictions of events and lives of people that inhabit African soils where Portuguese is an official language.

Portuguese but Not in Portugal

Portuguese is a language that originated in a small country in Europe, but most of its readers and writers now live in the Global South, as this concept is understood by Wendy Willems. This area of the globe, Willems argues, receives input from the Global North, though it no longer constitutes itself by "opposition," but within a framework of active agency, both receiving and producing media content.[18] The same South African author and her colleague Winston Mano use data to support their observation of a new era in the African mediascape. Access to media content via digital devices, they note, is on the rise: "In the past decade, mobile phone subscriptions in Africa have grown exponentially, from 87 million in 2005, to 685 million in 2015."[19] Thus access to media is growing via digital platforms, which are simultaneously receiving inputs from former colonial North, but also from the overall Global South, all the while developing within their own, varied patterns.

This shedding of previous media and message patterns, while constructing and appropriating others, is essential in the building of any mediascape model, as Arjun Appadurai describes in his 1990 article, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy":

> "Mediascapes," whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience or transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places.[20]

Appadurai formulated the mediascape concept, in response to his inability to recognize in the media the capacity to devise a reliable portrait of the reality surrounding the readers/viewers/listeners who use the media sphere to (re)build their own existence. Appadurai needed a concept like this to articulate his appreciation of the essence of media. Often, however, the difficulty found in the media environment of a country is the scarcity of media outlets, or the inexistence of a plurality of voices, opinions, and points of view.

The second decade of the twenty-first century has witnessed a global rise of born-digital media. Traditional media in digital form and the new forms that exist only on digital platforms have enhanced the possibility of contact and interaction with contents. Nonetheless, attention will next be devoted to the traditional, written *crónica*, be it in the original paper form, the newspa-

per, or the collected book form. In her review of a 2012 anthology of Latin American *crónicas*, *Mejor que ficción. Crónicas ejemplares*, Esperança Bielsa provided her own definition of *crónica*:

> From this space of literary journalism, the intellectual turned journalist establishes a close relationship with mass audiences and provides urgent interpretations of the present moment. *Crónica*, in general, establishes itself as a source of information on nonofficial culture, where everything excluded from institutions and that has not yet crystallized into an established cultural pattern, may find its place.[21]

Bielsa begins by situating *crónica* under the umbrella term of narrative journalism (*periodismo narrativo*) and continues investing the chronicler with an intellectual role, that of provider of "urgent interpretations of the present moment."[22] Bielsa argues this ability to recognize and publish articles addressing events, people, artifacts, or immaterial elements of what she calls "nonofficial culture" is probably one of the most distinguished roles of the "*cronista*,"[23] that is, the chronicler.

This is the major shift between the first, second, and third phases of *crónica*, from a focus on patrons, as in the case of kings' chronicles, or on reports to be made to kings or other major players, in the case of narratives of early European settlements in the Americas. There is an analogy that can be drawn from Turner's descriptions of the forces that shaped U.S. institutions of all kinds as they were physically pushed west, in what came to be called his 1893 *frontier thesis*.[24] So, too, did the *crónica* change over time, as itwas pushed in other directions in nineteenth-century journalism, to showing "The Other Half"—to borrow from Jacob Riis's title for his text on poor New Yorkers.[25] More recently, political, social, and economic themes that tended to be overlooked by established media were incorporated into the *crónica* agenda. To name two examples, Brazilian authors Eliane Brum and Clara Becker have written about lives that mostly have escaped media attention: the homeless and the poor in Brazil, as well as the pathologists in Rio's morgues that deal with thousands of victims on the streets.[26] In a country with widespread insecurity and an enormous imbalance in wealth distribution, journalists focus on both the causes and the consequences of this severe situation.

Time, place, and common people have been themes for *crónicas* for a century. The two authors' *crónicas*, on which the analysis that follows focuses, derive from the same country but view it from their own analytical, time- and situation-shaped lenses. Drawing on the theory of agenda setting for insights into this phenomenon, Toshio Takeshita in 2005 wrote:

> The original agenda-setting hypothesis asserts that the media are influential in deciding what issues become major themes of public opinion, while the newly developed concept of the *second level of agenda setting* or *attribute agenda setting* assumes that the media also have an influence on how people make sense of a given theme.[27]

At different moments of *crónica* writing, decisions were made about what was supposed to be news. At first, the deeds of kings and noblemen were foremost in importance; then, in the nineteenth century, literary journalists felt a particular mission to educate the public, which turned them into the first field sociologists. Recently, south of the equator, in Angola, *crónica* writing has fulfilled the need for citizens to recognize themselves and, indeed, affirm their very existence—both of which had been denied, either because the country had been under colonial rule or consumed by civil war.

Portuguese Literary Journalism Going South

The Portuguese-speaking world has global reach and has enriched the southern hemisphere for more than five centuries. Brazil and African countries hold the majority of speakers, publications, and readers, and Brazil itself is the most populous nation of Portuguese speakers. The focus of this article is on Angola, an African country that acquired independence under a half century ago, in 1975. Recent Angolan history is tragic, with nearly fifty years of nonstop wars—both civil and for independence.

The two writers chosen for this analysis lived and worked more than a quarter century apart, are both well published and successful. Highlighting their work will allow for entering separate realities in the same country, as those are narrated by these two authors who have two different views of the same subject matter, but in diverse moments of its history, although a mere fifty years apart.

The first writer, Ernesto Lara Filho (1932–1977), wrote in the second half of the twentieth century, when digital journalism platforms did not yet exist. Lara Filho wrote under a colonial regime that was heading for oblivion, and he focused on people whose roots were in Europe. He was African by birth but Portuguese in ancestry and on his passport. His journalism depicts the identity crisis of white Angolans who were often ill at ease because of this double belonging. He portrayed a lifestyle centered in European and Western models, one that often conflicted with African habits and customs. He wrote about his own doubts and about Angolans' needs. One *crónica*, examined here, is about going back to the capital, Luanda, and how good it feels to come home, but also how difficult it is when, he wrote, "I am invested in the position of spokesperson for poor civil servants, for the inhabitants of *muceques*, and for poor washer women."[28] Angola is Lara Filho's country, but

he often feels like a misfit, wherever he is. From 1956 to 1962 he wrote the texts collected in the Ferris wheel anthology, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*,[29] used for this study. The six-year time frame is crucial: this is the transition period from the end of the colonial era, to the beginning of the open struggle for independence to, eventually, the war of independence.

The second writer, Luís Fernando (1961–), is a late twentieth-, early twenty-first-century contemporary, and yet his work is still found only in paper form. Fernando writes of a contemporary, independent Angola, healing the wounds of decades of war and pursuing its own paths in a now-globalized world, as exemplified in his collection *Três Anos de Vida*.[30] Fernando was born when Angola was under Portuguese rule, but from his young teens onward lived in an independent country struggling to survive the Cold War clash that tore many African countries apart. The work under scrutiny was written in the twenty-first century and, apart from other factors, its importance lies in the length of time over which he focused on this issue. An African by birth and ancestry, Fernando does not doubt where he belongs, as Lara did.

These authors' texts allow for situating the relevance of a specific variety of literary journalism, one that cares about detail and aptly continues to describe the feats and mischief of common folk over the decades. The choice of subject matter, more than the intrinsic characteristics of people and events, is the best indicator of the contemporary mediascape of these authors and their texts.

Then: Ernesto Lara Filho

Ernesto Lara Filho was born in Benguela, Angola, in 1932, his family having arrived from north Portugal two generations before. He died in a car crash at the age of forty-five, in 1977, leaving behind an acclaimed but also controversial journalism and writing career. Lara Filho began to write in the 1950s and 1960s, and contributed to the recently created *Jornal de Angola.* Artur Queiroz, a fellow journalist and author of the preface to the collection of *crónicas* under analysis in this article, called that newspaper "the official organ of nationalist intellectuals,"[31] a group that included Mário Pinto de Andrade,[32] Viriato da Cruz,[33] and Agostinho Neto.[34] Lara Filho studied at the Escola Nacional de Coimbra (National School of Coimbra) in Coimbra, Portugal, where he was graduated as an agrarian technical engineer.[35]

Lara Filho was a politically engaged Angolan. He criticized the Portuguese regime of the day but was also a bohemian who enjoyed a life of dissipation at odds with his social ideals. The Angolan liberation movements went on the offensive in 1961 and Lara Filho, because of his political involvement,[36] had to leave Portugal and go into exile—first Paris and later Brazzaville, Congo,

where he worked with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). He was forced to return to Angola after the death of his sister in 1962, but he was having disagreements with the MPLA anyway, as Artur Queiroz refers in his preface to the collection of *crónicas*.[37]

Lara Filho published a series of *crónicas* (1956–61) for *Jornal de Angola,* the *Crónicas da Roda Gigante* (Ferris wheel stories).[38] Artur Queiroz, in the preface (*prefácio*) to the 1990 book collection of the same name, wrote about the relationship established in the early decades of the twentieth century between the intellectual Angolan elite (black, white, and mixed) and the migrants from Portugal:

> The bourgeois Angolans, now part of the elite colonial administration, do not miss the opportunity to display their literacy, as opposed to the settlers who were mostly illiterate, with a great many among them convicted felons (some were political prisoners) a circumstance that had led to their deportation. Great black journalists and chroniclers arise. *Crónica* was a popular genre at the time. And it kept on being so, until the independence of the country.[39]

A book named after the Ferris wheel brings us the sounds and experiences of a journalist who, in Queiroz's words, "always wrote about the nationalist ideal."[40] The book title *Crónicas da Roda Gigante* seems to point to observations from a high vantage point, as if Lara Filho wanted to keep his distance from the subject matter. This detached, blasé attitude is confirmed in the text: "I honestly admit I do not enjoy working. I work in order to make a living."[41] Nevertheless, the journalist is, even unwittingly, deeply involved in the life and events of his fellow Angolans.

For a number of years, in stories collected in *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, as well as those published in other media from 1956 until 1963, Lara Filho wrote about a country in a period of transition in a censored media environment. "I suppose I was born to be the chronicler of the Realm." [42] He chooses words and topics carefully, in order to dodge the censors. In another article, he discusses two topics: the official price of wheat bought by the government from farmers, and the divorce of the Persian royal couple, the Shah and his wife Soraya. Filho simultaneously presents one of the hot social issues of the day, the repudiation of a sterile wife by her monarch-husband, and Angolan economic troubles. The author adjusts the text of this *crónica* to fit the page as if it were a poem. This suggests the ploy was used to disguise its true goal, a criticism of the one crop system then imposed in Angola, thus avoiding censorship.

> Everybody has grasped the emotional, ideological, and esthetic quandary
> now involving the Shah of Persia.

> [Readers] may not have seized other issues.
> The wheat crisis.
> I am sorry to hear of that woman's fate.
> But I fret even more about wheat.
> Soraya is sterile.
> But wheat crops in Angola aren't.
> Ignoring the wheat crisis is the same as ignoring Soraya.
> In our lives there is always a before, a now and an afterwards.
> It is our human dimension.
> And that's it, friends, I have no more topic for this chronicle. I like to do this, as the poet says, to release doves amidst gridded words . . .[43]

The author here fulfills one of the avowed aims of *crónica*, the search and development of topics that concern the lives of citizens—in this case, disguising his topic, the crisis of wheat prices, with a jet-set issue. Queirós, in his preface, says one of the main problems with the Angolan economy is the one-crop system: coffee or sisal.[44] This scheme began to be enforced in the 1940s and had dire consequences for an Angolan economy that had to import much of the food consumed, despite having rich and abundant agricultural soil. Inspired by other African nations, the Angolan intelligentsia rose up in the next decade to question these Lisboan economic edicts. Why should role models for an African nation such as Angola come from a distant, small European country such as Portugal? In Luanda, especially, differences between the white-colonial areas and the *muceques*, the poor suburban black neighborhoods, were stark and clear. On one return trip to his beloved Angola, Lara Filho mentions the levels and kinds of distresses that await him, including personal. His financial life leads him to comment in writing that his creditors will have to wait for eventual payments.[45] His own troubles are not his main concerns, however:

> Coming back is only difficult when I am invested in the role of spokesman for poor officers, for black people in *muceques*, and the washer women. Coming back is only hard when truck drivers, the island fishermen and so many others, so many others, really need a spokesperson for their yearnings, someone who speaks their language, who can say what they feel, what they want, what they suffer, what they think.[46]

Perhaps tellingly, it should be noted that Lara Filho did not show much concern for his own servant. At a certain moment, after settling back in Luanda, he buys a lottery ticket that, unfortunately, does not pay any real money:

> I took advice from my black servant, Batista Gramophon—his name is Batista, but I named him Gramophon as he never shuts up and is never quiet even when he is told so—after having spent all the money I had won in a Luanda nightclub. It is fitting to say that he was upset with me, as I had not

> given him any money. I excused myself, sort of, telling him that I was going to gamble again and, as I was surely going to get a prize, then I would give him a handsome sum.[47]

Many of his texts share this mixed quality: Lara Filho's lofty ideals mingle with his everyday inability to integrate into established society to practice some of his ideals. In fact, he believed that no figure of authority understood his generation: "In each of us there is an individual who does not like work, abhors it, but we all hide that weak spot, we all feel powerless to openly admit it. Honestly. To the chief, boss, father. They would not understand us."[48] This outsider streak of disenchantment is reminiscent of the *ennui* of nineteenth-century Portuguese literary journalists, the Generation of 70s,[49] a group that could not identify with their country of birth and traveled to find their intellectual homes, but with no success. Lara Filho shared the same feeling of broken identity and troubled sense of belonging, if for different reasons.

On another note, the author mentioned joy—"Being joyful is natural to me"[50]—even if it was a bitter joy: "Joy is tradition. Only the man who is in debt is joyful. Only the unemployed, the unhappy, the driver's aid is joyful."[51] He assumed he was a dilettante: "I do not know why but I was born without any capacity to work . . . I work merely because I need to earn a living."[52] These sentences reveal a shattered relation with society. He characterizes Angolans as joyful when they are unlucky, unsuccessful, or poorly paid; meanwhile, in his own role of social intervention, he does not seem to articulate thought and action in this direction.

Another of his articles reports the trajectory of a Diamantino, a friend and topographer who saved enough money working in his trade in Angola to resettle in Portugal, where he studied and underwent medical treatment for malaria for a number of years. Yet Diamantino's African love of warm weather convinced him to cross the Atlantic again, this time to Brazil, where he settled and quickly found work. Lara Filho writes: "And there he is, smiling, drinking some beers, working his trade, the way he did in Angola, laboring, suffering, growing."[53] Here, the search for an Angolan identity departs from European models. Life, work, and studies in Portugal only spur a move to Brazil. Diamantino seeks a country similar to Angola, the one that was left behind, but one with an imprint he was unable to forget.

Lara Filho shares with his friend a troubled sense of belonging: Being in Angola is his ideal, as well as the ideal of his compatriots, but is it possible to live there? Is the country a welcoming space, or is it turning into a space of non-belonging? The author does not seem to know where he feels at home, even when he writes that Luanda is his home. Sentimentally, he

belongs there. "Sundays in Angola are paradise for me,"[54] but they are lived in the past tense, in his childhood years: "I am experiencing a present of denial, of total contempt, a present that seems to be filled with silence and fear."[55] He writes at a time of individual and collective questioning, where any country in which Portuguese is spoken is viewed as a developing possibility rather than a full-fledged reality. These multiple locations of belonging are displayed in texts that often refer to Angola, Portugal, and Brazil, and they represent the author's enquiries in what he may have considered to be an *unquestionable* homeland. Yet a questioned sense of belonging entails the doubt that plagues Lara Filho's authorial and personal existence.

Lara Filho's *crónica* about Marcel Camus's film *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*) clearly suggests this closeness to the Portuguese-speaking country across the Atlantic where "much of our blood is dripping far, far away down those hills in Brazil."[56] The narrative of the Angolan society of the time shares some of the feelings of inevitability that crisscross the motion picture he so admires. The lyrics of *Orfeu Negro*'s title song, "*A Felicidade*" (Happiness), clearly states, "There is no end to sadness, but happiness always ends,"[57] anticipating the death of the female protagonist, as Lara Filho seemed to anticipate an era coming to an end.

Now: Luís Fernando

Around the time Lara Filho was writing *crónicas*, Luís Fernando, the second author, was born in Uíge, Angola, in 1961. At age seventeen Fernando became a journalist in his newly independent homeland. His life crisscrosses with recent Angolan history: he was born in a Portuguese colony, in a country that was torn by a colonial liberation war and then, along with his countrymen, suffered through the civil war that followed Angolan independence in 1975. After some years of working in the media, he was granted a scholarship to study journalism in Cuba, at the University of La Habana. Cuba at the time played an influential role in Angolan foreign and internal affairs, as it was one of the international actors involved in the post-independence civil war.[58] Simultaneously Cuba was, and is, a country where *crónica* has a large number of practitioners and readers, as evidenced by Cuban authors working both in- and outside Cuba.[59]

Back in Angola, Fernando worked with different media, including Rádio Nacional de Angola and *Jornal de Angola*, and helped create the newspaper *O País* in 2008. Apart from his other work at *O País*,[60] he authored a *crónica* every Friday from 2008 to 2017, when he interrupted his career as a journalist to assume an official government position. For nine years, his *crónicas* closed the Friday edition of *O País*. Three volumes have been compiled of texts pub-

lished in the first three years. Fernando has confided, in one of several talks already held, that some other collections have been organized but are awaiting the opportunity to be published.[61]

When the new century and millennium began, Angola was at peace and stable. In 2008, Fernando began a quest in his writing to catalog the characteristics, identity traits, and flaws of his fellow big-city citizens of Luanda. He also scrutinized the territories and people of the neglected hinterland, especially his native village and region, Tomessa, in Uíge, a city about 200 miles northeast of Luanda. He wrote about the street vendors and the wise guys who shared their survival skills but not the hard work the former had to do most days. He wrote about the horrid traffic in the capital and the experience of traveling inland. He described the close family relations and traditional respect for one's elders. He wrote of the food and drink, and male friendship. He saw inventiveness and ingenuity everywhere, and wrote about these characteristics with humor, capturing dialogue in carefully drawn, short portraits of the people.

Street vendors, mostly women in Luanda, are called *zungueiras*. They will sell almost anything, but many of them stick to fish, fruit, and drink. One Fernando text discusses the mango season, November and December, and how Luanda is seized by a sudden craze fostered by the presence of hundreds of street sellers carrying cargo in plastic containers swaying on their heads, loaded with fruit that must be quickly sold, as it rots quickly in the high summer temperatures. This trade is against rules, and authorities try to catch these women in the act and fine them. The women, naturally, do their best to dodge the fines. Fernando describes these *zungueiras*: "It is time to add more resources to mere walking around. Accounting for leftovers at the end of the day may mean bankruptcy because mangoes resemble the oldest product announced on the streets of Luanda, fish, and it rots just as quickly."[62]

It is clear that, as bright and colorful as these women may be, their lives are daily struggles that depend on selling a product that is no good the next day. Hard work is clearly valued in this and other texts that describe those daily struggles. But people who survive by ruse are also a favorite topic. In another text, Fernando transcribes a note scribbled on a piece of paper to an official in high places, who is being asked for a good position in any government office or state-owned company:

> Cousin André, see if you can get me an opening in one of the Management Boards that are about to be appointed. I have a middle-school course in hydraulics, so I think I will fit just nicely in the Board of TPA; if that proves too difficult for you, there is also an opening in the Board of Angola Telecom; you can also try *Nosso Super*, as there is a director that is about to leave,

> I can also be useful at the engineering Lab, that seems to have a pretty good vacancy . . . I leave everything in your hands, Cousin André.[63]

Fernando finishes this *crónica* by saying that someone like this candidate for any position is the kind of job seeker who would apply to become NASA's president even if he had never heard of space travel. It is the kind of resourcefulness that does not seem to get along well with the author's interpretation of society.

Traffic and traveling are topics for some of Fernando's *crónicas*: the difficult life of drivers who move and park in Luanda is mirrored in "Parking in Luanda." An excerpt tells one such occasion, reported by Cousin Nando:

> He was going to some office on an errand, when he noticed the havoc that had been raised on the sidewalk, by an old and nervous war commandant shouting he could not budge his practical Mitsubishi L200 because someone in a hurry had decided to park a powerful "Shark" Range Rover, right behind his pick-up.[64]

Besides the usual traffic jams that may be found in any big city, two other everyday details are clear: one of the people involved is a war commandant (the war having recently ended), and the appetite wealthy Angolan car owners have for powerful SUVs. Information used by the author is, in this case, collected from another storyteller, a cousin (a kind of kinship that is used not only for blood relatives in Angola but includes friends and acquaintances of a similar age).

Fernando says traveling by car is a hazardous activity because drivers are by nature reckless: "I was one of the many that hit the road, always aware of the fools who believe F1 racing moved here, and also of others who believe that owning a car only entails filling her up and speeding."[65] But his attention was also taken by the reopening of the train line that connects the port of Lobito to Luau, a city close to the borders of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. He writes of the opening through the eyes of an old lady who had known that train line when it was first built by the former colonial power. The woman's words are given the most importance when she says she is happy because her children and grandchildren will finally know what she had known years ago: the 1,000-kilometer stretch of train line brings the old Angola back, in a new period of peace.[66]

Respect for the elderly is present in many texts, showing admiration for figures such as a Anglican leader Grandma Bia in "Avó Bia e a Morte da Matriarca" (Grandma Bia and the death of the matriarch): "Grandma Bia was not a political, arts, cinema, or business celebrity. She never needed to be. So, there is no point in trying to remember her face, perhaps as seen on TV."[67] There

are those elderly people who are remembered for their tender action, such as Grandma Bia or the author's grandmother in another text,[68] where Fernando reminisces about the odors of his childhood. And then there are the elders who are recalled for the discipline they imposed on their relatives, even after they were grownups. One of the articles refers to an inventive nephew who welcomed an uncle on his mother's side and therefore an especially revered relative in his original, Bantu culture. The article, set in the 1980s, intends to reveal the difficulties people experienced at that time, and the occasional subterfuges used to make life easier. In this particular case, the uncle discovers papers enumerating food and other goods his nephew had requisitioned to pay due respect to his recently deceased uncle—the uncle, in fact, who was reading the document that announced his own death. The result was:

> The uncle slapped him as vigorously as he could and the next day they were both in the small village of Maquela, Zombo, exorcising with baths and ointments Eduardo Makenda [the nephew], who had become rich, by using horrible stratagems: he pinched personal data from relatives and friends and then declared them dead, so that he could requisition various items he would then sell at a huge profit in the black market.[69]

This shameless episode is superseded in terms of ingenuity in moneymaking stratagems by the piece on a shop owner, "Dimas Bertaço Venceu na Vida," who advertised the sweaters he had in stock: "sweaters at 10 kwanzas can't fit your head."[70] The catch was that the sweaters did not have an opening for the head, so a play with words was made with actual fitting, versus comprehending that such a thing (sweaters with no opening for the head) might exist.

Fernando's writing describes some characters more often than others, and the street vendor, the *zungueira*, is appreciated again and again: the woman who is the pillar of a family, often the only provider; and the one who can also be an expert in branding new products, using the reputation of a coveted consumer product—the cell phone. When Motorola became a household word, *zungueiras* all over Luanda quickly devised a sandwich which they named Motorola, for a good reason:

> The brand of these models, made famous due to the antenna that turned upward to the sky, searching for good signal . . . was turned into brand for a popular sandwich. Our people . . . took a roll of bread . . . and gave it a monumental turn. It was cut in half and filled with a good chicken leg, bone sticking out to the sky, all covered in spicy sauce, finger licking good.[71]

After Fernando received an Angolan writers award, he wrote, "I must flood the pages of *O País* with reportage that can be read by seeing."[72] Seeing, smelling, touching, hearing, tasting: all of the senses are present in these

crónicas, conveying messages so clearly to his own local audience, but also to other, more distant ones, who are touched by the sensory message the texts convey. Fernando, unlike Lara Filho, is totally at ease in his role of chronicler of the contemporary Angolan and does not share Lara Filho's existential issues or feelings of uneasiness. Fernando reports on his people, as a voice for shared memory, for keen observation of the present and for hope in the future. Authors Christina Hahn, Jane Jorgenson, and Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz revisited Kenneth Pike's anthropological "*emic*"[73] approach to observation, a view from within, even if considering the fact that each culture exists on its own, but within a universe of other cultural possibilities.

Author Manuel Carlos Chaparro wrote about information and journalism: "In this talking and institutional world what makes reality dynamic, and alters it is the disorganization and reorganization quality information possesses."[74] The same could be said about Fernando, who wants to convey a message that can be understood by readers in his own country to help them, and other readers in other countries, understand the deep changes Angolan society is experiencing, using a voice from within.

Final Considerations

Research, care, and detail in the writing of literary journalists enable texts to delve beyond the surface of the issues they approach, at least as deep as contemporaneity allows them. On the one hand, Ernesto Lara Filho dealt with his own torn and tormented stance regarding his native Angola: he loved his country but could not be reconciled with many aspects of his times. More recently, Luís Fernando has looked attentively around him and enjoyed portraying Angolans' recently earned peaceful times, even if the everyday lives of common people have been challenging. Whereas the first author pored over the life of his compatriots though the lens of his own life, the latter's point of view came from the inside, considering subjects in a more egalitarian way.

Decades and two wars separate the work of these authors. However, a colloquial, storytelling tone is found in both. The observation, research, and written depiction of contemporary, current events in detailed reports from within, so characteristic of literary journalism, are also present in both. The points of view differ because of authorial stance, time, and circumstance, but in both there is the wealth of detail, the sociological value, emphasized by Soares: "a stance implying that the study of the intricacies of social life is far too complex to be left to the social sciences alone."[75]

The lineage of their respective writing styles may vary—Lara Filho proceeds in a line existing in Portugal for centuries, but especially in modern times, whereas Fernando clearly follows Latin American influences. However,

both use the lives of Angolans as their subject matter, in the same journalistic genre. From a colonial moment that precedes war (Lara Filho's texts were written before the outburst of colonial war, 1961) to the post-colonial, post-civil war period (Fernando's texts originate in a time span beginning in 2008, until 2015, after wars ended in 2001), this particular genre, literary journalism, in a regional, Global South variety, seems to be ideal to portray the reality of Angola. Both authors combine two traditions in the way they chose to approach their subjects and objects of writing: The first, the relevant tradition of storytelling, is conveyed in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries by a written medium, the newspaper. These articles tell stories in which the first author writes mostly centered on himself, his troubles, doubts, and feelings of being a misfit, while the second works to formulate stories of the present, what he and his countrymen witness every day around them.

The second is the ancient but renewed form of *crónica* in its Global South/Angolan version, a written piece that is mostly concerned with accounts or real-life facts, events, and people that are depicted dynamically, as if readers can see them. The author is able to witness events from within, as a participant observer.

If we go back to the words by Fernão Lopes, when the author emphasized that *crónica* are true accounts, we bear witness to the fact that our truths are construed by our discourses and these may be co-construed by texts such as the ones that have been analyzed here.

Alice Trindade is associate professor with ISCSP, ULisboa, serving as vice-dean since 2012 and a member of one of its research centers, the Center for Administration and Public Policies, CAPP. Trindade is one of the founding members of IALJS and served as president from 2010 to 2012. She has most recently published on Portuguese language African literary journalism and the adoption by Angolan journalists of crónica *as a tool for active citizenship and engagement, especially since the end of the Civil War in the early years of the twenty-first century. In 2018 she coedited with Andrew Griffiths and Audrey Alvés a volume,* Literary Journalism and Africa's Wars*, part of a series edited by John Bak at the University of Lorraine.*

Notes

[1] *Lopes, Crónica de D. João I*, 1:17. Original Portuguese text, ". . . nosso desejo nesta obra foi escrever a verdade sem mistura, deixando—nos de fingidos louvores, nos bons acontecimentos, e nuamente mostrar ao povo quaisquer coisas contrárias do modo como aconteceram." All texts originally published in Portuguese, French, or Spanish language books or articles have been translated by the author of this paper, unless otherwise noted.

[2] Lopes, 1:59–62.

[3] Lopes, *Crónica de D. João I*, 2:132. Original old Portuguese: "Esta é a Lisboa prezada, miralda y leixalda. Se quisieredes carnero qual dieran ao Andero, se quisieredes cabrito, qual dieran al Arcebispo."

[4] Benjamin, "The Work of Art," 225, 222. Benjamin writes, "The definition of the aura as a 'unique phenomenon of a distance however close it may be' represents nothing but the formulation of the cult value of the work of art in categories of space and time perception. Distance is the opposite of closeness," 245n5. "Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be," 222; and, again, "The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition. This tradition itself is thoroughly alive and extremely changeable," 225.

[5] Jean-Baptiste le Rond D'Alembert, "Reflexions sur l'etat Present de la Republique des Lettres (1760)," dans *Opuscules Philosophiques et Litteraires*, edited by Charles Henry (reprint Slatkine, 1967), 72, quoted in Paul Benhamou, "Le Journalisme dans l'Encyclopédie," 46 (translation mine).

[6] Feyel, "Le journalisme au temps de la Révolution: un pouvoir de vérité et de justice au service des citoyens" [Journalism during the Revolution: the power of truth and justice at the service of citizens], 21–22.

[7] Feyel, 22–23.

[8] Feyel, 22.

[9] Darrigrandi, "Crónica Latinoamericana," 124.

[10] Botta, "A Imprensa Pioneira em Língua Portuguesa," 155–65. According to Botta, in his study of eighteenth-century *Gazeta de Lisboa*, the oldest regularly published newspaper in Portugal, texts published in these early newspapers were mostly reproductions of other publications, national or foreign, reports on Court or commercial activities, without the characteristic authorial traits of the previous or later published crónicas.

[11] Darrigrandi, "Crónica Latinoamericana," 125.

[12] Soares, "*South*: Where Travel Meets Literary Journalism," 17–30.

[13] Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices, Multiple Languages," 92–107.

[14] Brito-Semedo, *Pedro Cardoso: Textos Jornalísticos e Literários*, 77. Pedro Monteiro Cardoso's *A manduco* series of *crónicas* was published in the newspaper *A Voz de Cabo Verde*, between 1911 and 1914. *A manduco* is a Cape Verdean expression that means by force. The *crónicas* coincided with the instauration of the Republican regime in Portugal and what seemed to be a new era for the colonies, especially

Cape Verde, and its leading intellectuals and journalists, such as Pedro Monteiro Cardoso.

[15] Moreira Marques, *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*; Brum, *A Vida que Ninguém Vê* [Life that nobody sees].

[16] According to information provided by Instituto Camões, the Portuguese entity that oversees language teaching and cultural services internationally. See "Uma língua para o mundo," https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/images/eplp/Diptico_dlp16.pdf.

[17] Moisés, *Dicionário de Termos Literários*, s.v. "crónica."

[18] Willems, "Beyond Normative Dewesternization," 9–10.

[19] ITU, Key ICT Indicators for Developed and Developing Countries and the World (Totals and Penetration Rates), 2015, quoted in Willems and Mano, "Decolonizing and Provincializing Audience and Internet Studies," 1.

[20] Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," 299.

[21] Bielsa, "Una Aproximación a la Crónica Latinoamericana en España," 179.

[22] Bielsa, 179.

[23] Bielsa wrote (author's translation): "within the space provided by literary journalism, the intellectual made chronicler establishes close relationship with a massive readership and provides urgent interpretations of the present time. Crónica becomes, in its widest reach, a report on non-official culture, where everything excluded from institutions and all that has not yet crystalized into an established cultural pattern may find a place," 179. Bielsa mentions in her review that Jorge Carrión, the author of *Mejor que Ficción. Crónicas Ejemplares*, defines *crónica* as a debate, not an actual genre, and how slippery the genre, if called so, is. Bielsa, 180–81.

[24] Frederick Jackson Turner wrote that "In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics." Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 23. Ray Allen Billington summarizes Turner's frontier thesis in his 1960 discourse on its origins as arguing that the nature of institutions in the new nation of the United States evolved as they did, not because of the seed, or "germ," of their origins—that is, what they grew out of—but rather, as they were "altered by the unique environment in which they grew to maturity." Billington, "The American Frontier Thesis," 203. See also, Billington, *The Frontier Thesis. Valid Interpretation of American History?*

[25] Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*.

[26] Brum, A *Vida que Ninguém Vê* [Life that nobody sees]; Becker, "Ouvindo os Mortos." [Listening to the dead].

[27] Takeshita, "Current Critical Problems in Agenda-Setting Research," 275 (italics in original).

[28] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 48. *Muceques*, a word of Kimbundu origin, were, and are, shantytowns mainly for poor, black people, in the outskirts of large cities.

[29] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*.

[30] Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*. José Lui Mendonça wrote the preface to this volume and gave it the title: *Ao Serviço do Deus Cronos* [At the service of the god Cronos], 11.

[31] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 9.

[32] Writer Mario Pinto de Andrade was one of the exiled founders of MPLA (the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) that still exists and is the ruling party in Angola. He had an ideological clash with the party which led him again into exile after 1974.

[33] Viriato Cruz, a poet and activist, belonged to the same movement and was expelled for ideological dissent. He died in the People's Republic of China in 1973, which means he never saw Angolan independence.

[34] Agostinho Neto would be the first Angolan president. A medical doctor and a respected author, Neto led a life of struggle for African nationalism in different countries and withstood arrests by Portuguese political police until he left for exile. Dr. Neto died in Moscow in 1979.

[35] Queiroz, *prefácio* [preface], 12. Artur Queiroz, in the preface to the volume of Lara Filho's texts, notes the journalist studied in Coimbra, not at the famous university, but in a technical college. The author always struggled with comparisons to his sister, poet and doctor Alda Lara, whom he admired but always felt he never quite achieved her standing. See also Ernesto Lara Filho, "Poetas de Angola," *Lisofonia Poética*. Accessed May 29, 2020. https://www.lusofoniapoetica.com/poetas-de-angola/ernesto-lara-filho.html.

[36] Lara Filho was one of the supporters of the February 4, 1961, events that are considered the beginning of the colonial war in Angola. According to information collected in one of Agostinho Neto's books, *A Libertação de Angola, 1949–1974. Arquivos da PIDE-DGS*, Lara Filho's involvement eventually led to trouble with the political police, PIDE-DGS, and subsequent exile in Paris. See also, Domingos Cazuza's 2014, "Quatro de Fevereiro. Roupa e catanas foram financiadaspor Ernesto Lara Filho" [Fourth of February: Clothing and machetes were financed by Ernesto Lara Filho].

[37] Queiroz writes, "Colonialism could not forgive him [Lara Filho] for having joined the guerrillas of MPLA. MPLA could not forgive the fact that one of their own abandoned the fight and went back to Luanda." Queiroz, *prefácio*, 11.

[38] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, includes a selection of these *crónicas*, numbered but without titles. See "Roda Gigante, *Jornal de Angola*, 1956/1958," 23, 25–55.

[39] Queiroz, *prefácio* to *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 7.

[40] Queiroz, 8.

[41] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 29.

[42] Lara Filho, "Minha Família é do Norte," 7–8. In this text Lara Filho reveals the origins of his family, who came from Northern Portugal.

[43] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 32.

[44] Queiroz, *prefácio*, 8. The Portuguese government presented coffee and sisal

crops as the best agricultural products for Angola, but that eventually led to a neglect of other crops or even of the livestock industry. Consequently, this meant heavy dependence on food imports and an unsustainable agricultural system.

[45] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 48.

[46] Lara Filho, 48.

[47] Lara Filho, 30.

[48] Lara Filho, 30.

[49] See, for instance, Álvaro Manuel Machado, who designates the line of thought and work followed by authors such as Eça de Queirós as an "exile aesthetics." Machado, "A Geração de 70," 391.

[50] Lara Filho, *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, 42.

[51] Lara Filho, 43.

[52] Lara Filho, 29.

[53] Lara Filho, 72.

[54] Lara Filho, 35.

[55] Lara Filho, 50.

[56] Lara Filho, 42, 42–45. The Brazilian film *Orfeu Negro [Black Orpheus]* was awarded an Oscar for Best Foreign Film in 1960. It was directed by Marcel Camus in 1959, based on the play written by Vinicius de Moraes that had been staged for the first time in 1956. This play was a premiere for black actors in the Teatro Municipal of Rio de Janeiro. Vinicius perceived a certain mythology that existed in samba schools and decided to adapt the tragedy of Orpheus and Eurydice to carioca Carnival. He cowrote the soundtrack with Antônio Carlos Jobim. Critics refer to this as a seminal moment for bossa nova in Brazil, with songs that include "Felicidade" [Happiness], "Manhã de Carnaval" [Carnival morning] and "Samba de Orfeu" [Orpheus' Samba]. *Orfeu Negro [Black Orpheus]*. Accessed April 1, 2020, https://blackorpheusmusical.com.

[57] De Moraes, "A Felicidade" (Author's translation). Vinicius De Moraes wrote the lyrics and Antônio Carlos Jobim, the musical score, published by V M Enterprises Inc and Corcovado Music Corp., http://www.releituras.com/viniciusm_bio.asp.

[58] More information on Luís Fernando may be found at the Government of Angola website, Secretary for Institutional Communication and Press Affairs, http://www.governo.gov.ao/orgaos-auxiliares.aspx?t=61. Fernando was born in a small village near Uíge, about 200 miles northwest of Luanda. He pays homage to his birthplace in one of his novels, *Silêncio na Aldeia* [Silent village]. In 2011 he won the highest distinction for Angolan writers, the Maboque Prize. He has since 2017 served as the press secretary of the Angolan president, João Lourenço.

[59] As recently as November 2017, *Granma*, the official journal of the Cuban Communist Party, reported that one of the regular meetings on the writing of crónicas brought practitioners and academics together in Cienfuegos, Cuba. Martínez Molina. "National Meeting of the Chronicle," *Granma*, November 17, 2017, http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2017-11-17/celebran-encuentro-nacional-de-la-cronica-en-cienfuegos-17-11-2017-20-11-43.

[60] The newspaper *O País* is one of the media outlets owned by the Angolan group Medianova, https://opais.co.ao/.

[61] Fernando, U*m Ano de Vida, Dois Anos de Vida*, *Três Anos de Vida*. The three volumes compiled in 2010, 2012, and 2014 are of *crónicas* published by Angolan newspaper *O País*: Vida (hence the title of compilations, one, two and three years of life). In addition, the author of this study conducted several interviews over these the years, one in person on March 20, 2017, when the author visited her place of work, ISCSP, one of the colleges of the University of Lisbon, for the public event that was a part of the visit, "Angolan Journalist Luís Fernando at ISCSP for the Meeting, 'Conversations at the End of the Afternoon,' " March 20, 2017, https://www.iscsp.ulisboa.pt/pt/noticias/iscsp-cultura/jornalista-angolano-luis-fernando-no-iscsp-para-o-encontro-conversas-ao-fim-da-tarde.

[62] Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 17.

[63] Fernando, 47.

[64] Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 101, in "Estacionar em Luanda" [Parking in Luanda], 99–101.

[65] Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 169, in "A Vida dos Municípios" [The Life of the municipality], 169–71.

[66] Fernando, "Volto Já, Vou ao Leste de Comboio" [I'll be back soon, I'm taking the train to go to the East], *O País*, 66.

[67] Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 51, in "Avó Bia e a Morte da Matriarca" [Grandma Bia and the death of the matriarch], 51–53.

[68] Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 89, in "Cacimbo glorioso" [Glorious cacimbo–cacimbo refers the dry summer months that Fernando used to spend with his grandmother, Zola], 88–90.

[69] Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 78. In "A quase morte do Tio Manzambi" [Uncle Manzambi's near death], 76–78.

[70] Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida*, 68, in "Dimas Bertaço Venceu na Vida" [Dimas Bertaço made it in life], 66–68.

[71] Fernando, *Dois Anos de Vida,* 28, in "Motorola Made in Angola," 27–29.

[72] Fernando, *Três Anos de Vida*, 144, in "Manga não, Maboque" [Not Mango, Maboque], 142–44.

[73] In "A Curious Mixture of Passion and Reserve: Understanding the Etic/Emic Distinction," Hahn, Jorgenson, and Leeds-Hurwitz use Kenneth Pike's concept of "emic" to explain the value of having the possibility of comparison with other cultures when studying one culture in particular. This enables the researcher to get to know a culture from within, while bearing in mind its relative position to other cultures. Kenneth L. Pike, "Pike's Reply to Harris," in *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*, edited by Thomas N. Headland, Kenneth L. Pike, and Marvin Harris, 62–74. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990, as quoted in Hahn, Jorgenson, and Leeds-Hurwitz, "A Curious Mixture of Passion and Reserve," 148.

[74] Chaparro, "O Acontecimento como Discurso" [Event as Discourse], 296.

[75] Soares, "At the Intersection of Risk," 65.

Bibliography

Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (1990): 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327690007002017.

Becker, Clara. "Ouvindo os Mortos." *Revista Piauí*, no. 52 (January 2011). Accessed May 29, 2020, https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/materia/ouvindo-os-mortos/.

Benhamou, Paul. "Le Journalisme dans l'*Encyclopédie." Recherches sur Diderot et sur* l'*Encyclopédie*, no. 5 (1988): 45–54. https://doi.org/10.3406/rde.1988.979.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." In *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt, trans. by Harry Zohn. New York: Schocken Books, 1969. Pages 1–26, translated from the 1935 essay, available online, https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/benjamin.pdf. Illuminations originally published 1955, by Suhrkamp Verlag (Frankfurt a. M.). English translation first published 1968 by Harcourt, Brace and World (New York). Page references are to the 1968 edition.

Bielsa, Esperança. "Una Aproximación a la Crónica Latinoamericana en España." Review of *Mejor que Ficción. Crónicas Ejemplares*, edited by Jorge Carrión. Guaraguao 17, no. 42 (Spring 2013): 179–85. www.jstor.org/stable/43487920.

Billington, Ray Allen. "The American Frontier Thesis." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (May 1960): 201–16.

———, ed. *The Frontier Thesis. Valid Interpretation of American History?* Malabar: Krieger Publishing Company, 1977. First published 1966 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (New York).

Botta, Mariana G. "A Imprensa Pioneira em Língua Portuguesa e os Gêneros Jornalísticos no Século XVIII." *Revista Comunicação Midiática* 8, no. 2 (May–August 2013): 149–68. https://www2.faac.unesp.br/comunicacaomidiatica/index.php/CM/article/view/237/236.

Brito-Semedo, Manuel, and Joaquim Morais. *Pedro Cardoso: Textos Jornalísticos e Literários*. Praia: Instituto Nacional da Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro, 2008.

Brum, Eliane. *A Vida que Ninguém Vê*. Porto Alegre: Arquipélago Editorial Ltda, 2006.

Cazuza, Domingos. "Fourth of February: Clothing and Machetes Were Financed by Ernesto Lara Filho." *Review of The Liberation of Angola–1949–1974, PIDE-DGS Archives*, Vol. 1, by Agostinho Neto. *Novo Jornal*, February 4, 2014, http://novojornal.co.ao/politica/interior/quatro-de-fevereiro-roupa-e-catanas-foram-financiadas-por-ernesto-lara-filho-5787.html.

Chaparro, Manuel Carlos. "O Acontecimento como Discurso." In "Cadernos do Noroeste," Special issue. *Comunicação e Sociedade* 14, no. 1–2 (2000): 295–304. https://doi.org/10.17231/comsoc.2(2000).1402

Darrigrandi, Claudia. "Crónica Latinoamericana: Algunos Apuntes sobre su Estudio. A Few Notes on the Study of Latin-American Chronicles." *Cuadernos de literatura* 17, no. 34 (July–December 2013): 122–43. https://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=3af532e6-9cfd-4eb7-a839-61708010be9a%40sessionmgr4006.

Feyel, Gilles. "Le journalisme au temps de la Révolution: un pouvoir de vérité et de justice au service des citoyens" [Journalism during the Revolution: the Power of Truth and Justice at the Service of Citizens]. *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, no. 333 (2003): 21–44. doi:https://doi.org/10.3406/ahrf.2003.2673. Title translation from the article.

Fernando, Luís. *Dois Anos de Vida*. Luanda: Mayamba, 2012.

———. Interview with the author, February 20, 2017.

———. *Três Anos de Vida*. Luanda: Mayamba, 2014.

———. *Um Ano de Vida*. Luanda: Mayamba, 2010.

———. "Volto Já, Vou ao Leste de Comboio." *O País*, February 20, 2015, 66.

Hahn, Christina, Jane Jorgenson, and Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz. " 'A Curious Mixture of Passion and Reserve': Understanding the Etic/Emic Distinction." *Éducation et didactique* 5, no. 3 (2011): 145–54. doi: 10.4000/educationdidactique.1167.

Lara Filho, Ernesto. *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1990.

———. "Minha Família é do Norte." *Jornal de Angola*, 1959, 7–8.

Lopes, Fernão. *Crónica de D. João I*. Vols. 1–2. Lisbon: Escriptorio, 1897. http://purl.pt/416/4/hg-17355-p/hg-17355-p_item4/hg-17355-p_PDF/hg-17355-p_PDF_24-C-R0150/hg-17355-p_0000_capa-capa_t24-C-R0150.pdf.

Machado, Álavaro Manuel. "A Geração de 70." *Análise Social* 16, nos. 61–62 (1, 2, 1980–1981): 383–96. http://analisesocial.ics.ul.pt/documentos/1223995314A2jXL1jm0Jc21CJ3.pdf.

Martínez Molina, Julio. "National Meeting of the Chronicle Held in Cienfuegos." *Granma*, November 17, 2017. http://www.granma.cu/cuba/2017-11-17/celebran-encuentro-nacional-de-la-cronica-en-cienfuegos-17-11-2017-20-11-43.

Moisés, Massaud. *Dicionário de Termos Literários*. São Paulo: Editora Cultrix, 2004.

Moreira Marques, Susana. *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*. Translated by Julia Sanches. London and New York: And Other Stories, 2012.

Queiroz, Artur. *Prefácio* to *Crónicas da Roda Gigante*, by Lara Filho, 7–21. Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1990.

Riis, Jacob A. *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*. With an introduction by Donald N. Bigelow. New York: Sagamore Press, 1957. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45502/45502-h/45502-h.htm.

Silva, Vítor A. *A Teoria da Literatura*. Coimbra: Almedina, 2007.

Soares, Isabel. "At the Intersection of Risk: When Literary Journalism and Sociology Study Urban Problems by Means of Akin Methodologies. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*, no. 84 (2017): 63-80. doi:10.7458/SPP2017843466, 2017.

———. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's New Journalism and the Portuguese at the Fin de Siécle." In *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*, edited by John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds, 118–33. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

———. "*South*: Where Travel Meets Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 17–30.

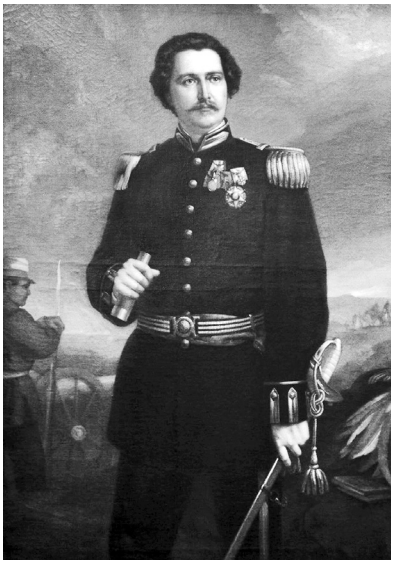
Takeshita, Toshio. "Current Critical Problems in Agenda-Setting Research." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 18, no. 3 (August 2006): 275–96. doi:10.1093/ijpor/edh104, 2005.

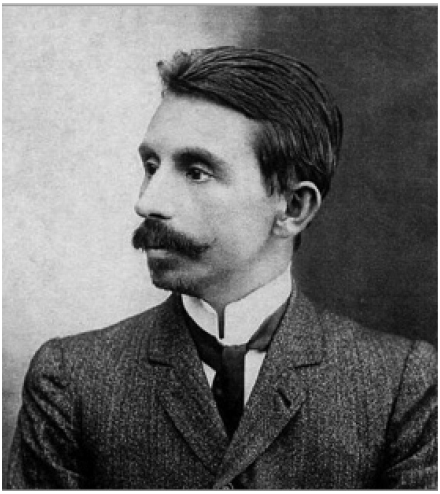
Trindade, Alice. "Literary Journalism: Many Voices, Multiple Languages." *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 92–107.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In *The Frontier in American History*, 1–38. New York: Henry Holt, 1920, 1921. Accessed April 4, 2020. https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/special/en304/syllabus2017-18/the_significance_of_the_frontier_in_american_history.pdf.

Willems, Wendy. "Beyond Normative Deswesternization: Examining Media Culture from the Vantage Point of the Global South." In "New Media and Mass/Popular Culture in the Global South." Special Issue, *The Global South* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 7–23. Accessed, https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.2979/globalsouth.8.1.7.pdf, 2014.

———, and Winston Mano. "Decolonizing and Provincializing Audience and Internet Studies: Contextual Approaches from African Vantage Points." In *Everyday Media Culture in Africa: Audiences and Users*, edited by Wendy Willems and Winston Mano, 1–26. New York and London: Routledge, 2017. Accessed May 29, 2020, http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/67633/1/Decolonizing%20and%20provincializing_author.pdf.





Clockwise: Portrait of Visconde de Taunay by Louis-August Moreaux (Imperial Museum of Brazil); Euclides da Cunha (Wikicommons); Hermano Neves (Wikicommons); Mário Neves (Wikicommons).

Voices in War Times: Tracing the Roots of Lusophone Literary Journalism

Manuel João Coutinho
Independent Researcher, Lisboa, Portugal

Mateus Yuri Passos
Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, Brasil

Abstract: This essay takes a look at the works of four early literary journalists—Portuguese reporters Hermano Neves and Mário Neves, and Brazilian writers Visconde de Taunay and Euclides da Cunha—to trace the foundations of lusophone literary journalism, that is, reportage written primarily in the Portuguese language. Among the findings are that war reporting is not only a common topic in both traditions—as well as in the manifold traditions of literary journalism across the world—but that literary journalism in both Portugal and Brazil started with the subject of war, under several different perspectives—and, thus, that the shocking reality of the battlefield has played a role in the deeper humanization of journalism. The conditions of the wars that are covered vary deeply—a military uprising, a military campaign to suppress a civil uprising, a failed campaign in a frontier zone, and a major, multisided war. However, in all cases analyzed here there are clear social and political crises that have produced journalistic creativity and voice, reflecting a need to report in a more descriptive manner and with a more immersed—and immersive—approach. Most of the works analyzed in this study also had a major impact in the development of literary journalism in both Portugal and Brazil, and even as the reporting subjects changed from battlefields back into city life, the main interest in human drama has remained.

Keywords: literary journalism – literary journalism and war – Brazilian journalism – Portuguese journalism

Each literary-journalistic tradition, across every continent and in every country, has found its own way to combine genres of literature and journalism in a way that posits a great challenge for proposing a unifying definition of what literary journalism is. However, the myriad approaches and genres encompassed by the label of literary journalism have found some common ground in the topic of war. Armed conflicts between nations, civil wars, and revolutions have been featured in English–language literary journalism since its first appearance—in Stephen Crane's reporting on the U.S. Civil War, in John Reed's accounts of Pancho Villa's revolution in Mexico and of the October Revolution in Russia, in Hemingway's writings on the two world wars and the Spanish Civil War, among several other examples.[1]

John S. Bak in 2016 noted the focus of such reporting is usually concerned with human tragedy and suffering during war,[2] be it from the point of view of the combatants and other people who actively participated in the war, as in Svetlana Alexievich's 1985 book *У войны не женское лицо* (*The Unwomanly Face of War*), which tells the stories of Russian women who served in World War II as soldiers, cooks, and nurses, among other professions; or from the perspective of people who were not involved in warfare, but suffered its consequences nonetheless, as in John Hersey's 1946 book *Hiroshima*, which follows the lives of six people in the days following the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima in August 1945.[3]

The tone of such stories frequently inclines toward pacifism by condemning the gruesomeness of war, usually preferring to follow in-depth stories of a handful of characters rather than larger groups. The focus on the individual experience, in the same vein as Victor Chklovski in his famous essay "Art as Technique" has noted about Tolstoy's narrative in *War and Peace*, allows for greater empathy from the reader toward the characters and events narrated in a story.[4] By uncovering the human faces of those who suffer and struggle to survive, focusing on individual struggles allows for telling stories of people for whom the reader is able to feel empathy. As noted by Bak, this means, in sum, that war coverage gives the reporter a golden opportunity to give voice to people who are silenced: "We cannot stop the wars, we cannot impede one nation's encroachment upon another, we cannot fetter humankind's relentless drive to subjugate its perennial other; but we can refuse to let those stories that interrogate such reviled acts remain in the margins of our collective histories."[5]

This essay's close look at the works of four early literary journalists—Portuguese reporters Hermano Neves and Mário Neves, and Brazilian writers Visconde de Taunay and Euclides da Cunha—traces the origins of lusophone literary journalism, that is, reportage written primarily in Portuguese. War

reporting was found to be deeply influenced by both Portugal and Brazil's literary journalism, as well as by the manifold journalistic traditions across the world, from several different perspectives. Thus, the shocking reality of the battlefield has played a role in the deeper humanization of journalism, kickstarting the development of literary journalism.

Brazilian Literary Journalism: Continuity among Interruptions

Before the emergence of literary journalism in Brazil, there were close links between literature and journalism in the country. Most fiction writers practiced some kind of journalism before or during their literary careers, and several Brazilian novels were first published as feuilletons in the nineteenth century. Though colonizers from Portugal began to appear in Brazil in the early sixteenth century, printing was prohibited in the country and would remain so until 1808, when the Portuguese Court moved to Rio de Janeiro to escape a French invasion. Shortly thereafter, the Brazilian Imprensa Régia (royal press) and the first Brazilian newspaper, *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, which printed official announcements, were founded.[6]

Decades before the war reporting pieces that are the focus of this study were published, Brazilian literary journalism's history began in the 1840s with *crônicas*, a genre akin to the anglophone sketch, in which authors analyzed everyday-life aspects of the growing cities or commented on great happenings with a light or humorous tone. Among the early *cronistas* were romantic writers Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and José de Alencar. In addition, there was Machado de Assis who, by the 1870s, became the nation's finest writer, famous for his ironic and melancholic voice in a style heavily influenced by Lawrence Sterne and Xavier de Maistre. Then there came Olavo Bilac, Lima Barreto, and the modernists Mário de Andrade, Manuel Bandeira, and Antônio de Alcântara Machado. The genre is still practiced in newspapers and magazines, but for the most part is regarded as a minor production of authors best known for their work in fiction.

On the other hand, the period that immediately follows the release of Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões*[7] saw the emergence of the reportages from João do Rio (a pseudonym for Paulo Barreto), who, until his death in 1921, worked for several newspapers in Rio de Janeiro. João do Rio used many narrative strategies of the *crônicas* in his reporting, often incorporating investigative and narra-descriptive elements derived from Cunha's work, as he covered both the modernization of Rio and elements of the city's underworld, such as the religious cults that combined Catholic and African beliefs. Marcelo Bulhões in his 2007 book *Jornalismo e literatura em convergência* identifies two reporters from the 1920s as João do Rio's followers: Benjamin Costallat

and Sylvio Floreal; the first, also a fiction writer, focused on bizarre or tragic events, while the latter, based in São Paulo, was interested in a vast range of subjects, such as corruption, misery, the grand life, eccentrics, and tragic-comic stories, which he included in his book *Ronda da Meia-Noite* (Midnight shift).[8]

As noted, Cunha was a major influence on Rio's work. Cunha is considered by most authors and scholars as the first Brazilian literary journalist to write reportage instead of *crônica*. However, there is another earlier example of reportage in Brazil—in the work of Visconde de Taunay. Both Cunha and Taunay have written important books concerning war in Brazil, but Cunha—who worked in newsrooms and was involved with the *Academia Brasileira de Letras* (Brazilian Academy of Letters) is widely regarded as the founding father of Brazilian reportage, while Taunay, a romantic writer, fell into obscurity even within the field of literary criticism and has only recently been rediscovered. The reasons for elevating one and forgetting the other may have their political resonances, however, as Taunay's anti-Paraguay point of view may be regarded as undesirable under the current movement of integration among South American countries.

A Retirada da Laguna: A Song for Survival

Formerly a Portuguese colony, Brazil became independent in 1822. Rather than becoming a republic, it was then a monarchic empire ruled by a member of the Portuguese royal family—Don Pedro I, who in 1826 briefly became King Pedro IV of Portugal while he was still in power in Brazil. Due to the Brazilian political instability under his rule, during which there were several attempts at secession, and also due to political instability regarding the successions to the throne in Portugal, he abdicated and left for Portugal in 1831. The Brazilian Empire was then ruled by a handful of regents until 1840, when the first emperor's son came of age and was enthroned as Pedro II, who stayed in power until the coup that installed the Brazilian Republic in 1889.

One of the historical events that contributed to the Brazilian emperor's downfall was the costly 1864–70 Paraguayan War. In the early 1860s, Paraguay was an economically autonomous country and had a thriving economy. Since Paraguay was—and still is—landlocked, it looked for an opportunity to gain access to the Atlantic Ocean through river navigation by means of an alliance with the Blanco Party of Uruguay, which was politically unstable during this period. Brazil and Argentina, which held regional hegemony at the time and were manipulating other Uruguayan parties, became allies and dragged Uruguay along to suppress the Paraguayan expansion. For some time

it was believed that the war was the result of a manipulation by the United Kingdom, which had loaned a considerable sum to finance the war and allegedly feared the expansion of a nation which did not depend on British money, but this hypothesis has been debunked. There is now a consensus that the imperialism to blame is that of Pedro II's Brazil and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's Argentina.[9] The war resulted in the decimation of an estimated fifty-eight percent of the Paraguayan population.

A failed campaign during the war was recorded by Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay in his 1874 book, *A Retirada da Laguna* (The retreat from Laguna).[10] The book was not originally designed for a lusophone public. It was first published in French under the title *Le Retraite de Laguna* in 1871 and later translated into Portuguese by the author himself. Best known for his noble title and *nom de plume* Visconde de Taunay (Viscount of Taunay), which was a promotion from the title of Baron received from the emperor two months before the country became a republic and nobility titles lost their meaning, the author's best-known works are his 1872 novel *Inocência* (Innocence) and the 1875 novel *Ouro Sobre Azul* (Gold on blue). While most of his output consisted of fiction, he wrote a travel book on the region of Mato Grosso—*Scenas de Viagem: Exploração Entre os Rios Taquary e Aquidauana no Districto de Miranda* (Travel scenes: exploration of the area between the rivers Taquary and Aquidauana in the district of Miranda), published in 1868. He also wrote a book on the speculative bubble and subsequent financial crisis in Brazil, *O Encilhamento: scenas contemporâneas da Bolsa do Rio de Janeiro em 1890, 1891 e 1892* (Encilhamento: contemporary scenes of the stock exchange in Rio de Janeiro in 1890, 1891 and 1892), published in 1894. There was also the posthumously published collection *Dous Artistas Máximos* (Two extraordinary artists) devoted to Brazilian composers José Maurício Nunes Garcia and Antônio Carlos Gomes. The article about Carlos Gomes can be regarded as an early profile, which is more evidence of Taunay's link to literary journalism.[11]

A Retirada da Laguna is an unusual piece because it was a biased depiction of the Paraguayan War from the point of view of one of the oppressive forces. Taunay participated in the war as a lieutenant in the Brazilian Army and wrote the narrative from the personal perspective of a combatant. The book was even dedicated to Emperor Pedro II, for whom Taunay manifests deep admiration and devotion. He repeatedly refers to the Paraguayans simply as being "the enemy." The narrative features a thirty-five-day mission to invade Paraguay and take a farm known as Laguna, the property of the president of Paraguay, Francisco Solano López. The farm is briefly taken, but the Paraguayan army vigorously retakes it and repels the Brazilians. The narrative

then follows the Brazilian army's struggle to retreat and survive among many difficult crossings of rivers and swamps, with a low supply of food and a rising number of combatants getting sick, while being attacked by the Paraguayans, who used guerrilla techniques to weaken their opponents. The strongest points of the narrative are in the struggles of the army to survive the crossings and in the characterization of its allies—particularly that of their guide, farmer José Francisco Lopes, who joined the war to free his family, which had been kidnapped by the Paraguayans. There are also a few Terena and Guaycuru Indians who volunteer to join the expedition because they considered themselves to be Brazilians. This is a meaningful step in the acknowledgment of the humanity of Indians in Brazil, who had been massacred since the beginning of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil.

Above all, however, is the gruesomeness of war and the struggle for survival. As the retreat progresses, the hardships the soldiers face increase exponentially. Chapter seventeen of the book, in which the expedition returns to the guide's ranch, provides a good example of this. As they near the safety of the ranch, in what should be a moment of relief and celebration, the soldiers' feelings give way to despair:

> Dominated by so many and such dismal impressions, we gathered around Lieutenant Colonel Juvêncio's tent. Our attention was caught by his moans: he was also taken by the sickness! He was already unrecognizable, his voice different and frightening. Our first impulse was to run to the doctors' tent: we were returning from there when, next to us, an explosion sounded, followed by many gunshots from the enemy sentinels. It was the soldier on duty at the headquarters who had committed suicide: terrible cramps had assaulted him, so he freed himself from them. All those noises were heard by almost everyone, but Lieutenant Colonel Juvêncio did not wish to know their cause, and seemed even not to notice them. Seemingly being overtaken by a hallucination, his face began to shake. By his side, we were consumed by exhaustion, drained by so many shocks, and could barely fight off an overwhelming sleep, filled with nightmares, dismay and carnage.[12]

The overall impression is that there were too few resources and too many lives were wasted on the mission, with no gain from it. The expeditionary force was devastated by cholera. The number of the sick grew rapidly. The doctors were unable to treat all of them. The chapter includes a moment of terrible decision as the officers decide to abandon all the sick in order to move faster. Even the sick stop resisting after the decision is made, asking only to have some water while they lie on the ground, waiting for their deaths. The disease also claims Lopes's son, the last living member of his family. He is shaken to his core—so much so that he shows no emotion when he finally

sees his ranch again and dies shortly before the expedition sets foot there. More than celebrating the alleged bravery of the Brazilian army or accusing the Paraguayans of treachery, Taunay focuses on the horror faced by those who fight a war.

Os Sertões: A Positivist View of a Massacre

In the 1890s Brazil was in turmoil. Having deposed the emperor in 1899, the newborn Federative Republic of Brazil faced an unstable economy and was paranoid about restoration and secession movements—so paranoid that the government orchestrated the massacre of 25,000 people of the rural community of Canudos, in the state of Bahia, in the northeastern region of the country. The federal government mistook Canudos as a monarchist-funded army. While the political and spiritual leader of the community, Antônio Conselheiro, did indeed consider the displacement of Emperor Pedro II in 1889 as an act against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church—which crowned the monarchs—and the will of God, he did not intend to organize an uprising against the Republic. He was instead offering religious comfort and a safe haven for people who suffered from extreme poverty.

The most famous book, on the 1896–97 Canudos War, is also considered a major breakthrough in literary reporting in Brazil: Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões: Campanha de Canudos*[13] was published in 1902 and is usually considered the first piece of Brazilian literary journalism. The author based the book on his work from August to October 1897 as a correspondent for the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* when he observed the repressive actions by the Brazilian army against Canudos. In *Os Sertões* he not only chronicled the conflict, but also searched for ways of understanding and portraying the nature of the people of the backlands, with whom Cunha ultimately sympathized.

In addition to being a reporter, Cunha was also trained as an engineer and a sociologist. He differed from Taunay in that he never ventured into the realm of fiction—his only nonreporting work is a collection of poetry under the title of *Ondas* (Waves),[14] published only posthumously. However, no other of his writings have the scope of *Os Sertões*. His other two books, both published in 1907, are less acknowledged by the critics and are not journalism—*Peru versus Bolivia* is an analysis of the litigation between Peru and Bolivia regarding their borders, written while he worked for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and *Contrastes e Confrontos* is a collection of essays on the first years of the Republic, its foreign relations, and also the settlement of unpopulated Brazilian territory.[15]

The diverse nature of Cunha's work and his hybrid education made the writing of *Os Sertões* unique. In it, he tried to grasp the deeper roots of the

conflict. Instead of just collecting his newspaper reporting to publish it in book form, he rewrote the narrative from scratch, organizing his work into three parts—"The Land," "The Man," and "The Fight." Instead of a narrative depiction of events, the first two parts analyze, by means of studies in geology and anthropology, the backlands of Northeastern Brazil and the *sertanejos* (roughly, "backlanders") who lived there. The tone is charged with positivistic determinism, and Cunha attempts to establish a causality chain between the "arid" backlands and the "arid" people who inhabited the region. While characterizing the backlanders as primitive and prone to religious fanaticism, through his probing and descriptive passages, he makes it clear that the people of Canudos had no way to overthrow the Republic, or even establish an independent country. Their knowledge of the terrain was their only advantage in repelling the military expeditions sent against them.

Even in the third part of the book, the strength of Cunha's narrative is in the description of sites, in evoking their aspect and mood, their essence at a given point in time. This is clear, for example, when the fourth expedition against Canudos enters a ranch where the first battlefield of the war took place:

> The place was mournful. Everywhere cruel recollections came back: old, already washed-out rags from military uniforms, swinging from the ends of dry branches; old saddles, remnants of blankets and scraps of overcoats scattered all over the ground, among fragments of bones and carcasses. On the left side of the road, suspended on a tree trunk—like an old army uniform on a coat hanger—the decapitated corpse of Colonel Tamarindo, his arms hanging in the air, black gloves on his skeleton hands. . . . Under his feet lay his skull and boots. From the borders of the road to deep in the scrubland, there were other companions of misfortune: skeletons wearing dusty and tattered uniforms, lying on the ground, prostrated, aligned in a tragic formation; or off balance and caught on the bending bushes which, when swaying with the wind, gave them a singular specter-like motion.[16]

In this and other passages, the struggles and supposed heroics of the expeditions against Canudos were also confronted, through description, with the crude reality of the outcomes of war: death and destruction. For its subtle criticism of the war and of the Brazilian government, *Os Sertões* is now regarded not only as an important step in the development of literary journalism in Brazil, but also as the "Sacred Book of Brazilian Memory"[17] that examines and discloses several truths about Brazil and its contradictions. These are noted in the opposition and disparity between the societies of the coast—the Brazil of *politicking*—and the people of the backlands—the social, real Brazil, despised and ignored by the elite.

This aspect would constitute one of the main differences from the war

reporting in Taunay's book: the ability to show, through description and narration, the inherent humanity in all sides of a conflict. This power of what Hartsock calls narra-descriptive[18] techniques for conveying human suffering as well as human prowess, first shown in Brazil through this work, is what would make it a role model for early literary reporters such as João do Rio—even as the reporting subjects changed from battlefields back into city life, the main interest in human drama, remained.

Portuguese Literary Journalism: History and Crisis as Starting Points

To grasp the antecedents of Portuguese literary journalism one must keep in mind the country's troubled twentieth century, particularly its first half. In 1910 the Portuguese king was exiled and the monarchy that had lasted for almost 800 years came to an end, giving way to the First Portuguese Republic. This new regime quickly proved to be both economically and politically incapable of facing the challenges the new century would present, and public uprisings grew rapidly. In 1926 the Republic was toppled by a military dictatorship and by 1933 a new constitution gave way to a new establishment that would be called *Estado Novo* (New State). This new regime exercised pervasive and active censorship over media and tight control over freedom of speech while at the same time it promoted journalistic explorations to find new ways to communicate important news. This dictatorship would rule unquestioned, for the most part, until the Carnation Revolution of April 25, 1974, known today in Portugal as *Dia da liberdade* (Freedom Day).

Although there are some interesting examples of Portuguese journalism during the last decades of the monarchy, it is in the short lifespan of the First Portuguese Republic that some of the first forms of Portuguese literary journalism began to be seen. There are two particular narratives that will be analyzed here to better ascertain the origins of the genre. The first is a series of narratives by Hermano Neves, the first Portuguese reporter to be sent to cover the First World War. The second analysis will be of Consiglieri Sá Pereira's *A Noite Sangrenta* (The Bloody Night), a narrative bearing the title of the event which took place in 1921 and by which it would be known.[19] Both narratives are connected to armed conflicts and subsequent social-political crisis, and while such a connection might seem coincidental, the origins of Portuguese literary journalism are ultimately connected to such events. Such a point of view is not at all groundbreaking. In fact, Lee Siegel in his 2016 *Columbia Journalism Review* analysis argues that this genre as a whole thrives in such times of social-political crisis, while considering different examples throughout the United States, such as Norman Mailer's 1967 *Armies of the Night*.[20] Indeed, this point of view seems to fit literary journalism as a journal-

istic expression that reports in a profound, humane, and immersive manner. Moreover, these three characteristics are key components for such a genre. Indeed, that being said, not all of Portuguese literary journalism originates from such impactful crises, nor is there any apparent reason to believe that without armed conflicts this genre would not flourish in Portugal. But the fact is that understanding this nation's history and context provides essential insights to understand how and why many journalists found that the best way to address this reality was to explore a different kind of journalism through an approach that can be called Portuguese literary journalism.

The First World War and the Portuguese Campaign in France

Of the many events that put the First Portuguese Republic (1910–26) to the test, Portuguese participation in the First World War was undoubtedly one of its defining moments. While this regime sought change from the previous rule, the fact is that this new governing power was similar to the fallen Monarchy, diverging mainly in ideological agenda and not in sociopolitical changes and much needed progress.[21] Moved by a desire to (re)affirm its democratic power and place next to Europe's allied forces, among other factors, Portugal officially entered this conflict in March 1916 (although there had been clashes in its colonies in Africa since 1914). While the first Portuguese troops officially joined the fight in France only in February 1917, in Portugal's media the press had been reporting the conflict attentively since the beginning. Concerning news from abroad, Portuguese journalism in general was until then very much dependent on foreign newspapers and international agencies, which in part contributed to a stagnant printing industry and a lack of innovation in terms of national publications. But World War I contributed to changing the paradigm because, ultimately, a considerable number of Portuguese newspapers made the unprecedented decision to send journalists to report on site. From the many examples that could be considered, perhaps the most notable is the one that can be found in the pages of the newspaper, *A Capital*, the first Portuguese publication to send a reporter exclusively to cover the war.

Reporter Hermano Neves, then twenty-nine years old, was working for this newspaper and in this capacity was sent to France in August 1914. Neves's reports, however, had to face tight censorship back home, a challenge oftentimes presented to the majority of Portuguese newspapers, especially during war times. By March 1916, the First Portuguese Republic enacted a law to exclude anything from news publications that might "shake" troop morale, leading to a direct fight against truth and moral pertinence. But a journalist's challenge to censorship began right there, on the battlefield, where the

Portuguese reporters were always accompanied by military officials who, besides playing the role of guides and interpreters, also served as active censors. While Neves reported mainly on the allied side and faced many challenges before seeing his reports published, interestingly enough it is also said that the German side was less vindictive and blue-penciled toward the media during this conflict. This situation famously led then former United States President Theodore Roosevelt, in January 1915, to issue a letter to the Foreign Office stating that the harsh conditions of the allied front for news correspondents, versus the more "welcoming" approach by the German front, would unavoidably contribute to the former's propaganda campaign and ideological success overseas.[22] Facing such challenging conditions, Hermano Neves wrote several articles during various periods for *A Capital*: first, from September to October 1914, his "Cartas da Guerra" (Letters from war); secondly, in November 1915, his "Crónicas de Paris," where he interviewed several French politicians and writers; and thirdly, in November 1917, his "Crónicas da Grande Guerra" (roughly: Essays on the Great War).[23] It is perhaps this third article that best represents Neves's narratives and persona while ultimately demonstrating how his reports started to resemble a pertinent form of Portuguese literary journalism. Reporting from the front where he also served as a doctor (he had previously abandoned a promising medical career in order to become a full-time journalist), Neves's reports evidence a heavy focus on war strategy and troop tactics, perhaps to escape censorship by not focusing on individual events, war chaos, and the growing number of casualties. And yet, there are also moments where the author lets his narrative abilities roam somewhat freely while he describes war scenarios, to depict as well as possible the growing tension and dangers of war. One example of this can be seen in his November 6, 1917, report, when he refers to a time when the Portuguese troops seek to take an enemy trench in no-man's-land, the term commonly used in World War I to describe the land between two enemy trenches. Neves writes:

> The time of the assault is near. By then it was no longer a secret, not for our men, nor for the enemy. . . . Across the trenches right next to no man's land, quietly, here and there, a murmur starts to rise: Soon. . . . Suddenly, a word goes from mouth to mouth: Now! . . . Some run, others follow. . . . The first grenades start to burst . . . smoke bombs are launched, which force the first groups of prisoners almost suffocating to burst out. . . . [B]y rule, war has no room for unpredictability, before making an offensive . . . all hypotheses are considered . . . to the point of predicting, with a relative estimate, the number of casualties and the number of prisoners.[24]

While the narrative very much depicts a controlled environment where the reporter cannot attempt to provide the exact number of casualties or in-

clude gruesome details, still found in Neves's narrative is a close immersion from which he tries to depict the battlefield (an approach he repeats, for example, in his November 13, 1917, article, while reporting an aerial combat). Neves and other Portuguese reporters during the First World War planted the seed for a more literary-oriented journalism. And yet, at the same time they were important pioneers in their field by justifying the need for national newspapers to have Portuguese reporters on site, slowly moving away from a journalism dependent on foreign news reports, at least in terms of foreign events abroad. It is interesting and very much apparent, at least in hindsight, the ways in which the First World War changed the Portuguese media overall, because many newspapers created new daily editions to address the conflict as more and more Portuguese journalists reported on this war. The impact of the First World War and the tragic Portuguese participation in this conflict further discredited the already troubled First Portuguese Republic. In December 1917, a military coup took over the Portuguese government, and the military officer Sidónio Pais assumed the role of dictator with a political message largely based on the promise of removing the nation from the bloody conflict. After one year in power, Sidónio was assassinated, and Portugal returned to the rule of the First Portuguese Republic. As the years passed, the country continued to plunge into a deep crisis, with social and political unrest becoming more and more common across the nation. This instability would ultimately lead to a bloody event.

The Bloody Night and the Last Years of the First Portuguese Republic

While Portugal tried to overcome the critical issues imposed by the post–First World War period, the governing First Portuguese Republic proved once more its inability to face growing financial and social challenges. The country experienced a disastrous bankruptcy and, as historian Aniceto Afonso puts it: "Só uma palavra define a situação portuguesa depois da guerra—crise" ("There is only one word to define the Portuguese situation after the war: crisis").[25] One of the main reasons for the ineptitude in overcoming this crisis can be seen through the prevailing political instability: from 1910 to 1925 there were fifteen governments—only one of the eight ruling presidents fulfilled his political mandate—and by the middle of the 1920s there were few doubts that democracy had failed, and the country was drifting.[26] In 1917 a military officer by the name of Sidónio Pais took the presidency by force without the country having power to oppose it. While his rule was short (he was assassinated a year later, and the Republic resumed its rule), it was clear that the First Republic was unstable and inadequate. As a radical solution seemed to be more and more evident, there were several specific events

that mirrored the growing extremist and radical mindset at the time, but none more evident that the one that took place in Portugal's capital, Lisbon, on an October night in 1921.

Facing the backlash of the economic turmoil of 1920 and the highest inflation rate in Portuguese history,[27] more and more radical branches of the government sought for a tougher and more authoritarian rule. By March 1921, then–Prime Minister Liberato Pinto, abandoned the government and shortly afterwards was dismissed from his role as Lieutenant Colonel of the *Guarda Nacional Republicana* (GNR). His dismissal, due to acts of rebelliousness and criticism of the government, was highly criticized at the time by GNR and the Democratic Party. When in August 1921 António Granjo assumed for the second time the role of prime minister and with it the promise of a more conservative administration, a growing exasperation began to spread through the more radical divisions of government while at the same time several army and navy officials saw Granjo as unfit to rule. And so, in the early morning of October 19, a rebellion led by military officers broke out, and the elected government quickly proved to have no real power to oppose it. António Granjo resigned from his role as prime minister. Even so, several hours later, he was assassinated by the armed uprising that quickly spread, bringing bloodshed across Lisbon. During that night, from October 19 to the early morning of October 20, several assassinations of political and military figures took place, some of whom were considered heroes of the coup d'état that resulted in the First Portuguese Republic eleven years before. This event would be known in Portuguese history as A Noite Sangrenta (The Bloody Night).

Many journalists sought to report as much as possible the ensuing chaos and bloodshed created by the primary military instigators who moved around Lisbon in an army car taking prisoners from their private houses and later assassinating them. This vehicle would later be referred to as A Camioneta Fantasma (The Phantom Bus). Among these journalists, Consiglieri Sá Pereira focused on António Granjo's struggle in attempting to escape his assassins. With a discerning narrative and descriptive style, Consiglieri Sá Pereira's report is very much in line with what can be called, by the terms described herein, literary journalism. His narrative portrays the events with a human concern and attention to detail. Consider, for example, the moment when António Granjo is found at the house of Francisco Cunha Leal, a former military officer and a democratic politician, who decided to hide Granjo in hopes of ensuring his safety from those who sought to take the life of the deposed prime minister. Here is Sá Pereira's description of the encounter:

> Suddenly, the bell rang. . . . Cunha Leal moved to the door. When he opened it, he saw António Granjo. . . . [Leal] felt honored in offering hospitality to

> the deposed prime minister. . . . [Granjo] seemed more serene now. . . . But this period of calm did not last for long. . . . A neighbor came to warn . . . that soldiers and armed citizens swarmed outside the backyards. . . . Cunha Leal told this to António Granjo. He reminded him that among the rebels there were some who were his friends. They would respect him. . . . The siege of Cunha Leal's house intensified. . . . Cunha Leal told him: . . . only after seeing an official with more medals then I will I open the door! . . . At forty-five minutes past eight p.m. . . . the navy guard Benjamin Pereira appeared [at the house]. . . . It was his intention to avoid any bloodshed . . . António Granjo would board the [military boat] *Vasco da Gama*, where he would stay for a few days, but never as a prisoner. . . . They were leaving. . . . [D]ownstairs a neighbor who was at the window . . . heard someone scream from the [army] bus: Hey everyone! Should we shoot him right here? . . . The navy guard warned: Let us go . . . to somewhere darker where there is no one on site.[28]

This scene was the prelude to António Granjo's death hours later. Cunha Leal survived to tell the story because the officers had no quarrel with him, which is in part why this narrative is so descriptive and full of details. The Bloody Night took several lives that day and full investigation of this event is yet to be formally conducted, with many stories and details to be discovered. Consiglieri Sá Pereira's narrative describes the ordeal of only one of the victims, António Granjo, who in less than twenty-four hours resigned from his political position, was hunted down, hidden, and eventually found in a friend's house. He was then brought down to the pier with Cunha Leal and shot twice in the neck. Still alive, he was then taken to the infirmary where he met his end after being shot several times across his body with one his assassins even sabering his stomach. The Bloody Night is the result of a nation in panic, disillusioned by the promises of the First Portuguese Republic, and eager for a dramatic change. The change would come, at least politically, five years later, with the military coup of 1926, followed by the eventual rise of the *Estado Novo* (New State) and the Constitution of 1933, a pervasive and authoritarian regime that would last up until 1974.

Conclusion

There are several works from the 1910–26 period that reflect the voice of Portuguese literary journalism, besides the aforementioned First World War narratives of Hermano Neves for the newspaper, *A Capital*, and Consiglieri Sá Pereira's book, *A Noite Sangrenta*, published in 1924. But the two examples analyzed here are part of a paradigm that seems to best represent part of this genre's development in Portugal: a crisis both political and social that produced a journalistic creativity and voice, reflecting the writers' need

to report in a more descriptive manner and with a more immersed approach, while at the same time being able to distance themselves from conventional media. It would be unfair to state that all Portuguese literary journalism originated out of such turmoil, although its direct impact is undeniable. After the 1926 revolution Portuguese journalism would suffer a great blow as the subsequent dictatorship sought to watch over the media. Even if journalists had previously been under the passive and active censorship of the Portuguese Republic, the dictatorship presented harsher and more pervasive control during its almost fifty-year rule. Some examples of Portuguese literary journalism during this period stand out, such as Mário Neves's narrative on the Massacre of Badajoz during the first year of the Spanish Civil War[29] (Mário Neves is, interestingly enough, the son of Hermano Neves, the first Portuguese journalist considered here). And although journalism during this time frame was under the control of governmental censors, there were indeed many writers and journalists who sought to voice their opinions and insurgency under the radar—through literature or even through the use of concealed tricks in mainstream media, thus bypassing censorship. But that is another story that deserves its own analysis.

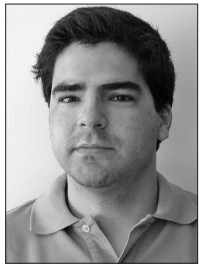
In the case of Brazil, this study found that proper literary reportage begins with war coverage, as evidenced by the two works discussed here, but, with few exceptions, the topic of war has mostly been abandoned in Brazilian literary journalism since the publication of *Os Sertões*. Due to the strict censorship imposed on the press during those times, there were no literary journalism pieces focusing on the two dictatorship periods the country faced throughout the twentieth century—Getúlio Vargas's Estado Novo (New State), (1937–45) and the Military Dictatorship presided over by several high officers from the Brazilian army (1964–85). Anti-dictatorship writings were mostly published in the form of literary fiction. There was also no reportage featuring the revolutions during the 1920s and 1930s. There were, however, books in which reporters tried to retell those stories decades after they took place: two of the most acknowledged examples are Fernando Morais's 1985 *Olga*, a biography of the German communist revolutionary Olga Benario Prestes, who took part in an attempted coup in Brazil during the Estado Novo[30]; and Eliane Brum's 1994 *Coluna Prestes: O Avesso da Lenda* (Prestes Column: The other side of the legend),[31] which tells the story of the inhabitants of cities sacked and devastated by an uprising of military colonels in the 1920s.

The humanization of conflict, as accomplished in Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões* and various works of U.S. literary journalism, has inspired some works about foreign wars—Joel Silveira's pieces on the Brazilian missions in World War II,[32] First Wave reporter José Hamilton Ribeiro's 1968 series of

reportages on the Vietnam War for the *Realidade* magazine,[33] which shifted to a more personal narrative of tragedy and recovery after Ribeiro accidentally stepped on a landmine and lost his right leg. There were also reportages in the 2010s by Patrícia Campos Melo and Dorrit Harazim[34] about the wars in the Middle East. But even in these examples of literary journalism, war and armed conflict are mostly treated as events that happen in lands that are far away from the readers' environments.

On the other hand, as noted before, war reporters had sown the seeds for writing on different topics regarding life in big cities, although frequently focusing on some kind of social tension or struggle. Even a story such as *Grã-finos em São Paulo* [Nouveau riches in São Paulo], written by Brazilian reporter Joel Silveira for the *Diretrizes* magazine in 1943,[35] would apply those same narra-descriptive techniques to chronicle the gossip and the different structures of the high society of São Paulo, as well as their bickering and mutual prejudices. War has taught lusophone journalism—just as it has other traditions—African, U.S. and European—the value of extensive description, of point of view, and of social analysis in order to better convey reality and human drama in reporting pieces.

Manuel João de Carvalho Coutinho is an independent researcher from Lisbon, Portugal. He is a conference speaker, a published academic, and a content writer. His research interests include nonfiction, creative writing, journalism, and literary journalism. He holds a bachelor's degree in philosophy, a master's in the philosophy of education, and a master's and a PhD in science communication in media and journalism.



Mateus Yuri Passos is professor at the Graduate Program in social communication of Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, Brazil, and editor of Comunicação & Sociedade *journal. He holds a PhD on literary theory and history (Campinas State University, Unicamp), Brazil, with a research stay at the Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München (LMU), Germany.*

Notes

[1] Sims, *True Stories*, chaps. 2–3.

[2] Bak, "General Introduction to the ReportAGES Series," ix–xiv.

[3] Alexievich, *The Unwomanly Face of War*; Hersey, *Hiroshima*.

[4] Chklovski, "Arte como Procedimento" ["Art as Technique"], 92–93.

[5] Bak, "General Introduction to the ReportAGES Series," xiv.

[6] Romancini and Lago, *História do Jornalismo no Brasil*, 27.

[7] *Cunha, Os Sertões: Campanha de Canudos* [The Sertões: Canudos campaign].

[8] Bulhões, *Jornalismo e Literatura*, 113 (Unless otherwise noted, all translations are ours); Floreal, *Ronda da Meia-Noite*.

[9] Bethell, "O Imperialismo Britânico e a Guerra do Paraguai," 265–89.

[10] Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna* [The retreat from Laguna].

[11] Taunay, *Inocência* [Innocence]; Taunay, *Ouro Sobre Azul* [Gold on blue]. Taunay, *Scenas de Viagem* [Travel scenes]; Taunay, *O Encilhamento* [Encilhamento]; Taunay, *Dous Artistas Máximos* [Two extraordinary artists].

[12] Translated by Mateus Yuri Passos from the original: "Dominados por tantas e tão funestas impressões, nos reuníramos em torno da barraca do tenente-coronel Juvêncio. Chamaram-nos a atenção os seus gemidos: acabara a moléstia de o saltear também! Já estava irreconhecível e com a voz demudada e sinistra. Foi o nosso primeiro ímpeto correr à barraca dos médicos: dela voltávamos quando, junto a nós, reboou uma detonação, seguida de vários tiros das sentinelas inimigas. Era o soldado de plantão do quartel general que se suicidara; horríveis câimbras havendo-o atacado, delas acabava de se libertar. Ocorreram a todos estes ruídos sem que o tenente-coronel Juvêncio desejasse conhecer-lhes os motivos e até sem que parecesse percebê-los. Tomara-lhe, pouco a pouco, a agitação o caráter de frenética alucinação. Nós mesmos, ao seu lado, estafados pelo cansaço, esgotados por tantos sobressaltos, mal conseguíamos combater um sono acabrunhador, pejado de pesadelos, de desalento e carnificina." Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 136–37.

[13] Cunha, *Os Sertões*. There are two translations of the book in English: *Rebellion in the Backlands*, translated by Samuel Putnam, published in 1944, 1947, and 1957, by University of Chicago Press, and 1995, by Picador (London); and *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign*, translated by Elizabeth Lowe, published in 2010 by Penguin (New York).

[14] Cunha, *Ondas* [Waves].

[15] Cunha, *Peru versus Bolivia*; Cunha, *Contrastes e Confrontos*.

[16] Translated by Mateus Yuri Passos from the original: "O lugar era lúgubre. Despontavam em toda a banda recordações cruéis: mulambos já incolores, de fardas, oscilando à ponta dos esgalhos secos; velhos selins, pedaços de mantas e trapos de capotes esparsos pelo chão, de envolta com fragmentos de ossadas. À margem esquerda do caminho, erguido num tronco—feito um cabide em que estivesse dependurado um fardamento velho—o arcabouço do coronel Tamarindo, decapitado, braços pendidos, mão esqueléticas calçando luvas pretas. . . . Jaziam-lhe aos pés o crânio e as botas. E do correr da borda do caminho ao mais profundo das macegas, outros companheiros de infortúnio: esqueletos vestidos de fardas poentas e rotas,

estirados no chão, de supino, num alinhamento de formatura trágica; ou desequilibradamente arrimados aos arbustos flexíveis, que, oscilando à feição do vento, lhes davam singulares movimentos de espectros." Cunha, *Os Sertões*, 264.

[17] Abreu, "Arqueologia de um Livro-Monumento," 225.

[18] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 3.

[19] Pereira, *A Noite Sangrenta*.

[20] Siegel, "In a Time of Many Questions," para. 7; Mailer, *Armies of the Night*.

[21] Ramos, Sousa, and Monteiro, *História de Portugal*, 583.

[22] Simmonds, *Britain and World War One*, 234.

[23] Neves, "Cartas da Guerra" [Letters from war], *A Capital*, September-October 1914; Neves, "Crónicas de Paris," *A Capital*, November 1915; Neves, "Crónicas da Grande Guerra" [roughly: Essays on the Great War], November 1917.

[24] Translated by Manuel João Coutinho from the original: "Aproxima-se a hora decisiva do assalto. Já n'essa altura não constituirá segredo para ninguém nem para os nossos nem para o inimigo. . . . [A]o longo das trincheiras em conexão immediata com a *terra de ninguém*, e, baixo, aqui e ali, murmura-se: Não tarda. . . . súbito, uma palavra passa de boca em boca: É agora! . . . Uns correm, outros seguem. . . . As primeiras granadas de 77 começam a rebentar . . . são lançadas bombas de fumo, que obrigam a sahir meio sufocados os primeiros grupos de prisioneiros. . . . [E]m regra, a guerra não comporta imprevistos. Antes de realisar-se uma offensiva . . . todas as hypotheses são ponderadas . . . a ponto de prever, com relativa aproximação, o número de baixas e o número de prisioneiros." Neves, "A Barragem," 1 (emphasis in original).

[25] Aniceto, *Grandes Batalhas da História de Portugal: 1914–1918 Grande Guerra*, 102.

[26] Page, *A Primeira Aldeia Global*, 253.

[27] Ramos, Sousa, and Monteiro, *História de Portugal*, 862.

[28] Translated by Manuel João Coutinho from the original: "Subito, um toque de campainha. . . Cunha Leal dirigiu-se pessoalmente à porta. Ao abri-la, deparou com António Granjo. . . ." 114; [Leal] "sentia-se honrado em dar hospitalidade ao chefe do govêrno demissionário. . ." 115 [Granjo] "mostrava-se mais satisfeito. . . ." 118; "Mas êste periodo de acalmia pouco se prolongou. . . . Uma vizinha veiu avisar . . . de que os quintais estavam cheios de soldados e civis armados. . . . Cunha Leal deu conhecimento do facto a António Granjo. Recordou-lhe, mais uma vez, que entre os revolucionarios havia quem fosse seu amigo. Respeitar-lhe-hiam. . . ." 119; "O cerco à casa de Cunha Leal apertava-se. . . ." 122; "Cunha Leal respondeu-lhe: . . . Sem vir um oficial com mais galões do que eu, não abrirei a porta! . . ." 128. "Às oito horas e três quartos apresentou-se [na casa] . . . o guarda-marinha Benjamin Pereira. . . . Estava na intenção de evitar qualquer desacato . . . António Granjo iria para bordo do [navio] *Vasco da Gama*, onde permaneceria alguns dias, mas nunca na situação de preso," 134. "Iam partir. . . ." 137. "[L]á em baixo uma vizinha que se encontrava à janela . . . ouvia gritar na *camionette* [do exercito]: Ó rapaziada! Fura-se o gajo já aqui? . . . O guarda-marinha avisou: Vamos para . . . sítios mais escusos e onde não se veja gente." 138. Pereira, *A Noite Sangrenta*.

[29] Mario Neves, *A Chacina de Badajoz*.

[30] Morais, *Olga*.

[31] Brum, *Coluna Prestes: O Avesso da Lenda* [Prestes Column: The other side of the legend].

[32] Silveira, *O Inverno da Guerra* [The winter of the war].

[33] Ribeiro, "Eu Vi a Guerra."

[34] Melo, *Lua de Mel em Kobane*; Harazim, *O Instante Certo*.

[35] Silveira, *Grã-finos em São Paulo* [Nouveau riches in São Paulo].

Bibliography

Abreu, Regina. "Arqueologia de um Livro-Monumento: Os Sertões sob o Ponto de Vista da História Social." In *O Clarim e a Oração: Cem Anos de Os Sertões*, edited by Rinaldo de Fernandes, 221–42. São Paulo: Geração Editorial, 2002.

Aleksiévitch, Svetlana. *See also* Alexievich, Svetlana.

Alexiyevich, Svetlana. *See also* Alexievich, Svetlana.

Alexievich, Svetlana. *У войны не женское лицо*. Minsk: Mastatskaya Litaratura, 1985. First published 1985 in English as *War's Unwomanly Face*, translated by Keith Hamond and Lyudmila Leshneva, by Progress Publishers (Moscow). Published 2017 as *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II,* translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, by Random House (New York).

Aniceto, Afonso. *Grandes Batalhas da História de Portugal: 1914–1918 Grande Guerra*. Lisboa: Expresso, 2007.

Bak, John S. "General Introduction to the ReportAGES Series." In *Literary Journalism and World War I: Marginal Voices*, edited by Andrew Griffiths, Sara Prieto, and Soenke Zehle, ix–xiv. Nancy: Éditions Universitaires de Lorraine, 2016.

Bethell, Leslie. "O Imperialismo Britânico e a Guerra do Paraguai." *Estudos Avançados* 9, no. 24 (1995): 269–85.

Brum, Eliane. *Coluna Prestes: O Avesso da Lenda*. Porto Alegre: Artes e Oficios Editora Ltda, 1994.

Bulhões, Marcelo. *Jornalismo e Literatura em Convergência*. São Paulo: Ática, 2007.

Chklovski, Viktor. "Arte como procedimento." In *Teoria da Literatura I: Textos dos Formalistas Russos*, edited by Tzvetan Todorov, 83–108. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, 2013. First published 1965 as *Théorie de la Littérature*, by Editions du Seuil (Paris).

———. *See also* Viktor Shklovsky.

Cunha, Euclides da. *Backlands: The Canudos Campaign* [*Os Sertões: Campanha de Caudos*]. Translated by Elizabeth Lowe. New York: Penguin, 2010.

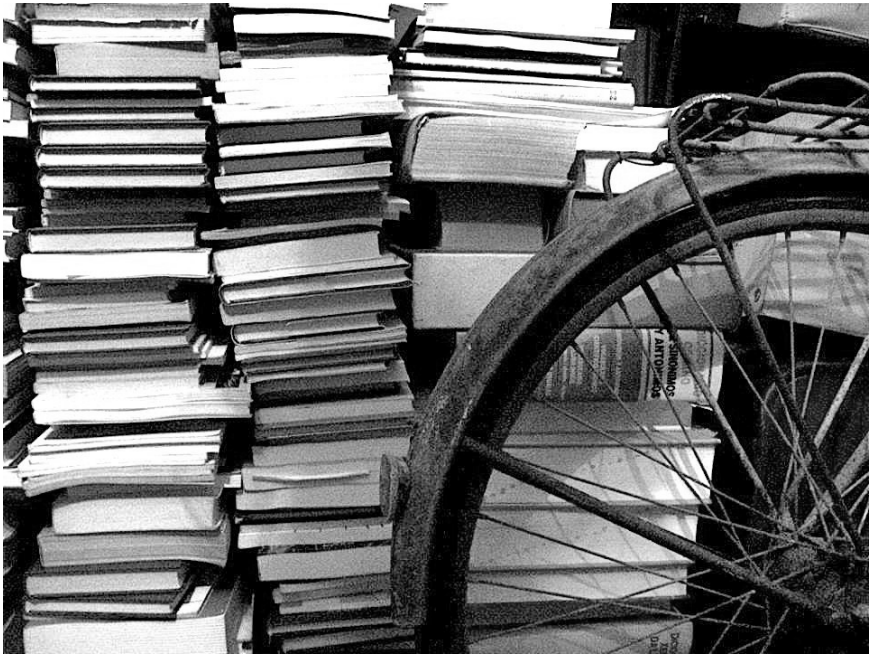
———. *Contrastes e Confrontos*. 2nd ed. Porto: Emprêsa Litteraria e *Typographica*, 1907.

———. *Ondas e Outros Poemas Esparsos*. In *Obra completa*. 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 1995.

———. *Os Sertões: Campanha de Caudos* [*Rebellion in the Backlands*]. Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1982. First published 1902, Lammert & C. Editores (Sao Paulo).

———. *Rebellion in the Backlands* [*Os Sertões: Campanha de Caudos*]. Translated by Samuel Putnam. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1957. First published 1944.
———. *Peru versus Bolivia*. Sao Paulo: Francisco Alves, 1907.
Floreal, Sylvio. *Ronda da Meia-Noite: Vícios, Misérias e Eesplendores da Cidade de São Paulo*. Sao Paulo: Biotempo, 2002.
Hartsock, John C. *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*. Amherst: University of Massachussetts Press, 2016.
Harazim, Dorrit. *O Instante Certo*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2016.
Hersey, John. *Hiroshima*. New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1946.
Mailer, Norman. *The Armies of the Night: History as a Novel, the Novel as History.* New York: New American Library, 1968.
Melo, Patricia Campos. *Lua de Mel em Kobane*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017.
Morais, Fernando. *Olga*. Translated from the Portuguese by Ellen Watson. New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990. First published 1985, Editora Alfa-Omega (São Paulo).
Neves, Hermano. "A Espada de Damocles." *A Capital* (Lisbon), no. 2599, November 13, 1917. http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/ACapital/1917/Novembro/Novembro_item1/P43.html.
———. "A Barragem." *A Capital* (Lisbon), no. 2592, November 6, 1917, 1. http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/ACapital/1917/Novembro/Novembro_item1/P19.html.
Neves, Mário. *A Chacina de Badajoz*. Lisboa: Edições *O Jornal*, 1985.
Page, Martin. *A Primeira Aldeia Global: Como Portugal Mudou o Mundo*. Lisboa: Casa das Letras, 2008.
Pereira, Consiglieri Sá. *A Noite Sangrenta.* Lisboa: Bertrand, 1924.
Ramos, Rui, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, and Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro. *História de Portugal*. 3rd ed. Lisboa: A Esfera dos Livros, 2009.
Ribeiro, José Hamilton. "Eu Vi a Guerra." *Realidade* Magazine, May 26, 1968. Retrieved from http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/213659/per213659_1968_00026.pdf.
Romancini, Richard, and Claudia Lago. *História do Jornalismo no Brasil*. Florianópolis: Insular, 2007.
Siegel, Lee. "In a Time of Many Questions, Literary Journalism Provides an Answer." *Columbia Journalism Review*, December 5, 2016. Retrieved from https://www.cjr.org/special_report/ literary_journalism_trump_president.php.
Silveira, Joel. *Grã-finos em São Paulo. Diretrizes* magazine, 178, November 1943. Retrieved from http://memoria.bn.br/pdf/163880/per163880_1943_00178.pdf.
———. O Inverno da Guerra. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2005.
Simmonds, Alan G. V. *Britain and World War One*. New York: Routledge, 2012.
Sims, Norman. *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2007.
Soares, Isabel. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's 'New' Journalism and the Portuguese at the Fin-de-siècle." *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*, edited by John S. Bak and Bill

Reynolds, 118–33. Amherst: University of Massachussetts Press, 2011.
Taunay, Visconde de (Alfredo d'Escragnolle). *A Retirada da Laguna*. São Paulo: Martin Claret, 2003. Translated to Portuguese from French by Salvador de Mendonça, and published 1874 by Typographia Americana (Rio de Janeiro).
———. *Dous Artistas Máximos: José Mauricio e Carlos Gomes*. Sao Paulo: Comp. Melhoramentos de s. Paulo, 1930.
———. *Inocência*. São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1872.
———. *O Encilhamento: Cenas Contemporâneas da Bolsa do Rio de Janeiro em 1890, 1891 e 1892*. Rio de Janeiro: Domingos de Magalhães, 1894.
———. *Ouro Sobre Azul*. São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1875.
———. *Scenas de Viagem: Exploração entre os rios Taquary e Aquidauana no Districto de Miranda*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Americana, 1868.



Above: Books and bike (Isabel Branco). Below: José Luís Peixoto, Goa, March 2017 (Frederick Noroha). Wikimedia Commons.

Insights into Contemporary Portuguese Literary Journalism: The *Crónicas* of José Luís Peixoto

Rita Amorim
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Raquel Baltazar
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Abstract: This essay analyzes the *crónicas* of José Luís Peixoto, a contemporary Portuguese writer and journalist. Peixoto uses the first-person singular and plural to immerse himself for weaponized narrative in the service of a stronger social realism. Full of intimacies that accentuate feelings and emotions, Peixoto's *crónicas* draw a vivid picture of the current plight of Portuguese people in the twenty-first century, raise awareness to their harsh social conditions, and cast criticism on the ineffectiveness of politicians who are generally considered the culprits for the enduring financial crisis. Writing in a rich poetic, yet realistic style, Peixoto deals with issues of poverty, aging, and the passing of time, the inevitability of death, and the incalculable loss of family and friends. Offering a humanistic analysis of the Portuguese identity, his *crónicas* are everyday, real-life encounters intertwined with rich imagery of local places and peoples, smells, and colors. Peixoto's detailed personal descriptions of the social, cultural, and political environment reveal a literary and subjective nature that is as if the reader were inside the writer's mind.

Keywords: José Luís Peixoto – literary journalism – Portuguese *crónicas* – identity

John S. Bak identifies two models that stood out as journalism rose in prominence in the twentieth century: the "objective" method, predominant in the United States, and the "polemical" approach, preferred in Europe.[1] However, at various times there has been space for another kind of journalism. How and why this third form of journalism, which has come to be known as literary journalism, survived and even thrived "is a story unique to each nation."[2] In the case of the United States, Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson in 1973 published *The New Journalism*, with its anthology of essays[3] that later came to be grouped under the literary journalism heading. This became the theoretical foundation of the journalistic form envisioned, coined, and developed in works by scholars such as Norman Sims, 1984; John C. Hartsock, 2000; Richard Lance Keeble and Sharon Wheeler, 2007; Thomas B. Connery, 1992; and John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds, 2011.[4] Literary journalism has been variously described as a phenomenon or style (Isabel Soares),[5] a genre and a form (Hartsock),[6] and a discipline (Bak).[7] Though it is said to have begun in anglophone countries, for Soares it "is a widespread journalistic form whose pioneering practitioners can also be found outside the linguistic boundaries of the English language."[8]

Alice Trindade says literary journalism involves the reporting of facts using a literary style where the role of imagination plays an important part by "selecting existing elements and presenting them in forms never before devised [which] has been an essential element in identity and nation building."[9] David Abrahamson describes literary journalism as able to "shape and reflect larger social, cultural, and political currents—at the regional level, at the national level, and perhaps even at the international level."[10] Hartsock, in his latest book, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, focuses on the uniqueness of literary journalism by paying special attention to the details of everyday life that question the readers' cultural assumptions. He argues that literary journalism, as in literature, could be perceived as an allegory "of the social or cultural Other,"[11] or, as he highlights, a discourse committed to the "aesthetics of experience."[12]

This reclamation of the real, as Keeble notes, is associated with the imaginative capacity that unveils themes and facts that would not be recognized otherwise. The attentive look to the surroundings creates the perfect connection using discourse as a means to convey both the real and the imaginative.[13] The basis of research, analysis, and study are present in literary journalism, together with details, dialogues, and examinations of the topic. Literary techniques or strategies are used to build the story in a commitment, "to the truth [but] (not just The Truth)."[14] As Sims states, "Literary journalism speaks to the nature of our phenomenal reality *in spite* of the fact that our interpre-

tations are inevitably subjective and personal."[15] The literary journalist is a "revealer" who experiences life through words, as suggested by Soares.[16] The personality of the literary journalist emerges by the use of subjectivity and partiality in the style of speech. The appeal of literary journalism derives from the fact that writers inquire about and engage in the world by telling stories in the conventional sense of storytelling. This symbiosis of narrative and descriptive modalities, as Hartsock indicates, is: "a 'narra-descriptive journalism' with literary ambition, or the capacity to prompt us imaginatively to consider and negotiate different possibilities of meaning."[17]

At the same time, the notion of what is literary has shifted because of technological changes or individual adaptation to new media environments. Josh Roiland observes that literary journalism is "experiencing an extended renaissance both as a creative practice—reaching perhaps an apotheosis with Belarusian journalist Svetlana Alexievitch winning the 2015 Nobel Prize in literature—and as an object of study."[18] We are dealing with a cultural and narrative style where the tension between fact and art tends to dissolve.

Bak describes international literary journalism as a story unique to each nation, "an organic process, one that is in constant flux, into a packaged product," which has "established itself as one of the most significant and controversial forms of writing of the last century."[19] He adds, "significant because it often raises our sociopolitical awareness about a disenfranchised or underprivileged people; controversial because its emphasis on authorial voice jeopardizes our faith in its claims of accuracy."[20] Sims believes literary journalism will always exist, and the issue is "*where* it will appear" in the future.[21]

The aforementioned studies form the basis for an argument that José Luís Peixoto can be considered a modern Portuguese literary journalist. Evidence to support this argument will be drawn from this study's analysis of ten of Peixoto's *crónicas* written between 2013 and 2015. Eight were published in the Portuguese weekly magazine, *Visão*: "A Passagem de Segundo" (The passing of a second); "Luta de Classes" (Class struggle); "Breve Partilha da Minha Sorte Infinita" (Briefly sharing my infinite luck); "O Meu Lugar" (My place); "Na Despedida de um Amigo" (Farewell to a friend); "A Vida" (Life); "Todo o Silêncio" (All the silence); and "Dívidas" (Debts). One, "A Vontade e o Mundo" (The will and the world), was published in the monthly travel magazine, *Volta ao Mundo*. And one, "O Que Dizem os Abraços" (What hugs say), was published in the weekly *Notícias Magazine*.[22]

Following the Crónica into Portugal

Following the historical path of the *crónica* from the Latin: *chronica*, and the Greek χρονικά (from χρόνος, *chronos*, "time"), all the way to the *crónica*

in the modern Portugal of Peixoto, leads to the conclusion that the *crónica* sets particular events in a meaningful interpretive context. Some *crónicas* are written from individual knowledge, some are from witnesses or participants in events, and still others are a legacy of oral tradition. Biblically, the scope of the *Chronicles* is very broad, tracing the history of Israel from Adam and Eve until the end of the Babylonian Captivity. This literary genre was used to present historical facts according to time. In Portugal, Fernão Lopes's *Crónicas* (c. 1385 to after 1459) are a constant subject of analysis because he surrounded historical facts with imaginary elements.[23] The *crónica* appeared for the first time in 1799 in *Journal des Débats*. It became famous in the French journalistic *chronique* of the middle of the nineteenth century with *Le fait divers* of *Le Figaro*, full of not so relevant facts unworthy of appearing in other sections.[24]

In the last century, the *crónica* was much used in Latin America because it was a useful political tool while being at the same time informative and entertaining. Nameless heroes were introduced and described as involved in everyday activities. In modern times, various contemporary newspapers and other periodicals include a variety of *crónicas*. The *crónica* remains an unstructured genre that combines literary aesthetics with journalistic accountability. The early twenty-first century has seen a number of new thematic developments in the *crónica* in which it is used as a platform for communication while remaining a thriving and evolving practice. As a flexible and malleable genre, the *crónica* is difficult to define because of its hybridity. Some researchers, such as Yanes Mesa, say the most important characteristic is the presence of the journalist's point of view, meaning that the author's perspective is included.[25] Vilamor says the *crónica* is the news plus the self, highlighting the major role of the author and his personal interpretation.[26] For this reason, various scholars have struggled with analyzing the rhetorical and historical characteristics of the *crónica*. Being a short narration, it is inspired by everyday events with a simple and spontaneous linguistic use that shifts between oral and literary language. The use of the first-person singular allows greater freedom of expression than in conventional journalism. It combines journalistic effectiveness with literary elaboration to create a bond between a familiar author and readers. Juan García Galindo and António Cuartero Naranjo describe the *crónica* as having three main characteristics: It narrates a contemporary fact, it uses the first-person singular, and the presence of the author is felt: "an open and free genre where the journalist writes comfortably under the safety of the *crónica* without worrying about presenting his opinions, values, judgments, and showing his security as a witness of what he tells."[27] The *crónica* is a heterogeneous, creative, interpretative genre full of information

and opinion. More than a journalist, Peixoto is a storyteller who touches and transforms the ordinary: "The rain insists against the windshield. The outlines of everything blur behind the water, the colors lose their boundaries and spill over each other."[28]

A Modern Portuguese Novelist

Peixoto is a well-known Portuguese modern novelist and travel journalist. He was born five months after Portugal's April 1974 Carnation Revolution, which ended four decades of dictatorship. He grew up in Galveias, a small town in the poorly developed region of Alentejo, which he traded, at age 18, for modern-day city life in the capital and traveling around the world. In 1997, 1998, and 2000 he was awarded the *Jovens Criadores* (Young Creators Prize) for the fiction novel *Morreste-me*, dedicated to his father. In 2001, he received the José Saramago Literary Award for his novel, *Nenhum Olhar*, which was published in English, first as *Blank Gaze*, the direct translation of *Nenhum Olhar*, and also under the title, *The Implacable Order of Things*. This book was included in the *Financial Times* list as one of the best books published in the United Kingdom in 2007 and in Barnes & Noble's Discover Great New Writers Program. His novel *Cemitério de Pianos* (*The Piano Cemetery*) received the *Prémio Cálamo Otra Mirada* award for the best foreign novel published in Spain in 2007. He also writes poetry, plays, and books for children, and has a literary prize that bears his name. The *Prémio Literário José Luís Peixoto,* which began in 2007, is a literary award attributed annually by Soure, the author's district, that aims to award young writers for short stories and poetry in Portuguese. His novel *Galveias* received the prestigious *Prémio Oceanos de literatura* in Brazil in 2016.[29]

In his *crónicas*, Peixoto describes the surroundings with a critical eye, adding a comment, giving his opinion, and stating his point of view in a style that can be perceived as literary journalism. His humanistic analysis delves into themes of life and death, aging and the passing of time, among other subjects. Moreover, issues such as the inevitability of death and the incalculable loss of family and friends are frequently present. The overwhelming moral lesson is to seize the happiness of the moment and to be grateful for life, family, and friends. In Peixoto's *crónicas* there is an effort to write about the reality of the world as he finds it, locating people in time and space with real names and lives.[30]

The selected corpus, ten *crónicas* from *Visão, Notícias Magazine*, and *Volta ao Mundo*, consist of personal accounts of happy childhood memories, wholesome past experiences, and relationships with friends and family. They are also subjective nostalgic descriptions of the author's hometown and sur-

rounding countryside. Personal, everyday, real-life encounters are often intertwined with rich imagery of local and foreign places and peoples, smells, and colors. In "O Meu Lugar" (My place) Peixoto writes, "The streets, paved with parallels, have supported my thinking since I was born. In broad gestures, walls are whitewashed annually because white needs renewal, purity is a permanent task."[31] The *crónicas* document physical travels inside and outside the author's beloved country as well as intellectual journeys within his own mind, and at times the two modes of writing overlap. Written in a rich poetic, yet realistic style, these texts are personal and intimate, full of feeling and emotion: "I count the years I have left to be the age you were when I lost you. I count the age my children will be. I try to reject these thoughts. I don't want to, it is too early to die, but, as you also know, it matters little what we want," as Peixoto writes in "Todo o Silêncio" (All the silence).[32]

Everything is lived, experienced, and felt from deep inside. Peixoto is a literary journalist because his writings are both literary and subjective, as if the reader were inside the writer's mind, creating what Hartsock calls "writing subjectivity."[33] Peixoto uses the senses of sight and smell to bring the reader as close as possible to his own experience, much akin to the New Journalists of the 1960s. He reveals and lives the experiences by immersing himself in the environment. The reader feels the presence of the journalist through the subjectivity, the personality, and the style of the journalist's observations.[34]

Peixoto also discloses Portuguese identity with pride and patriotism. He exposes the dire human condition of twenty-first century Portuguese people by raising awareness of their plight. His focus on their harsh social conditions, in effect, criticizes the ineptitude of politicians,[35] which, in Peixoto's view, are culpable for the enduring Portuguese financial crisis.

From Fin-de-Siècle to Peixoto

"The ordinary characters, the immersion reporting, the craft and artistry in the writing, the recognition of complicated problems in representing reality—all these give literary journalism a lasting quality when the interest in momentary details has passed."[36]

Considering Sims's definition given earlier, and some features of the fin-de-siècle Portuguese literary journalists portrayed here by Soares, Peixoto must be considered a disciple. Like Eça de Queirós, Ramalho Ortigão, Oliveira Martins, and Batalha Reis, Peixoto aims at "breaking away from a more conventional journalism [and becoming an activist] for a freer, more personal way of reporting,"[37] writing "with greater freedom of speech" about a country undergoing "economic and social changes" and interpreting Portugal "as a nation in decay, corrupted by the ineptitude of its politicians."[38] In an

analogous way, it can be argued Peixoto "[addresses] the reader directly, [is] not . . . impartial, and [resorts] to humor and irony in order to reveal openly what [is] wrong in the political, social, and economic systems of [modern day] Portugal."[39] Like Eça de Queirós, Peixoto also engages in "critically addressing controversial issues,"[40] creating "entire scenes" and narrating "telling episodes of events he had observed."[41] Peixoto's readers become well "aware of his presence," his personal view and subjective interpretation of real events, and his passing opinionated judgments.[42] He immerses himself in Portugal's reality and everyday life, describing the difficult and poor living conditions of the hopeless Portuguese common citizen, "capturing as closely as possible in words the miseries endured by the lower classes" and providing "disturbing images of urban social decay."[43] He too is disenchanted by an elite class of snob writers who are critical of the common people's access to culture and literature. Like Martins, Peixoto is "more a literary journalist who describes a whole scene, its setting, its details, its smell, and its color."[44]

Peixoto is considered a literary journalist, because the aim of literary journalism is to engage in an "exchange of subjectivities," or at least to participate in a narrowing of the distance between subject and object.[45] " 'Literary journalism,' " is, Hartsock writes, "a 'journalism that would read like a novel' or" like "a 'short story,' "[46] or, Bak notes, "literary journalistic stories" that play a role "in the building of nationhood."[47] Peixoto is committed to "inform the world accurately and honestly about the magical in the mundane, the great in the small, and above all, the *us* in the *them*."[48] He engages in "first-person accounts of life"[49] in Portugal, seeking to tell the truth and blow the whistle.[50] He participates in both literature and journalism which "evolved out of the same political principle of informing the public."[51] He could be said to write "long-form narrative nonfiction,"[52] embodying "views from the left side of the political spectrum" and being "critical of existing institutions."[53] Peixoto writes narratives with descriptions of real people and real events, ordinary common Portuguese people going about their everyday life.[54]

Peixoto's ten *crónicas* embody a humanist perspective of life and reveal the direct relationship between specific events and the more abstract literary style included in literary journalism. This is in line with Norman Fairclough's methodological conception: "[W]e can say what it is in particular that discourse brings into the complex relations which constitute social life: meaning, and making meaning."[55] All of Peixoto's themes sport a humanistic look, one presented not only as being the national perspective but also of individual identity. The configuration of time and space represented in language and discourse reveals a cyclical time where the present plays the most important role. By paying close attention to surroundings, Peixoto's *crónicas* raise ques-

tions of alterity by following an individual protagonist's quest for identity. The sense of vision is used to create an image of the Other as a reflection of the Self, a topic that is also present in one of his most famous novels *Nenhum Olhar* (*Blank Gaze*, or *The Implacable Order of Things*): "There will come a time when there is no sparrow to be seen, when we hear only the silence made by all things observing us. It will come."[56]

The *crónicas* take a careful, personalized, and detailed look at Portugal's people, landscapes, and social, cultural and political environments. In this way, Peixoto exposes the subjectivity of life, where the senses emerge as collisions of reality in a luminous way that communicates emotions, the rural landscape, and the social identity of people in modernity. The moral quest of his *crónicas* is based on true occurrences shaping the way the reader understands reality: "In the prosaic tone of these conversations, it would be hard to explain that I have a place, it is always with me. It is visible and invisible. There are centuries-old olive trees clinging to this land. There is a way of breathing that is only possible under this breeze." he writes in "O Meu Lugar" (My place).[57]

Social Changes and Current Plights

As a literary journalist, Peixoto draws a vivid picture of the contemporary plight of the Portuguese and deals with issues such as poverty and social changes. In "Dívidas" (Debts), written in 2015,[58] Peixoto strongly criticizes the international creditors and the national debtors who transacted the future of Portugal in the name of the people, without the people's knowledge, deceiving them into thinking a better country was being built. He devises the theme of nonfinancial, nonpayable, common public debt, to raise awareness to the current situation of an indebted Portugal and the social changes that have had such a negative impact on the lives of the less fortunate and less visible.

In this *crónica*, Peixoto makes use of the first-person plural, "us," "we," and "our," assuming and stressing his Portuguese identity. Peixoto criticizes the lack of gratitude for the unsung working heroes of the common good, repeating the rhetorical, ironic refrain, "How much do we owe?" through a litany of questions: the unjustly treated workers who voluntarily risk their lives for no reward while people obliviously go about their business; the professionals who have excess qualifications but no job security; the unemployed youth, unpaid trainees, musicians, dancers, and actors who make culture possible; the hardworking amateur and Paralympic athletes; the incarcerated, the threatened prison wardens, and the gravediggers; the garbage collectors whose noise upsets others' sleep; the cleaning ladies who are always blamed

when things go missing; and the disabled, who are forced to stay indoors because they are too poor to buy a wheelchair. The author criticizes a country whose streets are full of holes and cars parked on sidewalks, leaving no space for wheelchairs; a country whose people are forced to immigrate while those who stay behind have nowhere to go. "How much do we owe?" is answered by "It's not about not paying our debts, it's about knowing who we owe."[59]

The social changes are also present in "A Passagem de Segundo" (The passing of a second), written in 2013. The author uses the New Year's celebrations to introduce the theme of time and illustrate how Portuguese lives have worsened over a year, or decade. For the many Portuguese who have lost their houses or have had to immigrate, one year is no different from the next: "When life goes backwards, when you live worse, does it make sense to say that a year has advanced?"[60] Technology, which develops indifferent to people's plight, has provided the internet, mobile phones, and robots, but has taken away certain basic rights.

"O Que Dizem os Abraços" (What hugs say), written in 2015, employs the contrasting "What a hug is not,"[61] to criticize the social changes brought about by technological development and globalization. Today people hug in emails,[62] or pat each other on the back, but a hug is still two people holding each other close. Hugs come from the intimacy of a relationship, not to find intimacy. They carry memories of images, odors, and feelings. This *crónica* touches on the recurring themes of the passage of time from childhood to adulthood, the gift of life, people being entitled to years together, though time ignores what lies ahead. Peixoto uses a single fatherly hug to recall his childhood, his home, and his town: "I do not say lightly that a hug is very important. I've been writing books about this hug for fifteen years now."[63] This particular hug represents a longing for his father and their relationship. The author portrays Portugal as backward, his hometown distant and forgotten, and his father a typical provincial man with a bulging belly, wearing cheap and nauseating aftershave, putting on new clothes to go to the capital city. Peixoto outlines the hardships of life and caricatures his father, but he also reflects on what he considers the gift of life, friends, and family.

The Gift of Life

The *crónica,* "Breve Partilha da Minha Sorte Infinita" (Briefly sharing my infinite luck), written in 2013, deals specifically with the issue of gratitude for time spent with family and friends. The gift of life is an escape from death and the recognition of the happiest and simplest moments. Peixoto raises awareness for the talent of learning to feel infinite luck and gratitude and avoid regrets for wasted time: "From an early age I have feared the

possibility of going through the happiest hours of my life without recognizing them."[64] In "Na Despedida de um Amigo" (Farewell to a friend), written in 2013, the author tells of the death of a close friend portrayed as the "end of an era," where "the irreversible skin of the past gains an objective and absolute reality."[65] The leitmotifs of life, death, aging, and the passing of time—portrayed against the endless natural and beautiful landscapes of a remote, rural Brazil—are awakened by the news of a death: "When I hung up, the tears were warm and not in line with everything around me."[66] Memories of places, days, chats, classes, travels, hugs, and hundreds of shared books mix with feelings of luck and generosity for the friendship. In "A Vida" (Life), written in 2014, the author travels by car with his niece and recalls family members who have died but remain very much alive in his heart and mind. The story becomes a psychological and emotional voyage, where the past mixes with the present, bringing the dead back to life: "The people she doesn't remember are inside me. I see them clearly. In some cases they turn to me, treat me by my name and smile, completely ignorant of being dead."[67] Recollections of personal traits are painful. You cannot miss those you never knew—you can just imagine them. Though they are painful, these memories, feelings, and emotions of childhood and home are our shelter. "A Vida" is a *crónica* about life, death, aging, and the speed of time (which is different as we age), a yearning for a lost time with the reassurance that we are here and alive.

In "Todo o Silêncio" (All the silence), written in 2014, Peixoto touches on the inevitability of life being stolen by death by constructing a hymn to the father who died too young. There are memories of chats, moments, episodes, sentences, and lessons mixing with the time they did not spend or share. The physical and psychological traits are common to grandfather, father, and son. Every book launch is an occasion to be sorry for his father's absence—a father who did not live long enough to see his son become a famous writer giving autographs and appearing on television. It is too late now, regardless of how many books and autographs are still to come: "While I present my book in libraries and bookstores, I always refer to you. In these moments, you are a character of episodes, author of phrases, bearer of lessons that still make sense. Very rarely, as if peeking at me through a crack, your gaze can cross those words that I choose to mention to you."[68]

Portugal Is My Identity

The author engages in detailed descriptions of his home and surroundings. His homeland gives him his identity, his place in the world. "O Meu Lugar" (My place), written in 2013, contrasts childhood spent at home with adulthood spent traveling round the world. Origins and destinies are

opposing forces pulling people, but their hometown gives them identity. Childhood and hometown give people a place in life, a place in the world through the refrain, "I have a place. So, I never get lost in this vast world."[69] The physical location gives balance, peace, and assurance. "I appreciate all the contrast I can bring to the route I build. I set no limits on the temperatures to which I submit my senses and the lessons I wish to learn. But fortunately, I have my place. It is with me as a god."[70] In "Luta de Classes" (Class struggle), written in 2013, Peixoto is a mature author, writing for everyone—the peasant, the commoner (as himself), and those of humble origins in general—of whom he is so proud. He always tells the story as an insider, as one of them. He wants his books to be sold or made available in supermarkets, petrol stations, post offices, and public libraries, so they can be read by all Portuguese people regardless of social class. His writing and books exist only if others can read them. He criticizes the current Portuguese class of elitists who are prejudiced against a less educated, lower class. These are the snobs who use culture to feel up-nosed, distant, and distinct in the cultural wakes of literature, music, cinema, television, etc. For Peixoto, writing is to be published and shared, whether it be poetry on match boxes, written with a brush or sprayed on walls, painted on T-shirts, or posted on Facebook. The author does not identify with today's class system or those prideful of their long compound names.[71] He is on the other side, proud of his humble origins, the son of a carpenter, grandson of a shepherd. He is a grateful Portuguese citizen who loves common peasants like himself: "I admire my people. Not the mythicized people, the ordinary people. I like to go to fairs. I like to eat roasted chicken with my hands."[72] Peixoto, a much-travelled journalist, looks back at his voyages and reflects on the experience of travelling in "A Vontade e o Mundo" (The will and the world), written in 2014. He is a citizen torn between the thrill of the unknown and the comfort of his country: "Travelling anywhere, wanting to know the world, is believing that all the streets are part of a maze where you can't get lost."[73] The world is endless yet finite, and all places are different and unique. He is a sole, fearless traveler, fascinated by the charm, surprise, and "madness" of travelling. His senses are awakening through constant comparisons to his native Portugal, his mother's home cooking, his hometown landscapes, the sounds of his mother tongue, and the voices of his friends. However, his identity is everything that is Portugal and Portuguese, and one day, he writes, "I may tire of wanting to know the world, but today is not that day yet."[74]

Conclusion

In his *crónicas*, Peixoto describes surroundings with an attentive look, commenting and giving his opinion in a way that can be perceived as literary

journalism. His humanistic analysis explores the themes of life and death, the passing of time, memories, and relationships with friends and family. Moreover, these *crónicas* portray descriptions of the author's hometown landscapes in the countryside that contribute to the enhancement of life from a sociological perspective. Written in a poetic and realistic style, the *crónicas* provide readings of a personal nature, full of intimacy at the level of feelings and emotions. Within the genre of literary journalism, Peixoto's *crónicas* describe the details of the social, cultural, and political environment of Portuguese identity in the early years of the twenty-first century.

Rita Amorim is assistant professor at the School for Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal, where she teaches English for the social sciences. She is a research fellow at CAPP (Centre for Public Administration and Policies) and CEAF (Centro de Estudos Africanos) and a member of IALJS (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies). Her research interests are in the fields of English language teaching, English as a lingua franca, code-switching, language and education policy, travel literature and literary journalism.

Raquel Baltazar is assistant professor at the School for Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal, where she teaches English for the social sciences and Portuguese as a foreign language. She is a research fellow at CAPP (Centre for Public Administration and Policies) and a member of IALJS (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies). Her research interests are in the fields of cultural studies, Portuguese contemporary literature, Iberian studies, identity studies, Portuguese as a foreign language, travel literature and literary journalism.

Notes

[1] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 1.

[2] Bak, 1.

[3] Wolfe and Johnson, *The New Journalism; with an Anthology*.

[4] Sims, *The Literary Journalists*; Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*; Keeble and Wheeler, *Journalistic Imagination*; Connery, *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism*; and Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*.

[5] Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118–33.

[6] Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," 23.

[7] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe,* 18.

[8] Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118.

[9] Trindade, "Lush Words in the Drought," 292.

[10] Abrahamson, "The Counter-Coriolis Effect," 80.

[11] Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 22.

[12] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience,* 22.

[13] Keeble, introduction to *Journalistic Imagination*, 1.

[14] Yagoda, preface to *Art of Fact*, 13.

[15] Sims, "The Problem and Promise of Literary Journalism Studies," 15.

[16] Soares, "Do Amazonas ao Nordeste," abstract (translation by the authors).

[17] Hartsock, Note from the Editor, 5.

[18] Roiland, "By Any Other Name," 62–63.

[19] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 17–18, 1.

[20] Bak, 1.

[21] Sims, "The Evolutionary Future," 90 (emphasis in the original).

[22] Peixoto, "A Passagem de Segundo" [The passing of a second]; Peixoto, "Luta de Classes" [Class struggle]; Peixoto, "Breve Partilha da Minha Sorte Infinita" [Briefly sharing my infinite luck]; Peixoto, "O Meu Lugar" [My place]; Peixoto, "Na Despedida de um Amigo" [Farewell to a friend]; Peixoto, "A Vida" [Life]; Peixoto, "Todo o Silêncio" [All the silence]; and Peixoto, "Dívidas" [Debts]; Peixoto, "A Vontade e o Mundo" [The will and the world]; Peixoto, "O Que Dizem os Abraços" [What hugs say]. Unless otherwise specified, all translations of Peixoto's writings are ours.

[23] Fernão Lopes was a Portuguese chronicler appointed by King Edward of Portugal in the mid-1400s. Lopes wrote the history of Portugal, but only a part of his work remains. He is a precursor of the scientific historiographer, with his work based on oral discourse and documentary proof.

[24] Rotker, *La Invención de la Crónica*, 123.

[25] Yanes Mesa, *Géneros Periodísticos y Géneros Anexos* (Journalistic genres and annexed genres), 38.

[26] Vilamor, *Redacción Periodística para la Generación Digital*, 327.

[27] García Galindo and Cuartero Naranjo, "La Crónica en el Periodismo Narrativo en Español."

[28] Peixoto, "A Vida" [Life], para. 1.

[29] José Luís Peixoto, "Biography"; "Awards," http://www.joseluispeixoto.

net/34916.html. See also, José Luís Peixoto Literary Prize, Biblioteca e Arquivo Histórico Municipais–Ponte de Sor https://bibliotecapontesor.wordpress.com/category/premio-literario-jose-luis-peixoto/. The *Prémio Cálamo Otra Mirada*, awarded Peixoto for *Cemitério de Pianos* [*The Piano Cemetery*] in 2007, is given for the best foreign novel published in Spain. The Prémio Oceanos award that Peixoto received in 2016 for *Galveias* is awarded to the novel judged the best published in all Portuguese-speaking countries.

[30] Walter Benjamin in his essay "The Storyteller," published in 1936, writes about the incommunicability of experiences in the modern world. He argues that it is a time in history empty of shared experiences, emphasizes the decline of the storyteller and his perception that people have become incapable of reflecting upon their experiences, in part because of the intense invasion and rapid circulation of information in the early twentieth century. Benjamin states that the rise of information is incompatible with storytelling and contributes to the reduced effectiveness of the storyteller. Benjamin, "The Storyteller," 83–110.

[31] Peixoto, "O Meu Lugar" [My place], para. 3 (site translation).

[32] Peixoto, "Todo o Silêncio" [All the silence], para. 5.

[33] Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 17.

[34] Hartsock, 242.

[35] Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118–20.

[36] Soares, 118.

[37] Soares, 118.

[38] Soares, 120.

[39] Soares, 121.

[40] Soares, 122.

[41] Soares, 124.

[42] Soares, 130.

[43] Soares, 129, 131.

[44] Soares, 129–30.

[45] Alan Trachtenberg, "Experiments in Another Country: Stephen Crane's City Sketches," *Southern Review* 10 (April 1974): 273, quoted in Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 67–69.

[46] Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," 31.

[47] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 1–2.

[48] Bak, 2 (emphasis in the original).

[49] Hartsock, "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism," 40.

[50] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 7.

[51] Bak, 18.

[52] Abrahamson, "Counter-Coriolis Effect," 83.

[53] Abrahamson, 81.

[54] Sims, "The Evolutionary Future," 90.

[55] Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 3.

[56] Peixoto, *Nenhum Olhar* [*Blank Gaze* or *The Implacable Order of Things*], 7.

[57] Peixoto, "O Meu Lugar" [My place], para. 7.

[58] Peixoto, "Dívidas" [Debts].

[59] Peixoto, para. 11.

[60] Peixoto, "A Passagem de Segundo" [The passing of a second], para. 5.

[61] Peixoto, "O Que Dizem os Abraços" [What hugs say], para. 1.

[62] Peixoto, para. 1. In Portugal, people, particularly men, sometimes sign off by sending hugs instead of love or kisses.

[63] Peixoto, para. 7.

[64] Peixoto, "Breve Partilha da Minha Sorte Infinita" [Briefly sharing my infinite luck], para. 6.

[65] Peixoto, "Na Despedida de um Amigo" [Farewell to a friend], para. 11.

[66] Peixoto, para. 7.

[67] Peixoto, "A Vida" [Life], para. 3.

[68] Peixoto, "Todo o Silêncio" [All the silence], para. 2.

[69] Peixoto, "O Meu Lugar" [My place], para. 2ff.

[70] Peixoto, para. 13.

[71] A sign of nobility in the past. Peixoto, "Luta de Classes" [Class struggle], para. 6.

[72] Peixoto, para. 11.

[73] Peixoto, "A Vontade e o Mundo" [The will and the world], para. 3.

[74] Peixoto, para. 6.

Bibliography

Abrahamson, David. "The Counter-Coriolis Effect: Contemporary Literary Journalism in a Shrinking World." In Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 79–84.

Bak, John S. Introduction to Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 1–20.

———, and Bill Reynolds, eds. *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

Benjamin, Walter. "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Works of Nikolai Leskov." In *Illuminations*, translated by Harry Zohn, 83–110. Edited with an introduction by Hanna Arendt. New York: Schocken, 2007.

Connery, Thomas B., ed. *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism: Representative Writers in an Emerging Genre*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge: 2013. First published 1995 by Pearson Longman (New York).

García Galindo, Juan Antonio, and Antonio Cuartero Naranjo. "La Crónica en el Periodismo Narrativo en Español." *Revista Famecos*: *Mídia: Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, n. supl (2016). http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/24926.

Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

———. "Literary Reportage: The 'Other' Literary Journalism." In Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 23–46.
———. *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.
———. Note from the Editor. Inaugural Issue. *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 5.
Keeble, Richard, and Sharon Wheeler, eds. *The Journalistic Imagination: Literary Journalists from Defoe to Capote and Carter.* London, New York: Routledge, 2007. See esp. introduction, "On Journalism, Creativity and the Imagination."
Lopes, Fernão. *Crónicas* (c. 1385 to after 1459). Lisboa: Verbo, 2009.
Peixoto, José Luís. "Breve Partilha da Minha Sorte Infinita." *Visão*. July 14, 2013. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/80056.html.
———. *Cemitério de Pianos*. Lisboa: Quetzal Editores, 2009. Translated by Daniel Hahn and published in English as *The Piano Cemetery*, 2010, by Bloomsbury (London).
———. "Dívidas." *Visão*, July 26, 2015. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/dividas-103382.
———. *Galveias*. Lisboa, Quetzal Editores, 2014.
———. "Luta de Classes." *Visão*, May 5, 2013. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/78087.html.
———. "Na Despedida de um Amigo." *Visão*, September 8, 2015. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/na-despedida-de-um-amigo-104294.
———. *Nenhum Olhar*. Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2000. Translated from the Portuguese by Richard Zenith and published in 2007 as *Blank Gaze*, by Bloomsbury (London); and in 2007 as *Implacable Order of Things: A Novel*, by N. A. Talese (New York).
———. "O Meu Lugar." *Visão*, August 4, 2013. http://www.joseluispeixoto.net/80811.html.
———. "Passagem de Segundo." *Visão*, December 30, 2013. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/84725.html.
———. "O Que Dizem os Abraços." *Notícias Magazine*, November 23, 2015. http://www.joseluispeixoto.net/o-que-dizem-os-abracos-107390.
———. "Todo o Silêncio." *Visão*, October 28, 2014. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/todo-o-silencio-93573.
———. "A Vida." *Visão*, January 8, 2014. https://joseluispeixoto.blogs.sapo.pt/85083.html?thread=239707.
———. "A Vontade e o Mundo." *Volta ao Mundo*, April 13, 2014. http://www.joseluispeixoto.net/a-vontade-e-o-mundo-88637.
Roiland, Josh. "By Any Other Name: The Case for Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 60–89.
Rotker, Susana. *La Invención de la Crónica*. México: Fundación para un Nuevo Periodismo Iberoamericano, 2005.
Sims, Norman. "The Evolutionary Future of American and International Literary Journalism." In Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 85–91.

———, ed. *The Literary Journalists*, with an introduction by Norman Sims. New York: Ballentine, 1984.

———. "The Problem and the Promise of Literary Journalism Studies." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009): 7–16.

———. *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*, with a foreword by Ted Conover. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007.

Soares, Isabel. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's 'New' Journalism and the Portuguese at the Fin-de-Siècle." In Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 118–33.

———. "Do Amazonas ao Nordeste: O Brasil sob o olhar de um Jornalista Português " *Revista Famecos: Mídia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, n. supl. (2016). http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/24664.

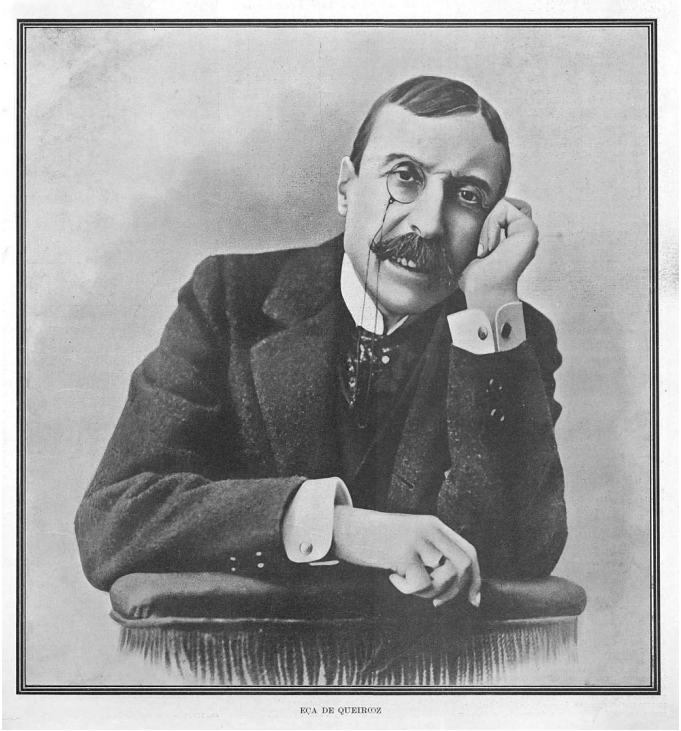
Trindade, Alice Donat. "Lush Words in the Drought: The Literary Journalism of Pedro Cardoso." In *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination*, edited by Richard Keeble and John Tulloch, 287–98. New York: Peter Lang, 2012.

Yagoda, Ben. Preface to *The Art of Fact: A Historical Anthology of Literary Journalism*, 13–16. Edited by Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda. New York: Touchstone, 1997.

Yanes Mesa, Rafael. *Géneros Periodísticos y Géneros Anexos: una Propuesta Metodológica para el Estudio de los Textos Publicados en la Prensa*. Madrid: Fragua, 2004.

Vilamor, José R. *Redacción Periodística para la Generación Digital: los Grandes Cambios Técnicos, Económicos y Culturales Exigen Profundas Transformaciones en el Campo del Periodismo.* Madrid: Universitas, 2000.

Wolfe, Tom. *The New Journalism: With an Anthology*, edited by Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson. New York: Harper & Row, 1973.



Above: Eça de Queirós (1845–1900), Portuguese diplomat and author. Undated. Artist unknown. Public domain.

Below: Jaime Batalha Reis (1847–1935), Portuguese diplomat and author. Undated. Photographer unknown. Wikimedia Commons.

A Vision of Empire: Irish Home Rule, the Scramble for Africa, and Portuguese Literary Journalism

Isabel Soares
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Abstract: Irish Home Rule, a measure of Irish self-rule, was a heated political and humanitarian issue throughout the nineteenth century. If, historically, Ireland was one of the constituent nations of the United Kingdom, pro–Irish Victorian perspectives and twenty-first century hindsight show it was administered as a colony. In the late 1800s, the British Parliament conceded to discuss Home Rule for Ireland. This happened at a time when the British Empire, (in)famously styled as the empire on which the sun never set, for expansionist purposes was encroaching on Portugal's African possessions and thus stressing Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic relations. In this scenario, two Portuguese consuls, who also served as press correspondents from Britain, used their journalistic voices to bring to light, for audiences on both sides of the Portuguese-speaking Atlantic, what they considered the truth behind British imperialism. Through the late nineteenth-century "new" journalism, a pioneering form of literary journalism, these diplomats-turned-unconventional-journalists were among the first critics of formal imperialism. As pieces of literary journalism, their articles on the question of Irish Home Rule are documents of historical meaning, revealing an underlying intention of creating public awareness of the dangers of the British will to imperial dominance, for which Ireland provided an example of territorial occupation and autocratic administration. Their reading of the Irish Question gives evidence that, even at its earliest stages, literary journalism is a journalism of concern about the Other and their plight.

Keywords: Portuguese literary journalism – British Empire – Irish Home Rule – New Journalism – Eça de Queirós – Batalha Reis

Cliché as it may be, literary journalism is a window into the past. Read as journalism, it crystallizes an event, a moment. Read as literature, it goes deep into covert layers of meaning. The zeitgeist of the later decades of the nineteenth century was inseparable from imperialism which, in turn, meant the Scramble for Africa, an expression meaning the rush for and unbridled dispute over the continent's territories. Literary journalism, in its contemporary form, captures the manifold essences of this zeitgeist.

The trigger behind the European appetite for Africa remains undetermined. Many reasons account for why traditional allies such as Portugal and the United Kingdom waged diplomatic wars to determine spheres of influence and territorial occupation in places identified with sovereign states, such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, or Mozambique. Colonialism, the formal imperialism shaped in the late nineteenth century that lasted into the second half of the twentieth century,[1] implies bearing in mind that, most conspicuously in the case of the British Empire, there is an impressive smorgasbord of administrative relations. As imperial studies scholar John Darwin lengthily lists, the Empire:

> contained colonies of rule (including the huge "sub-empire" of India), settlement colonies (mostly self-governing . . .), protectorates, condominia (like the Sudan), mandates (after 1920), naval and military fortresses (like Gibraltar and Malta), "occupations" (like Egypt and Cyprus), treaty-ports and "concessions" (Shanghai was the most famous), "informal" colonies of commercial pre-eminence (like Argentina), "spheres of interference" . . . like Iran, Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf, and (not least) a rebellious province at home.[2]

Ireland was the "rebellious province at home," the administrative and territorial conundrum in both the union of a United Kingdom and in the grand scheme of empire.

Just when the question of how to address "rebellious" Ireland—whether to grant it some extent of autonomous government or punish pro-independentist movements—was rife, two Portuguese diplomats in Britain, doubling as press correspondents, witnessed the political turmoil caused by the debate of Irish Home Rule. Shocked and awed by the virulence the discussion caused, they produced articles about it in a genre now called literary journalism. Influenced by the pungent, vibrant journalism they read on the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Eça de Queirós (1845–1900) and Batalha Reis (1847–1935), the journalists examined in this essay, borrowed from that unorthodox journalistic model to express their interpretation of the political and public debate on Irish Home Rule, also called the Irish Question. They acted as translators of that discussion to a Portuguese-speaking readership while verbalizing their

criticism of British empire-building. While the British journalism penned by journalists like W. T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Gazette*, initially inspired Queirós and Reis, it was through *crónica*, a Portuguese-Spanish variety of literary journalism, that they wrote their articles focusing on the Irish Question.

Crónica is a unique journalistic phenomenon present only in Portuguese and Spanish, "unknown in English-speaking journalism."[3] *Crónica* and the late nineteenth-century "new" journalism, precursor of the New Journalism of the 1960s and of literary journalism as defined by the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies,[4] were combined by Queirós and Reis to draw a profile of British imperialism. More recently, studies have also started to highlight the role of literary journalism in profiling the Empire and the imperial *ethos* of the late nineteenth century.[5]

Through their distinct form of journalism, which combined *crónica*, opinion, and the characteristics now associated with literary journalism, which Hartsock describes as "techniques often associated with the realistic novel and the short story,"[6] Queirós and Reis left an important historical archive bearing witness to imperialism in the making. To read their articles in a postcolonial age is to look back in time to a period when empire was coming of age and, perhaps, to gain a better understanding of the political geography of the present. John Darwin says that a "truly post-colonial history would allow us to see the imperial past for what it was: a shameful record of economic exploitation, cultural aggression, physical brutality (and periodic atrocity) and divisive misrule."[7] As literary journalists, Queirós and Reis were among the first contingents of those who looked at imperialism in the way Darwin proposed. The originality of that viewpoint is that Queirós and Reis did so both contemporaneously and as they critically witnessed the unfolding of formal imperialism without the filters and detachment of the academic historian.

Anglo-Portuguese Imperial Rivalry and the Irish Question

As far as international relations go, there is no older or longer lasting bilateral agreement involving sovereign states than the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance. Celebrated in 1386 between João I, King of Portugal, and Richard II of England, the Alliance, which predates the modern composition of one of its signatories, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, has been a paradigm of cordial relations. In the last decades of the nineteenth century cordial would not be the adjective of choice to describe the Alliance, particularly if the description came from the Portuguese side. The reason: the Scramble for Africa, that is, the sudden interest in the exploration and partition of the continent's territories among European powers, whose multiple causes prevent a simplistic approach to its occurrence.[8]

Having pioneered European presence in Africa in the sixteenth century, Portugal was interested in establishing a transcontinental belt of influence stretching from Angola to Mozambique,[9] whereas Britain was occupied in materializing the territorial aspirations popularized by the Cape-to-Cairo dream. Even limited knowledge of geography made it plain to see that the expansionist interests of both nations were bound to overlap and collide in central southeast Africa. In 1890, the inevitable happened. The Portuguese government was given an ultimatum to leave the Shire valley, the territory of the Makololos and Mashonaland, seen by British authorities as within their sphere of influence. If Portugal failed to acquiesce, HMS *The Enchantress* had orders to station at the mouth of the Tagus in Lisbon and aim its cannons on the city. Such a display of force was interpreted by Lisbon as a blow to the cordiality of the Alliance.

In response to the public outcry, calling for a ban on all British products and the suggestion that Portuguese schools should no longer teach English,[10] Lisbon grudgingly obliged. Tension between the two countries had been escalating before 1890 and did not subside after a *modus vivendi*, leading to a formal agreement ratified in the summer of 1891, was reached. Britain became the most formidable rival Portugal confronted in Africa. A decade passed before the more cordial relations resumed. By then, Britain was involved in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) and reached out to its old ally. Portugal maintained a collaborative neutrality in the conflict by allowing British troops to go across Mozambique, then known as Lorenzo Marques, to raid the Boer Republics from the north.

The Scramble for Africa coincided with the discussion of Home Rule for Ireland. During the 1880s and 1890s, British public attention was drawn to the violent terrorist outbursts promoted by both the Fenian movement and secret Irish associations such as the Molly Maguires. Faced with the public's outrage, Whitehall was called to action and the government had to make decisions on what form of armed intervention was needed to pacify the Emerald Isle and whether to grant it some, or any, degree of autonomy. Meantime, the career of Liberal Party leader William Gladstone wobbled because of his support of Home Rule. In 1885, Gladstone, then serving his second term as Prime Minister, advocated the creation of an Irish parliament able to rule on all domestic matters except those directly related to the Crown, peace and war negotiations, international and colonial relations, and trade and navigation. His intentions were met with the antagonism of the opposition and fractured his own party. After a defeat of his proposal in the House of Commons, he was forced to resign, and in the general election of 1886, Lord Salisbury led the Conservative Party to victory and assured the nation that local self-

government for Ireland was not on the agenda. What happened before and after the debacle of the defeat of Irish Home Rule was witnessed by the two Portuguese diplomats, Queirós and Reis, and their interpretation of the facts was brought to public light by their literary journalism.

Diplomats and Press Correspondents in Britain

Over the last quarter of the 1800s the Portuguese consulates in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Bristol, and London were successively held by Eça de Queirós and Jaime Batalha Reis. Though diligent diplomats, Queirós and Reis are better known today as unconventional journalists (Queirós is also regarded in Portugal as the epitome of the Realist novel writer). During their lifetimes both were viewed as opinionated intellectuals and unorthodox journalists whose *crónicas* targeted the political elites and all kinds of social ailments afflicting end-of-the-century Portugal. Belonging to an upper-class *intelligentsia* baptized as the Generation of 1870, they were interested in using their public voice to help Portugal join the path of progress of other nations, for which France, Germany, and England, at the time metonymically taken for the whole of Britain,[11] provided the models to emulate.

For the Generation of 1870, the name given collectively to this Portuguese group of intellectuals coming of age in literature, journalism, and politics around the 1870s, England was a paradigm of otherness: a developed, civilized nation, a super-power against which it was difficult to compare the perceived decaying of their homeland. Queirós, Reis, and their generational companions used the press as a tribune of discontent against the government. Their articles, oftentimes in the guise of *crónicas*, frequently addressed the corruption of policymakers, the pervasive illiteracy of the popular classes,[12] and a chronic subinvestment in the modernization of public infrastructures and industry. Queirós also used his novels to ridicule contemporary politicians and blame them for the overall state of ruin he saw in Portugal.

Another favored topic of criticism by the members of the Generation of 1870 was *empire*. In the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, Portugal had resorted to historical arguments of priority of discovery to claim its share of African territories. Other rival powers in the Scramble counterargued by insisting on clauses of effective occupation (establishment of police forces, building of schools and hospitals) to prove entitlement to the disputed territories. From then on, territorial claims had to be grounded on proof, not historical precedence. Although the Portuguese government had been investing in scientific and cartographic expeditions to the African hinterland in its claimed sphere of influence,[13] intellectuals like Queirós and Reis considered that Portugal was doing close to nothing to prove effective occupation of those territories.

Besides, both Reis and Queirós also called public attention to the fact that Portugal reaped meager benefits from holding overseas possessions.

In an article published in 1870, in which they antagonized the Portuguese colonial administration by boldly suggesting selling the colonies, Queirós and his best friend, reputed journalist Ramalho Ortigão wrote:

> Our colonies are original in this sense: the only reason why they are our colonies is because they are not in Beira.[14] They give us no profit whatsoever: we do not give them an inch of improvement. . . .
>
> Sometimes the metropolis sends them a *governor*; grateful, the colonies send the motherland—a banana. Contemplating this great movement of interests and trade Lisbon exclaims:
>
> "Such richness that of our colonies!"[15]

Ironic and caustic, both journalists were pointing the finger at the neglect to which they believed the government subjected its colonies, in stark opposition to effective occupation.

To avoid the corset of conventional journalism, Queirós and Ortigão took inspiration from the satirical French periodical *Les Guêpes* and founded a newspaper. *As Farpas* (The spears), the name of the newspaper that ran from 1871 to 1882, was a pulpit from which to expose the problems of Portuguese society and politics. For Queirós and Ortigão, the empire was one such problem. Ill-administered, the colonies burdened the public treasury. Investments overseas were scarce, and effective occupation was a seeming failure that weakened Portugal's position in the eyes of the world. By contrast, the British Empire was seen as an example of success. As Antero de Quental, distinguished member and mentor of the Generation of 1870, noted in a speech in 1871:

> Let us look at what England has done in India, in Australia, and with world trade. It exploits, fights: but the acquired wealth remains in its own land, in its mighty industry, in its agriculture, probably the most productive in the world. . . . On the contrary, . . . what destiny have we given the many riches taken from foreign peoples? May our lost industry, our ruined trade, our diminished population, our decaying agriculture answer that.[16]

The speech, titled *Causes of the Decadence of the Iberian Peoples*, condensed the main ideas shared by the Generation of 1870 regarding their apparently apathetic, dying nation. Britain, they thought, held an empire for profit; Portugal had one as a memento of a lost past of maritime glory.

In *As Farpas*, Queirós and Ramalho elaborated further on these ideas. More than a controversy-driven newspaper, it represented a new kind of

journalism aiming at sociopolitical intervention. Opinion journalism was, as these authors also believed, lacking in Portugal, where, as they also critically observed, the press was mostly interested in gossip and scandal, and the transcripts of the day's parliamentary debates were the only serious news in newspapers. *As Farpas* thus became a national tribune of discontent and paved the way for other major transformations in Portuguese journalism. These transformations would be enhanced after Queirós and Reis moved to England.

Queirós was appointed to the consulate of Newcastle in 1874, remaining in the country as a diplomat until his transfer to Paris in 1888. Reis stayed in Britain from 1883 to 1911, occupying the consulates in Newcastle and London. Juggling journalism and diplomacy, Queirós and Reis were fascinated by the British press. Acting as press correspondents to Portugal and Brazil, their articles about England praised the press they found across the Channel. Contrasting its vitality to the disengaged press they saw at home, Reis and Queirós marvelled at differences in the professionalism of journalists, the seriousness and truthfulness of the information given, the incredible number of periodicals, and the reading habits of the British public. Reis verbalized his awe when characterizing the British press "as a great power" and English journalists as some of the "most influential" and "respected men in the world."[17] Queirós, in his bestselling novel *Os Maias* (The Maias), made a clear contrast with British journalists by describing Portuguese journalists as "These dumb journalists! They're the scum of society!"[18]

At about this time, journalism in Britain was undergoing profound changes of lasting consequence. The speed of communications, a result of the telegraph and ocean liners, the proliferation of periodicals, and, as some believed, objective impartiality were eroding journalism. The repetitiousness of the same news in the newspapers presented readers with digested information easily consumed and forgotten. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, many journalists, including Queirós, Ortigão, and Reis, thought journalism needed some degree of innovation. In Britain, W. T. Stead, the editor of the London evening paper *Pall Mall Gazette*, was also spearheading a movement toward journalistic change that would function as an inspiration for these Portuguese journalists who, given their diplomatic responsibilities in Britain, were in a position to have privileged first-hand access to British periodicals.

Stead believed in the power of the press. Both as an editor and as a reporter he engaged in contemporary crusades to raise public awareness of serious social and political problems. The son of a Congregationalist minister, he "brought to journalism the fervor and zeal of the nonconformist conscience."[19] One of his main concerns was child prostitution. In a polemical and extraordinarily popular series titled *The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon* (1885),[20]

Stead showed a shocked audience he had purchased a thirteen-year-old girl to prove how frequently children were sold to brothels. In the *Pall Mall*, he experimented with a new kind of journalism. Headlines were on the verge of sensational, interviews were introduced, columns began to appear. This was the kind of journalism Frus says made its way to the New York journalism of the 1880s and 1890s at the hands of Joseph Pulitzer, a journalism that mixed "news and entertainment, breezy headlines and illustrations, crusades and stunts."[21]

Two years after the publication of *The Maiden Tribute*, critic Matthew Arnold acrimoniously coined the phrase to refer to this, as he called it, "new journalism"[22]—energetic, reform-minded, giving out the news in the personal, individual tone of the journalist writing it, sensationalist albeit committed to the truth.[23] At the turn of the next century, most evidently after the advent of the New Journalism of the 1960s, theorized by Tom Wolfe in his now-canonical 1973 book, *The New Journalism*,[24] historians and scholars of journalism traced the roots of both the New Journalism of the 1960s and of literary journalism generally back to the "new" journalism of the late nineteenth century, categorizing literary journalism as a genre that:

> reads like a novel or short story except that it is true or makes a truth claim to phenomenal experience. Such a literary journalism, then, is a kind of literary "faction," on the one hand acknowledging its relationship to fiction . . . while on the other making a claim to reflecting a world of "fact."[25]

Using literary devices, the literary journalist presents news in a way that the objectivity of the facts is filtered by the subjective interpretation of the journalist.[26] The "new" journalism written by W. T. Stead and Henry Mayhew in Britain, Stephen Crane in the United States, and by Queirós, Reis, and Ramalho in Portugal, all in the late nineteenth century, was bridging the chasm between journalist and reader, creating a reflexive reader who "pays attention to the way the message is expressed, that is, analyzes its tropes as they support or contradict or distract her from the referential function."[27]

Weary of the Portuguese press, Queirós and Reis saw a window of opportunity for change in Portuguese journalism, inspired by the "new" journalism they were being exposed to in Britain. Consuls in England, therefore privileged observers of a foreign reality, they were recruited as press correspondents by some of the most reputable newspapers of Portugal and Brazil. Their task was to submit articles reflecting on topics as varied as English mores, politics, and the economy. From 1877 to 1878, Queirós wrote a number of articles on England for the Portuguese newspaper *A Actualidade*, for which the collective title was "*Crónicas* from London." From 1880 to 1882 he wrote on the

same subject a collaboration entitled "Letters from England" for the Brazilian periodical *A Gazeta de Notícias*.[28] Similarly, Reis contributed a lengthy series of articles about England to the Portuguese *O Repórter* and to the Brazilian *A Gazeta de Notícias*. All the texts in *O Repórter* were published throughout 1888, and Reis's articles for the Brazilian newspaper appeared from 1893 to 1896. Suggestively, Reis called the series English Review. These were posthumously compiled and published in book form in 1988 under the same title, English Review, whose literal translation into English is English Magazine.[29]

The topics of the articles covered a panoply of subjects, from news about the latest theater performances and book publications to the scandals involving the Prince of Wales. The economic prosperity of the nation and the dynamic transactions of the Stock Exchange were also presented as a paradox to the misery in which the urban working classes lived. However, politics and particularly imperial politics were the core issues of the articles Queirós and Reis wrote. The politics of empire was what most shaped the image both journalists projected of England, one that would provide the stereotype of *fin-de-siècle* Britain or "perfidious Albion" as the Portuguese press called the country's oldest ally by the time of the infamous 1890 ultimatum.[30]

Empire and "New" Literary Journalism

The time elapsing from the first articles by Queirós, published in 1877, to the later ones by Reis, dated 1896, witnessed a dramatic succession of events as far as imperialism was concerned. Consequently, the growing awareness of both journalists regarding the imperial British titan reflects that chronological sequence of events. Queirós referred to a nation energized by the exciting speeches of Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, whom he personally considered a Mephistophelean-like personality, and to whom he dedicated a far from laudatory obituary in 1881. Accusing Disraeli of the evils generated by British imperialism, Queirós penned this epitaph to the former Prime Minister:

> His astounding popularity seems to me to spring from two causes: the first was his idea (which inspired all his political thinking) that England should become the dominant power in the world, a type of Roman Empire, constantly enlarging its colonies, taking possession of the uncivilised continents and 'Anglicising' them, reigning in every market, deciding by the strength of its sword the question of war or peace in all parts of the world, imposing its institutions, its language, its customs, its art—he dreamed of a globe made up of land and ocean exclusively British, ...[31]

When Queirós wrote his articles, the imperial idea was (re)awakening. It was not just Disraeli's speeches and policies that were giving momentum to

the British Empire. The annexation of Egypt in 1882, about which Queirós wrote extensively,[32] was also one of the formal starting points for the Scramble.[33] Unlike Queirós, Reis wrote at the heyday of British imperialism. By the 1890s, the Crown had become increasingly more connected with and representative of the idea of Empire, as shown by the extravagant celebrations of Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees (1887 and 1897, respectively). In literature, accolades for the imperial mission came from bards with the stature of Rider Haggard, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Rudyard Kipling, who famously described Britain's imperial fate in his 1899 poem, "The White Man's Burden."[34] Explorers and missionaries like the revered Livingstone and his admirer Henry Morton Stanley, whose book *In Darkest Africa*, published in 1890,[35] sold an astonishing 150,000 copies upon publication, were the new heroes. War correspondents, like new journalist George Warrington Steevens,[36] covered live from the battlefields Queen Victoria's numerous "little wars," exemplified by the Anglo-Burmese War of 1885 or the Ashanti War of 1896. Territorial expansion of the Union Jack had, by Reis's time, progressed at almost vertigo speed either through the implementation of protectorates over Sarawak, Brunei, Nyasaland, Uganda, and Kenya or through formal annexations, as in the cases of Upper Burma, Zululand, Tonga, and the Solomon Islands. At the turn of the century, the British Empire comprised about one-quarter of the land area on the globe and one-fifth of its population.[37]

Admiring Britain as a developed nation and a mighty imperial power, Queirós and Reis were, nevertheless, aware that this was the imposing imperial Leviathan of the day. As early as 1877, Queirós had warned the Portuguese government that the British press was eyeing Mozambique and presenting it as a "fertile, rich land, with a great future."[38] It was also ready for takeover: "in the midst of anarchy . . . everything is described as being in a state of desolation and dissolution."[39] To Queirós this should be interpreted as unequivocal British interest in the territory. If Mozambique was in anarchy, Britain could invoke humanitarian reasons for annexation. Eleven years after these cautionary words, Reis proved Queirós right by noticing that Mozambique was being "anglicized" because: "the English monopolize trade. The ships sailing the rivers are English. The only money accepted by the natives is English gold and silver. The language spoken is a pidgin English."[40] Portugal had reasons to fear an informal British annexation of Mozambique. Due to the Irish situation, Queirós and Reis understood the *modus operandi* of British imperialism and established comparisons that could be used to see British interest in the Portuguese African colonies.

Irish Home Rule as Seen by Queirós and Reis

While at university, Queirós, Reis, and other companions of the Generation of 1870 had voiced concern over Poland, the paradigm of a usurped, tyrannized land by an autocratic nation, Russia. In Coimbra, Portugal's leading university at the time, students organized demonstrations and held public debates in support of Poland. When, years later, Queirós and Reis arrived in Britain, they interpreted the situation in Ireland as a replication of the Polish Question. A major difference existed, however, between Poland and Ireland. In the first situation, Poland was an impoverished land brutalized by a despotic country. In the second, Ireland was an impoverished island brutalized by the nation that stood as the beacon of democracy, Britain.

Situated in the Celtic fringe of the British Isles, Ireland lies in a somewhat marginal status, distancing it from concepts of either Englishness or Britishness.[41] In the nineteenth century it was understood that the Irish Sea operated as the abyssal divide separating a racially distinct people of Celtic origin and Catholic religion from the rest of Britain, but mostly from Anglo-Saxon England.[42] Not only was Ireland an instance of otherness, Anglo-Saxon England considered it a menace, a harbor for dissidents and the perfect place from where a French invasion could be staged. Moreover, Anglo-Saxon England stereotyped the Irish as ignorant and unfit for self-government, believing the Irish should be submitted to the rule of a more civilized people given their Catholic faith and their ethnicity, which were seen at the time as distinct from that of the rest of the British Isles. Conservative-party views, as for example those of Lord Salisbury, helped perpetuate the idea that the Irish lacked capacity for self-government. Addressing a Conservative meeting in 1886, Salisbury said about Ireland:

> This which is called self-government, but which is really government by the majority, works admirably well when it is confided to the people who are of Teutonic race, but it does not work so well when people of other races are called upon to join in it.[43]

Even Eça de Queirós, in his *crónicas*, or literary journalism, articles about the Irish Question, explained to a Portuguese-speaking readership that the English had an ingrained idea that the Irish were "an impressionable race, excitable, fanatical and lacking in education" that should not be trusted to take care of [their] own fate.[44] In this context, the Act of Union of 1800 was a mere formality to acquiesce to British imperial domination over Ireland, which, actually, dated back to the Tudor queens and the plantation system.[45] As Colley has noted, "Ireland was in many respects the laboratory of the British Empire,"[46] the place where many land reforms and different forms of

colonial government, later to be used in India and other parts of the Empire, were tested.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Irish Question was perhaps the most pressing issue in British politics. The mid-century Great Famine that ravaged Ireland gave an impetus to agrarian agitation and led to an emigration wave that became visible in the derelict districts of towns like Glasgow, Liverpool, and London, already overcrowded and afflicted by extreme poverty. Demand for Home Rule increased and was better organized after a charismatic leader, Charles Stuart Parnell, emerged as the first president of the Irish National Land League in 1879. Out of the complexities of territorial occupation, in which an autochthonous people were deprived of land rights and engaged in a fight for self-determination, the Irish Question amounted to one of the main concerns of late Victorian Britain.

Queirós was able to read through the intricacies expressed in the press regarding the Irish Question and tried to objectively apprehend the core of the matter. Comparing Ireland and Poland in an article dated April 1881, "Ireland and the Land League," he presented the situation, explaining:

> Ireland can . . . be considered a constitutional Poland: there is here as in Poland an oppressed people, whose land was divided among the great landowners, the historic families of the conquering nation, and who have ever since remained in agrarian serfdom. Only in Ireland have the arbitrary abuses originated by this situation been covered up by a wonderful legal polish of a parliamentary regime: and Ireland suffers the miseries of a vanquished and exploited land—but within constitutional forms.[47]

Not only did Queirós assert Ireland was a subdued land, he also alerted readers that Britain, the implicit tyrant, was acting as an oligarch, albeit proclaiming the values of its constitutional monarchy. Simply put, Britain was no better than Russia, the country that Queirós, until the end of his journalistic career, repeatedly gave as an example of an autocracy, as attested by an 1895 article published in *Gazeta de Notícias*, in which he stated that in Russia "autocracy is absolute and more unlimited than the one of Rome's Caesars."[48] Beneath a polished layer of civility and respect for democracy, Britain, like Russia, was a nation exerting despotic power over a weaker one. In the end, as Queirós argues, "England will rule Ireland through martial law just like any tsar."[49] The objectivity of factual journalism was shattered as Queirós revealed his pro-Irish sympathies while guiding the reader to share his point of view.

In 1888, Reis, imbued with the same compassion for Poland as his generational companions, engaged in the Polish-Irish comparison about which Queirós had written earlier. Using similar metaphors and a more pungent tone, he noted: "Russia, the northern tyrant, that *executioner of Poland*, is . . .

the nation that provides the most precious contrasts to glorify England. . . . And, yet, England possesses a conquered nation in Europe—Ireland—which . . . fights, resists and suffers."[50] This English tyranny over Ireland was the more egregious because "the nation that is self-enthroned as the protector of the oppressed, the deliverer of slaves, that despises Turkey for its captives, . . . and that abominated Russia for its serfs, consciously keeps a conquered country, not of foreign savages, but of white Europeans."[51] In this last sentence, published in an article dated 1893, Reis was vehemently caustic, probably because Portugal had only recently endured a clash with Britain in her path towards global hegemony. To prove the British parliamentary antagonism to Irish Home Rule and bring the element of objective, factual journalism to his account, Reis meticulously pointed out that "459 speeches were made in defense of [Irish Home Rule] and 913 against it. The first lasted for 57 hours and a quarter; the latter 152 hours and three quarters."[52] This was meant to show the disproportion of those in favor of versus those opposing more autonomy for Ireland. Noteworthy too is that Reis was making an allusion, not only to the situation in Ireland, but to empire as a whole. The British ultimatum on Portugal had occurred two years before and bitterness about that offense had not yet subsided.

It was the empire that was at the core of Reis's criticism. Britain, constantly accusing Portugal of maintaining the slave trade in its African colonies,[53] held a colony in Europe not much different from any other forsaken territory in "darkest Africa" and was intent on carrying on that situation. Therefore, Reis was also drawing attention to the fact that Britain had no moral right to impose its will on Portugal. For Queirós and Reis, Britain was as autocratic and as morally reprehensible as Russia. The difference was that, if in the Russian case the exploitation of Poland should be regarded as a circumstance to be expected from an undemocratic regime, in the British one nothing justified the despotism over Ireland, because Britain was the self-proclaimed representation of a country holding sacred the constitutional liberties of its citizens. For Queirós, the hypocrisy of the cherished democratic principles held sacred by the British Parliament is visible when the issue is Ireland. To demonstrate it, Queirós writes that in England "the most enlightened liberalism can be mistaken for the basest despotism," adding that "whenever the eloquence of Irish MPs becomes upsetting, it is muffled, thus being unscrupulously broken a centuries-old parliamentary tradition."[54]

Unmasking what he understood as English hypocrisy, Queirós did not feel constrained in using the sensationalism that was also a feature of nineteenth-century "new" journalism.[55] As in Stead's case, his objective was to present real human-interest stories and raise awareness of something that

disgusted him. Blatant misery and social injustice were issues that shocked and hurt Queirós, and many of his consular reports reveal his humanitarian worries. In November 1874, while in Newcastle, he wrote to the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, João de Andrade Corvo, informing him that, among the direct causes for Irish chronic poverty was the unfair economic organization of the land. The Irish were heavily taxed by both the Protestant aristocracy and the clergy that lived off them without even residing in Ireland. As he stated, "the *Land-lords*, owners of the soil, received as rent the better part of all goods produced and, residing in London or in the manor houses of England, did not give back to Ireland in consumption what they had taken."[56] For the consul this was an intolerable situation. For the literary journalist, the *truth* could be illustrated in a manner prone to shock the public. Details aside, amply described by Queirós throughout his lengthy article on the Irish Question and the Land League, the situation in Ireland could be summed up as "a horrible darkness of injustice and misery."[57]

Indescribable misery was exactly what Queirós most wanted to denounce. For him, the poverty of the Irish resulted from the exploitation of a conquering foreign power: "one thing that is well understood . . . is that the working population of Ireland starves to death, and that . . . the *land-lords* feel outraged and ask for the help of the English police when the workers show this absurd and revolutionary need—to eat!"[58] Again, the Empire was the target of the Portuguese author's criticism. Imperial occupation deprived the Irish of ownership of the soil, which led to famine and misery.

In the 1890s, Reis went further than had Queirós in his accusations against British imperialism. Ireland was the main example on which he drew to corroborate his perspective. It was not just the immense poverty of the Irish Reis wished to highlight but also the sort of ethnic cleansing the British government was perpetrating in Ireland and in its overseas possessions. Reis's explanation was blunt. As far as Ireland was concerned, "the English have . . . promoted emigration to America, death by misery, by lack of housing and food, the diminishing . . . of the despised population, coming near . . . the ideal of *expelling the natives and retain[ing] the island*, just as they have been doing in Australia and in other colonially occupied territories."[59] Imperial policy, he thought, promoted genocide as a need for British expansionist desires, with Ireland and Australia being the most flagrant instances. Worse, in their battle against Irish Home Rule, the Lords, writes Reis in an article of 1893, "represent the criminal, yet genuine, opinion of all England,"[60] thus making it clear for Portuguese-speaking readers that imperial coercion over Ireland was not problematic for the English. For Reis, this was John Bullishness at its most virulent, more so as Britain was particularly aggressive towards those consid-

ered weaker or inferior to her. The core of the issue that might be inferred was that Portugal had been subject to a humiliating ultimatum because, like Ireland, it was perceived to be a powerless nation. Had it been France or Germany, Britain would not have dared issue an ultimatum. In Africa, the easiest way for British expansion was to ignore Portuguese territorial claims and avoid any antagonism with the other two European powers by thwarting them.[61] The major distinction between Queirós writing before the 1890 ultimatum and the post-ultimatum articles by Reis refers to the fact that, though criticizing British imperialism, Queirós guided the readers to pitying the exploited Irish whereas Reis was interested in giving consistency to the image of "perfidious Albion."

Probably more than Reis, Queirós was able to see the Irish Question as an intricate web of multiple causes and consequences. In terms of sociopolitical analysis, Queirós knew the virtual impossibility of a solution for the problem, which he explained in two lengthy articles published in 1880 and 1881: "Ireland, Its Miseries, Crimes, Secret Associations, Hopes and Customs" and "Ireland and the Land League."[62] In the first of these articles, he noted that part of the issue was directly related to Irish bloody resistance against the oppressor. Without food, shelter, or justice, "the Irish, seeing that hunger is in them, England is busy . . . and heaven very far—pack their scarce belongings, go to the nearest village, and present themselves to the *committee* of the Fenians or to the section of the Molly Maguire, and just say: 'Here we are!' "[63] To the literary journalist/political analyst, the Irish resorted to violence and terrorist associations given the chronic misery of the country. Poverty, in turn, derived from exhausted soils and the high taxes imposed by the usurper. Moreover, the British government neglected the administration of the island, concentrating instead on questions related to its remote overseas possessions. In 1879, a year when the outbursts of violence in Ireland were particularly harsh, "the cabinet was more engrossed, and the public imagination more struck, by two blood-curdling disasters in distant fields—that of Isandhlwana . . . and that of Kabul."[64]

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, secret Irish terrorist associations, such as the Molly Maguires, the Lady Clares, and the Blackfoot, proliferated. Their attacks were characterized by arson and the maiming and killing of people and farm animals. Simultaneously, Fenianism was on the rise. With a solid support basis in the United States, Canada, and Australia, the Fenians were responsible for terrorist attacks, both in the metropolis and in the Great Dominions. Aimed at destabilizing the British government, terror had the perverse effect of promoting an inflammatory image of the Irish as subversive terrorists. Indicating the dissemination of anti-Irish sentiment,

Queirós revealed the English believed that "whenever two people get together in Ireland they are conspiring."[65] Because of the atrocities of terrorism, the British public was uninformed on the question of the (il)legitimacy of the landlords to overburden the Irish with excessively high rents and of the criminalization of those who could not pay them. Consequently, "under the gaudy embrace of a Union Flag, politicians and public could disguise the raw nature of the question, make it one of patriotism and decency versus dynamiters and superstitious papists."[66]

Queirós knew that Fenianism and terrorist associations were partly responsible for the evils afflicting Ireland. It was clear to him that the Fenians were a political sect that strove for independence by means of "future insurrection, battles in broad daylight, a mighty effort of a race wanting to get rid of the foreigner."[67] Their nefarious attitudes fuelled the outrage of the public and served the negative image John Bull created of the Irish. Additionally, even Parnell's more pacifist Irish National Land League was instilling bitter resentment among an already discontented population. The League's objective was "to promote through meetings . . . a vast agitation . . . able to force Parliament to reform the agrarian system."[68] Unsurprisingly, the outcome of the Land League's actions, combined with the terrorism promoted by the Fenian movement and the Molly Maguires, was the defeat of Home Rule in 1886.

Not an apologist of violence as a way to solve problems, Queirós could nonetheless understand the Irish were taking hold of whatever desperate means possible to fight for their cause. Instead of finding solutions for the administration of Ireland, Whitehall used police intervention to control the island, thus increasing Irish discontent. Furthermore, it was because of the Empire that Ireland was forsaken by the government and it was because of the British imperial destiny that the island was an ostracized colony. Ultimately, it was because of the Empire that Ireland could be shown as an example of Britain's cruelty and oppression, at a time when Britain proclaimed the Empire had the altruistic purpose of bringing prosperity, justice, freedom, and all the benefits of democracy to the colonies.

Despite being known for shunning expansionist policies—so in opposition to Benjamin Disraeli—Gladstone believed in the virtues of empire. In a famous speech at the Mechanics Institute in 1855, he had defended the need for colonies because:

> [They] multipl[y] the number of people who . . . are living under good laws, and belong to a country to which it is an honour and an advantage to belong. That is the great moral benefit that attends the foundation of British colonies. We think that our country is . . . blessed with laws and a

> constitution that are eminently beneficial to mankind, and . . . what can be more to be desired than that we should have the means of reproducing in different portions of the globe something as like as may be to that country which we honour and revere? . . . It is the reproduction . . . of a country in which liberty is reconciled with order, in which ancient institutions stand in harmony with popular freedom, and a full recognition of popular rights, and in which religion and law have found one of their most favoured homes.[69]

Queirós, who admired Gladstone as much as he disliked Disraeli, felt betrayed. On the one hand, he saw that during the ministries of Gladstone the Empire had expanded geographically. On the other, it was with genuine difficulty that he admitted that not much separated Disraeli from Gladstone, who had been incapable of bringing Home Rule to Ireland. In the late nineteenth century, Queirós was already alluding to the Manichean allegory of empire or the duplicity of imperial practices, the covert and overt aims of colonialism. The covert objective is the ruthless economic exploitation of the colonies and the overt is directly connected to an imperialistic discourse sanctifying and sanctioning the need to "civilize" the natives.[70] For Queirós, Ireland was the best instance to prove Britain was only interested in the covert aim of colonialism. No humanitarian interest lay behind, or beside, its domination of the island.

Resorting to irony, Queirós explained that England was not a kind metropolis: "If Ireland rises, may she be crushed! Only John Bull declares that his heart will cry while his hand punishes . . . Excellent father!"[71] In the end, these were "the fatal needs of a great empire," one where John Bull "rides ferociously through Ireland, . . . drowning in sweetness, eyes full of tears and blood dripping from his bayonet."[72]

Addressing British imperialism negatively because of the oppression in Ireland, Queirós distinguished the many intricacies of the Irish Question. Reis apprehended the problem a bit differently. His harshness towards the British Empire emerged as a consequence of the 1890 ultimatum and derived from the very nature of the situation in Ireland in the late 1880s and 1890s, a period of increased repression. For Reis, the continued defeat of Irish Home Rule was a thing of tyrants and lunatics, which explained why, on the day of voting on the bill for Home Rule, a Lord, who was interned at an asylum for mentally ill people, had been brought to the House of Peers to vote. Reis underlined the fundamentalism that brought a mentally incapable Peer to Parliament, writing that British newspapers made allusion to that occurrence by saying that "to vote against an insane measure [Irish Home Rule], written and promoted by a fanatic [Gladstone], you did not need more."[73] That is,

Home Rule for Ireland was seen as such an insane prospect that even insane politicians could vote against it. Because of overall mutiny in Ireland, the British government was under pressure to implement legislation to safeguard the collection of rents owed to the landlords who were, in turn, pressed by Dublin Castle to stay evictions. Simultaneously, Salisbury's politically ambitious nephew, Arthur Balfour, replaced Hicks Beach as Secretary General for Ireland. "Bloody" Balfour, as he became known, presented Parliament a Criminal Law Amendment Bill, approved in 1887 as the Criminal Law and Procedure Act. The Act contemplated heavier penalties in cases of boycott, resistance to eviction, intimidation, and conspiracy. Balfour and Salisbury defended the implementation of these stricter measures because "Ireland was the test case, before the eyes of the world, of British competence to govern."[74] If London was unable to rule Ireland, it was unfit to administer the Empire.

Reis concentrated his attention on the fact that England and its Parliament were hateful because they did not care to legislate in favor of an oppressed people. Whereas Queirós had been disillusioned with Gladstone, Reis resurrected that prime minister's image as the champion of just causes. To seek readers' empathy, Reis inserted a scene in his article of July 10, 1893, featuring a warrior-like Gladstone, who, due to his defense of the rights of the Irish, was vehemently antagonized in Parliament. Tired and old, Gladstone was verbally abused by MPs who showed no respect for his opinions. As Reis wrote:

> In last evening's session–around midnight, Gladstone[,] weakened by a work he had started at 8 a.m., was delivering a speech in the House of Commons, stopping at times, hesitating a little, under the weight of his extraordinary 80 years of age. Meantime . . . , next to him, a group of the so-called *respectable English gentlemen* was interrupting the word of the great minister with laughter and invectives.[75]

The message for the reader was clear. The only person defending Home Rule was a phenomenal politician, exhausted by old age, whom nobody wanted to hear. Conversely, Salisbury stood for the paradigm of the Irish oppressor, and Reis, again interested in calling on readers to share in his perspective, wrote:

> The illustrious statesman Salisbury regretted a few days ago . . . that *Ireland could not be drowned* in the bottom of the sea. To him, all current questions arise from the fact that Ireland is a country that England has not yet fully conquered—that is, reduced by force. Thus, for Lord Salisbury, the Irish are, still today, *foreigners*, and it is as conquered foreigners that he treats them.[76]

In his English Review series, Reis described a battle between Gladstone and Salisbury, one the fighter for Home Rule, the other an ogre trampling

over the Irish and no better than his obstructionist nephew, who, according to Reis had declared he would interpose so many amendments to the law that the government would be forced to withdraw it after years of fruitless discussion.[77] Before the new Gladstonian attempts to bring Home Rule to Ireland, what Reis was implying was that under no circumstances would autocratic, imperialist Britain let go of the colony. It was, as shown by history, an imperial question that always stood behind the reluctance to confer some degree of autonomy to Ireland. As such, "men like Chamberlain persuaded themselves that to allow Ireland to have its own parliament—as it had before 1800, and as the other white colonies already had—would somehow undermine the integrity of the Empire as a whole. This, above all other reasons, was why Gladstone's attempts to grant Ireland Home Rule failed."[78] In September 1893, the discussion of the project for Irish Home Rule met its epilogue when it was finally, and overwhelmingly, defeated in the House of Lords.

Conclusion

Analyzing how these two Portuguese literary journalists interpreted the Irish Question reveals that both used it to draw a very negative image of British imperialism. For them, England was a fearsome, imperialist power subduing other weaker nations, including Portugal, in order to attain its expansionist objectives. Self-entitled as a democratic country, it was a hypocritical nation, not much distinct from tsarist Russia. However, if Queirós was able to read through the complex web of all the problems afflicting Ireland, Reis opted for a univocal vision, much conditioned by a change in historical moment: Portugal's African possessions were encroached by British territorial claims and the humanitarian problems in Ireland were ever more pressing. In his articles, Reis showed a single side of the Irish Question that was centered in the rapacity of Britain.

Through an early form of literary journalism, much influenced by the "new" journalism they read in the British press and written as *crónica*, it was possible for Queirós and Reis to show the Portuguese voice of discontent at the atrocities committed against the oppressed Irish people and to present that as an example of what a developed, civilized, democratic nation was willing to do to enlarge and secure its formidable Empire. Their *crónicas*, that variety of literary journalism existing in the Portuguese and Spanish languages, are not only a Portuguese contribution that helps shape an image of a period in history characterized by formal imperialism and the rise of the British Empire, they also show that a form of literary journalism that scholars identify as a late nineteenth-century occurrence that provided the root of its modern form was apparent in work produced by Portuguese writers. The Irish Ques-

tion as apprehended by Queirós and Reis has a two-fold importance. On one hand, it allows a vision of British imperialism outside the frontiers of the English language as it unfolded contemporaneously. On the other hand, it is a testimony of Portuguese literary journalism in the nineteenth century, thus confirming the international stature of the genre, even at that early stage, while also showing that this specific journalistic genre is one that has always been permeated with "empathy"[79] and awareness of social issues.

Isabel Soares holds a PhD in Anglo-Portuguese studies and is associate professor at Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas, Universidade de Lisboa (Portugal), where she coordinates the Language School and serves as vice-dean. She was a founding member of the International Association for Literary Journalism Studies and its president between 2016 and 2018. She is a research fellow at the Centre for Public Administration and Policies (CAPP) and the African Studies Centre. Her research areas include literary journalism, cultural and language studies, and imperialism.

Notes

[1] Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire,* 56–57.

[2] Darwin, *Empire Project*, 1.

[3] Cuartero, "Periodismo Narrativo," 703.

[4] The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies defines literary journalism as "journalism that is literature," also going by the names of "literary reportage, narrative journalism, creative non-fiction, the New Journalism, *Jornalismo Literário*, *el periodismo literario*, Bao Gao Wen Xue, literary non-fiction, and narrative non-fiction." IALJS, "Our Mission."

[5] Soares, "Literary Journalism on War and Imperialism," 2:111–24; Soares, "John Bull Scrambling for Africa," 137–50; Griffiths, "Literary Journalism and Empire," 60–81.

[6] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 11.

[7] Darwin, *Unfinished Empire*, 6.

[8] See Sanderson, "The European Partition of Africa," 1, and Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa.*

[9] Portugal sought international arbitration for a dispute maintained with King Léopold of the Belgians over possessions on the mouth of the Congo River. The Berlin Conference of 1884–85 was the response to this call for arbitration and the pivotal moment triggering the Scramble for Africa. The Portuguese representatives at the Conference laid claim to the territories between Angola and Mozambique in a map known as the Rose-Colored Map, because pink was the color used to show the areas under Portuguese interest.

[10] The Portuguese press was a linchpin in the anti-British campaign. Among its many suggestions to cut connections with Britain were to expurgate Portuguese vocabulary of Anglicisms and change the denomination of the British currency from pound to thief (e.g., *Pontos nos ii*, January 13, 1890). Accessed February 11, 2020, http://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/OBRAS/PONTOSNOSII/1890/1890.htm.

[11] In the late nineteenth century, as today, the distinctions between England and Britain, English and British, were enmeshed in complexities best described by Taylor:

> "As the largest component of Britain, especially in population and wealth, England, in many foreign languages and in English itself, is commonly taken to mean the whole of Britain. . . .
>
> The result of this . . . is a confusing mixture of national identities. . . . for instance, Scottish identity exists alongside British identity; a person may call themselves 'Scottish and British'. But the equivalent phrase 'English and British' has no meaning since, for the English, to be English is to be British . . . This has been called a fused identity and provides the cultural underpinning of the English presumption." Taylor, "Which Britain? Which England? Which North?" 130–31.

[12] As late as 1890, illiteracy rates in Portugal still amounted to 79.2 percent. Medina, *Reler Eça de Queiroz*, 17.

[13] Among the most renowned Portuguese explorers of Africa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century are Serpa Pinto (1846–1900), Hermenegildo Capelo

(1841–1917), and Roberto Ivens (1850–98). In 1877 they headed the first major expedition to explore the basins of the rivers Zaire and Zambeze but because of differences of opinion, the party split with Pinto following one course and Capelo and Ivens another. More expeditions were undertaken in the aftermath of the Berlin Conference. The report of Serpa Pinto's expeditions was published in 1881 under the title *Como Eu Atravessei África* [*How I Crossed Africa*]. Capelo and Ivens wrote their travel accounts in two books: *De Angola às Terras de Iaca* [From Angola to the lands of Iaca], published in 1881 regarding their first voyage of 1877, and *De Angola à Contracosta* [From Angola to the Countercoast], published in 1886 about the cartographic expedition they led between 1884 and 1885.

[14] Beira is a province in the north of Portugal.

[15] Queirós and Ortigão, *As Farpas*, 115 (Unless otherwise specified, translations from Portuguese texts are mine).

[16] Quental, *Causas da Decadência*, 51.

[17] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 182.

[18] Queirós, *Os Maias*, 135.

[19] Baylen, "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago," 418.

[20] For Stead's *Maiden Tribute* articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, go to https://attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/mt1.php.

[21] Frus, *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative*, 41.

[22] Matthew Arnold (1822–88) was an Oxford professor, literary critic, and poet credited with having coined the phrase "new journalism" in 1887 to refer to the groundbreaking investigative and vivid journalism practiced by W. T. Stead and other journalists of the late Victorian Era. Despite earlier regular contributions to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, when W. T. Stead took the helm of the periodical, Arnold was critical of the "new" kind of journalism introduced by Stead, to the point of calling it "featherbrained." Arnold, "Up to Easter," para. 21.

[23] Kerrane, "Making Facts Dance," 17. The expression, however, stuck and the late nineteenth century precursor of the New Journalism of the 1960s, in particular, and of literary journalism, in general, is also commonly called New Journalism with the necessary historical contextualization. We have debated this elsewhere and, for clarity, use the term, "new journalism," in quotation marks, to refer to the nineteenth century early literary journalism. See Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118.

[24] In *The New Journalism*, Wolfe presents a characterization and describes the emergence of the U.S. New Journalism of the 1960s, of which he was a practitioner, a pioneer, and a pivotal influence on other journalists. However, he was the first to confess that the expression "New Journalism" was not the most apt: "To tell the truth, I've never even liked the term. Any movement, group, party, program, philosophy or theory that goes under a name with 'New' in it is just begging for trouble." Wolfe, *The New Journalism*, 23.

[25] Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 1.

[26] Focusing on the role performed by the literary journalist as opposed to the factual journalist, Kerrane explains that, in literary journalism, "the eye of the writer

is an omnipresent lens, no more and no less intrusive than the mind behind it. The literary journalist enjoys greater freedom in researching a story and greater flexibility in telling it, . . . to take us beneath the surface and into the psyche, either a character's or the writer's own." Kerrane, "Making Facts Dance," 20.

[27] Frus, *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative*, 32.

[28] Queirós, *Cartas de Inglaterra e Crónicas de Londres* [Letters from England and *Crónicas* from London].

[29] Reis, *Revista Inglesa: Crónicas*.

[30] *A Província*, January 17, 1890. In her study *Apocalipse e Regeneração* [Apocalipse and Regeneration], Teresa Pinto Coelho analyzed the negative image with which the Portuguese press depicted Britain at the time of the Ultimatum on Portugal. From the analysis, she concluded that "perfidious Albion" was an epithet used to characterize Britain and its imperial rapacity. Coelho, *Apocalipse*, 75–99.

[31] Queirós, "Lord Beaconsfield," 122 (translated by Aiken and Stevens).

[32] See Soares, "Literary Journalism on War and Imperialism," 2:111–24.

[33] Historically, the occupation of Egypt was "the real trigger for the African Scramble" because it led to other annexations meant to secure Egypt and the Suez route to India. See Ferguson, *Empire*, 233.

[34] Kipling, "White Man's Burden."

[35] Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*.

[36] See Griffiths, "Literary Journalism and Empire," 60–81.

[37] Porter, *The Lion's Share*, 135.

[38] Queirós, *Cartas de Inglaterra*, 210.

[39] Queirós, 210.

[40] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 82.

[41] Cohen explains the marginal position of Ireland in relation to the rest of the British Isles, thus: "The Celtic fringe . . . is a familiar but inexplicit internal boundary. For the English, the boundary is marked by irresolution, uncertainty, incongruity, derogation or humour. 'Humour' . . . is still directed against the 'dumb Irishman,' derogation is still aimed at the Welsh though, in the case of the Scots, ethnic humour has been in rapid decline . . . ." Cohen, *Frontiers of Identity*, 12.

[42] During the nineteenth century the concept of English ethnicity was reshaped and the concept of a "Saxon race" replaced by the notion of Anglo-Saxonism. That is, "[w]ith the rise of modern nationalisms, the English as a Saxon race were replaced by the English as an Anglo-Saxon race. . . .

'Anglo-Saxon' was sometimes used to mean 'Saxon', as opposed to 'Celt.' "

Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity*, 181.

[43] Robert Cecil Salisbury, speech at Conservative meeting, May 15, 1886, as quoted in Welsh, *The Four Nations,* 310. The endnote (25) that follows on page 311 cites "A. Roberts, op cit., p. 384," 432n25. No earlier citation for A. Roberts was found in Welsh's endnotes. The Welsh bibliography, 437–78, lists only "C. Roberts, *Schemes & Undertakings* (Columbus, 1985)," 450; cf:*: Schemes & Undertakings: A Study of English Politics in the Seventeenth Century* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985). This latter source ends on 333, with no mention found

of Salisbury's 1886 speech. For further background on Salisbury's speech, see J. L. Hammond's cite of Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Salisbury*, vol. 2, 302, in *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (London: Longmans Green 1938), 468–69.

[44] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 128.

[45] As an answer to the island's chronic instability, the British government divided Ireland in parcels of land given to English and Scottish tenants. This policy was a strategy to create a bulwark against any possible invasion from Catholic France. Ferguson, *Empire*, 55.

[46] Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 327.

[47] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 126.

[48] Queirós, 547.

[49] Queirós, 127.

[50] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 56 (italics in original).

[51] Reis, 145.

[52] Reis, 145.

[53] The British press and government accused the Portuguese of being interested in human trafficking, denigrating them as a breed of "half-caste traders." Behind the accusations were Cecil Rhodes's pejorative assertions against the Portuguese, an obstacle to the expansion of his British South African Company in Gungunyana's territories. The Portuguese were accused of selling alcohol to the natives "with the deliberate intention of weakening their resistance." Nutting, *Scramble for Africa*, 237.

[54] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 127.

[55] Sensationalism in literary journalism does not correspond to sensationalist journalism, being rather a different form of "objectification." Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 133. In the nineteenth century, sensationalism was a response to the disillusionment caused by the abuses of objectivity in journalism. Frus, *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative*, 106.

[56] Queirós, *A Emigração Como Força Civilizadora*, 65–66 (italics in original).

[57] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 133.

[58] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 129 (italics in original).

[59] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 151 (italics in original).

[60] Reis, 151.

[61] Porter, *The Lion's Share*, 106.

[62] Queirós, "Ireland, Its Miseries, Crimes, Secret Associations, Hopes and Customs," 1880; "Ireland and the Land League," 1881. Both articles are compiled in the critical edition of the articles Queirós wrote for *Gazeta de Notícias*: Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 77–85 and 125–36, respectively.

[63] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, in "Ireland, Its Miseries, Crimes, Secret Associations, Hopes and Customs," 1880, 81 (italics in original).

[64] Ensor, *England*, 57.

[65] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 83.

[66] Wilson, *The Victorians*, 460.

[67] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 128.

[68] Queirós, 83.
[69] Gladstone, "Our Colonies," 368–69.
[70] JanMohamed, "The Economy of Manichean Allegory," 81.
[71] Queirós, *Textos de Imprensa*, 85.
[72] Queirós, 85.
[73] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 152–53.
[74] Wilson, *The Victorians*, 531.
[75] Reis, *Revista Inglesa*, 127–28 (italics in original).
[76] Reis, 131–32 (italics in original).
[77] Reis, 127.
[78] Ferguson, *Empire*, 253.
[79] Sue Joseph stresses that empathy is the "key to clever and evocative nonfiction writing," one form of which is literary journalism. Joseph, *Behind the Text,* xvii.

Bibliography

Arnold, Matthew. "Up to Easter." *Nineteenth Century*, no. 123 (May 1887), 638–39. W. T. Stead Resource Site. Accessed February 21, 2020. https://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/related/easter.php.

Baylen, Joseph O. "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893–1894." *Journal of American History* 51, no. 3 (1964): 418–34.

Capelo, Hermenegildo, and Roberto Ivens. *De Angola às Terras de Iaca* [*From Angola to the lands of Iaca*]. Vol. 1. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881.

———, and Roberto Ivens. *De Angola à Contracosta* [*From Angola to the Countercoast*]. Vol. 2. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886.

Chamberlain, Muriel E. *The Scramble for Africa*. 3rd ed. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

Coelho, Teresa Pinto. *Apocalypse e Regeneração: o Ultimatum e a Mitologia da Pátria na Literatura Finissecular.* Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1996.

Cohen, Robin. *Frontiers of Identity: The British and the Others*. Longman Sociology Series. London and New York: Longman, 1994.

Colley, Linda. "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument." *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (October 1992): 309–29.

Cuartero Naranjo, Antonio. "Periodismo Narrativo (2008–2016): Una Nueva Generación de Autores Españoles." PhD thesis, University of Malaga, 2017.

Darwin, John. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

———. *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2012.

Ensor, Robert C. K. *England, 1870–1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963. First published 1936.

Ferguson, Niall. *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*. London and New York: Penguin, 2004. First published 2003 by Allen Lane (London).

Frus, Phyllis. *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the*

Timeless. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
Gladstone, William Ewart. "Our Colonies (1855)." In *Imperialism and Orientalism: A Documentary Sourcebook*, edited by Barbara Harlow and Mia Carter, 363–78. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999.
Griffiths, Andrew. "Literary Journalism and Empire: George Warrington Steevens in Africa, 1898–1900." *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 60–81.
Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.
Hobsbawm, Eric J. *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.
IALJS. "Our Mission." The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies. Accessed July 7, 2017. http://ialjs.org/about-us/.
JanMohamed, Abdul R. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature." In *'Race,' Writing and Difference*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., 78–106. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
Joseph, Sue. *Behind the Text: Candid Conversations with Australian Creative Nonfiction Writers*. Melbourne: Hybrid Publishers, 2016.
Kerrane, Kevin. "Making Facts Dance." In *The Art of Fact: A Historical Anthology of Literary Journalism*, edited by Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, 17–20. New York: Touchstone, 1998. First published 1997, Simon & Schuster (New York).
Kipling, Rudyard. "The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands, 1899." In *Rudyard Kipling: The Complete Verse*, 261–62. London: Kyle Cathie, 1990. First published February 1899, *McClure's Magazine* (New York).
Medina, João. *Reler Eça de Queiroz: Das Farpas aos Maias*. Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2000.
Nutting, Anthony. *Scramble for Africa: The Great Trek to the Boer War*. London: Constable, 1970.
Pinto, Serpa. *Como Eu Atravessei a África*. 2 vols. Mem Martins: Publicações Europa-América, 1998. First published 1881 by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, 3 Rivington (London).
Porter, Bernard. *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–1995*. 3rd ed. Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1996. First published 1975.
Queirós, Eça de. "Lord Beaconsfield [1881]." In *Eça's English Letters: Written by Eça de Queirós, Portuguese Consul in England, 1874–1888*, edited by Alison Aiken, translated by Alison Aiken and Ann Stevens, 111–29. Manchester: Carcanet, 2000.
———. *Os Maias: Episódios da Vida Romântica*. Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 1888.
———. *Cartas de Inglaterra e Crónicas de Londres*. Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 2001.
———. *A Emigração Como Força Civilizadora*. Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 2001.
———. *Textos de Imprensa IV (da 'Gazeta de Notícias')*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2002.
———, and Ramalho Ortigão. *As Farpas: Crónica Mensal da Política, das Letras e dos Costumes*. 2nd ed. Cascais: Principia, 2004.

Quental, Antero de. *Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares nos Últimos Três Séculos*. Lisbon: Guimarães Editores, 2001.

Reis, Jaime. *Revista Inglesa: Crónicas*. Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote/Biblioteca Nacional, 1988.

Sanderson, G. N. "The European Partition of Africa: Coincidence or Conjuncture?" *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 3 (1974–1975): 1–54.

Soares, Isabel. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's 'New' Journalism and the Portuguese at the *Fin-de-Siècle."* In *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*, edited by John S. Bak and Bill Reynolds, 118-33. Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

———. "Literary Journalism on War and Imperialism: The British Annexation of Egypt Viewed by Portuguese Eça de Queirós." In *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination*, edited by Richard Lance Keeble and John Tulloch, 111–24. Vol. 2. New York: Peter Lang, 2014.

———. "John Bull Scrambling for Africa: A Portrait of the English at the Heyday of Empire." In *Profile Pieces: Journalism and the "Human Interest" Bias*, edited by Sue Joseph and Richard Lance Keeble, 137–50. New York and London: Routledge, 2016.

Stead, W. T. "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon I: The Report of Our Secret Commission." *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 6, 1885. W. T. Stead Resource Site. Accessed February 21, 2020. https://attackingthedevil.co.uk/pmg/tribute/mt1.php.

Stanley, Henry Morton. *In Darkest Africa, or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria*. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner, 1891.

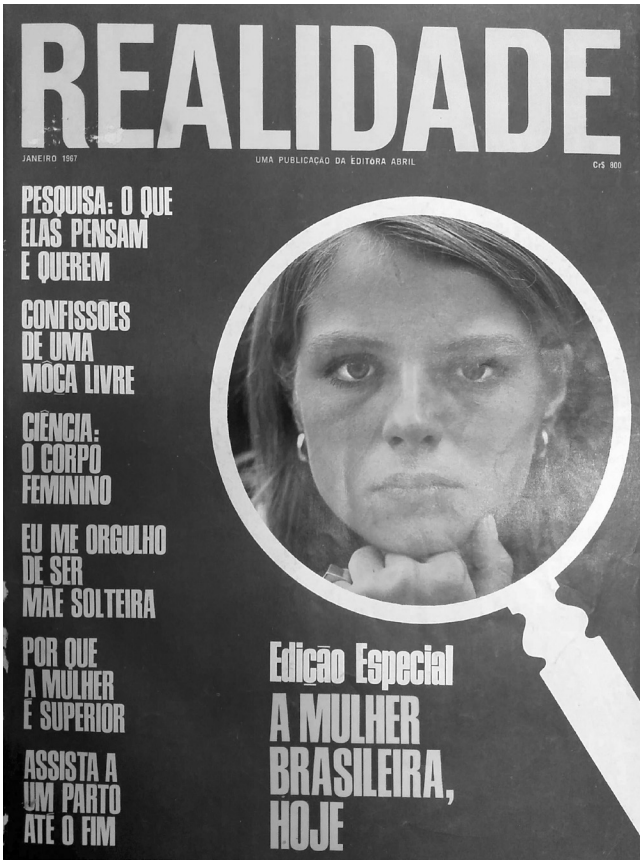
Taylor, Peter J. "Which Britain? Which England? Which North?" In *British Cultural Studies: Geography, Nationality, and Identity*, edited by David Morley and Kevin Robins, 127–44. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Young, Robert J. C. *The Idea of English Ethnicity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008.

Welsh, Frank. *The Four Nations: A History of the United Kingdom*. London: HarperCollins, 2002.

Wilson, A. N. *The Victorians*. London and Sydney: Arrow Books, 2003.

Wolfe, Tom. *The New Journalism*: W*ith an Anthology*, edited by Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson. New York and London: Harper & Row, 1973.



Above: Cover of *Realidade* magazine, January 1967, special edition on women, confiscated by the military government. Below: *Cláudia* magazine, launched in 1961.

Gender, Women, and Literary Journalism Studies: A Brazilian Perspective

Monica Martinez
University of Sorocaba, Brazil

Abstract: This study discusses gender, particularly from within the field of women's studies, from the perspective of Brazilian literary journalism studies. It traces the origins of the literary journalism field in the country, especially under Portuguese and French influences. It also suggests the paradox of a large scientific community like the Brazilian not having an expressive voice in the scenario of global journalism research because of factors that include a language bottleneck. The analysis points to the presence of pioneer Brazilian female journalists and journalism researchers, who, for ideological and/or cultural reasons, were ignored or ostracized by historiographies. It also discusses the pillars of Brazilian literary journalism through the viewpoint of gender, arguing that, based on recent studies, there is a need to conduct more in-depth research to establish the relations of literary journalism and gender based on the approaches of other fields of knowledge, namely, anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

Keywords: literary journalism – Brazilian literary journalism – gender – women's studies – life stories

Sempre chega a hora em que descobrimos
que sabíamos muito mais do que antes julgávamos.

(The time comes when we find out
we knew much more than we had thought before.)
— José Saramago (1922–2010),
Portuguese writer, *Ensaios sobre a Lucidez*

Eu quase que nada não sei. Mas desconfio de muita coisa.

(I almost do not know anything. But I suspect a lot.)
— Guimarães Rosa (1908–1967),
Brazilian writer, *Grande Sertão Veredas*

All over the world, historians have worked hard to establish the diverse histories of literary journalism.[1] The situation is not different in Brazil, where some researchers, such as Edvaldo Pereira Lima,[2] have been devoting themselves since the 1990s to consolidate the foundations of this field of study, which John S. Bak argues is consistent enough to be considered a discipline, that is, a field of study with international recognition and institutional support from university administrators, scholars, associations and learned societies, governmental and private funding agencies, as well as journals and publishing houses.[3] Before moving ahead with the argument that gender relations is a pivotal issue to Brazilian literary journalism studies, there are three brief points of discussion that are needed to help clarify the foundations of the field in Brazil.

The first point is related to the late start of the press in Brazil in relation to that of the press in the Spanish colonies in Latin America. From the start, the Brazilian press was inspired, as was the Portuguese, by the British and French press.[4] However, printing presses were authorized for import to the then-Portuguese colony only in 1808, when the Lusitanian court arrived, successfully fleeing from the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal.[5] The delay in the availability of printing presses, in contrast with the Spanish colonies, also affected the establishment of the schools of journalism. The first, Faculdade Casper Líbero in São Paulo, dates back to only 1947. The strong French influence on the press was also reflected in academia itself. Since its founding in 1934, the University of São Paulo was home to a group of French intellectuals from different disciplines, such as French anthropologist and ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) and sociologist and anthropologist Roger Bastide (1898–1974). This European influence began to wane with the advent of World War II, when the United States gradually increased its economic and

cultural presence in Brazil, especially via its media and cultural industries.[6]

The second point is related to the consequences of the late start of journalism research in Brazil. Some national researchers see the 1963 founding of Instituto de Ciências da Informação (Institute of Information Sciences), or Inciform, by the journalist and professor Luiz Beltrão (1918–1986), as the watershed in the history of theoretical research in Brazilian journalism.[7] The first research project at the country's first journalism school, Faculdade Casper Líbero, was a comparative study of five weekly magazines—Brazil's *Manchete* and the international publications, *Paris Match*, *l´Europe*, *Stern*, and *Life*. Directed by José Marques de Melo and published in 1968, the study reflects the influence of the emerging influences of mass communication theory and its methodological approaches on journalism studies that were coming out of the United States and Canada.[8]

However, research in journalism as a field began consistently in Brazil only in the early 1970s, after several small steps. There was an earlier, innovative research proposal submitted in 1964 through the University of Brasília's embryonic Faculty of Mass Communication, but it was aborted when a U.S.–backed military government was installed in April of the same year. The University of São Paulo's School of Communications and Arts, which was founded in 1967, offered the first master's program, the Sciences of Communication Graduate Program, in 1972. The first doctoral thesis in journalism—about the sociocultural factors that delayed the establishment of the press in Brazil, which, as mentioned, occurred only in 1808—was presented in 1973.[9]

The 1964 coup d'état disrupted the consolidation of the Faculty of Mass Communication at University of Brasília and constrained the activities of the faculty of the School of Communications and Arts at the University of São Paulo. It also cooled acceptance of the U.S.-based mass communication theory and methods approach to communication research and journalism studies because of ideology: the support the United States gave to the local military government. One of the results was that it swayed Brazilian scholars to look once again to French and other European and Latin American intelligentsia for inspiration and methodology. The military dictatorship lasted until 1985 and greatly affected the nature of scholarship over that two-decade span. Most of the nation's first scholars in journalism studies were directed in their master's theses and doctoral dissertations by literature professors, not journalism professors. As such, the research conducted during this period reflected the Frankfurt School and its theoretical approaches. It was a scholarly way to resist the non-democratically imposed regime and, especially, Brazilian conglomerate media. The scholars' antagonism toward U.S. imperialistic

policy led to a politically biased attitude against U.S. methodological approaches in this field, in particular, its mass media quantitative, empirical, and functionalist approaches.[10]

There was also a receptivity to the theoretical and methodological approaches proposed by Russian and German thinkers, especially in the field of semiotics.[11] This openness extended to Latin American researchers as well, who, moving away from U.S. perspectives on mass media research, conducted studies from the perspective of local problems. The researchers were focused on local social transformation, stressing the use of specific methodologies, such as ethnography[12] and participant observation, to collect data about audiences and media practices.[13] This can be seen in the works of Argentinian anthropologist Néstor García Canclini[14] and Colombian philosopher and anthropologist Jesús Martín-Barbero,[15] who focused on understanding popular movements and media participation in the construction of the citizenship process. The result was the emergence of solid Brazilian research labs devoted to the study of community media, among other forms.

This background is important for bringing to light the invisible roots of literary journalism studies in Brazil. In the 1990s, there was a timid and non-continuous effort on the part of Brazilian researchers to establish solid collaborations with international research teams. Most of the studies conducted in Brazil tended to focus on the disciplinary frontiers when analyzing pieces—is it journalism or literature?—not on the notion of journalism *as* literature as proposed by the IALJS.

The Language Bottleneck: Portuguese

The Portuguese poet Luís Vaz de Camões (1524–1580), author of the epic *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiad*), probably represents for the Portuguese language what the English bard William Shakespeare (1564–1616) signifies for English. Actual ranking depends on the source used but, in general, Portuguese is considered one of the ten most spoken languages in the world. The so-called lusophone world is present in Europe, Africa, South America, and Southeast Asia. Figures may vary according to the source, but Portuguese is spoken daily by approximately 250 million up to 279 million people, considering the Portuguese-speaking, world-wide diaspora.[16] The last Brazilian census records some 210,147,125 people.[17] Therefore an estimated three out of every four speakers are from Brazil. Portuguese is the official language not only in Portugal and Brazil, but also in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor.

Despite the importance of the Portuguese language in the world, this special issue on Portuguese literary journalism is being produced in English,

because it is the current academic *lingua franca*. This synthesizes the challenge to the lusophone community of researchers in the field, shared by many other countries: the language barrier. It is a complex topic, for it is not only a matter of *corpora*, of costs to get quality translations, but essentially of mindsets, that is, theoretical and methodological differences in approaches.

One of the positive aspects of the shared Portuguese language is the common link it provides between the Brazilian and the larger, world-wide Portuguese academic communities of researchers,[18] for they have never ceased their interaction and influence. Brazil and Portugal might be described as two nations divided by the same language, as British and American English speakers are, meaning they have their own language identity, despite the Portuguese New Orthographic Agreement that came into effect in 2009, which rules the standardization of the spelling of words among Portuguese-speaking countries. However, perhaps because Brazil's gaining its independence in 1822 was, according to some contemporary historians,[19] more a father and son issue rather than a bloody revolution as happened in some Spanish colonies, the relationship between the two countries has been, to some extent, cordial since the return of the royal court to Portugal in 1821. This is reflected in the strong tradition of research collaboration between Portuguese and Brazilian scholars.

This common ground and the fact that the Portuguese—together with the African and Native Peoples—formed the first three pillars of Brazilian culture have enabled Brazil and Portugal to have a close relationship. Because of the familiarity with culture and language, a substantially large number of Brazilian researchers have done their post-doctoral studies in Portugal. However, publishing Portuguese and Brazilian researchers' work in Portuguese is a disadvantage for academics of both nationalities because it is then seldom read in anglophone and Spanish-speaking countries.

While a mother tongue unifies Brazilians throughout the nation's vast 8,515,767.049 square kilometers, an expanse which makes Brazil the largest country in the Southern Hemisphere and the fifth largest in the world,[20] it also divides and even isolates Brazilian citizens on two separate fronts.

The first front concerns Brazil's ten neighbors, which include seven Spanish-speaking countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Because of its rich and varied phonetics, the Portuguese language is nearly unintelligible to hispanophones, while most Portuguese speakers can understand Spanish reasonably well.[21] Communication among South American nations has thus become essentially unilateral, even though Brazil's 207 million people account for nearly half of the continent's entire population.[22] To speak and to compete on an international stage, Brazil is be-

ing forced to adopt a foreign language, and, like many rising world powers, it has chosen English.

The second front, however, deals precisely with the nation's newly adopted *lingua franca*. Like its four BRICS companions (Russia, India, China, South Africa), Brazil has historically had a checkered past with the English language. But unlike India, for example, where English is one of the country's eighteen official languages, Brazil continues to struggle to even accept English on a national level. On the one hand, the country today boasts of educating one of the largest numbers of nonnative English students in the world. A survey conducted in 2011 by Anísio Teixeira Research and the Studies for Education Institute (INEP) estimates that fifty-seven million students attending primary and secondary public educational systems in Brazil are learning English. However, because the teaching of English in Brazilian public schools is not standardized, it is difficult to implement evaluation processes at the national level.[23] As a result, each Brazilian's knowledge of English is in direct relation to his or her educational opportunities, meaning that, in Brazil, only 5.1 percent of the population aged sixteen and over can claim to have some actual knowledge of the English language.[24]

Research has shown that over a period of 108 years (1886–1994), only 165 works of eighty Brazilian authors (see Figure 1) were translated into English, comprising novels, memoirs, diaries, biographies, short stories, poetry, plays, and essays, such as Gilberto Freyre's classic 1933 study of Brazilian culture, *Casa grande e senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves: A Study of the Development of Brazilian Civilization*).[25] Moreover, Melo's analysis includes only one nonfiction work of literary journalism, Euclides da Cunha's seminal reportage of the nation's civil war, *Os sertões*, published in 1902, with the English translation, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, published in 1944. Apart from the peak translation years of the 1980s and 1990s, which coincide with the 1988 publication of Brazilian author Paulo Coelho's international bestseller, *The*

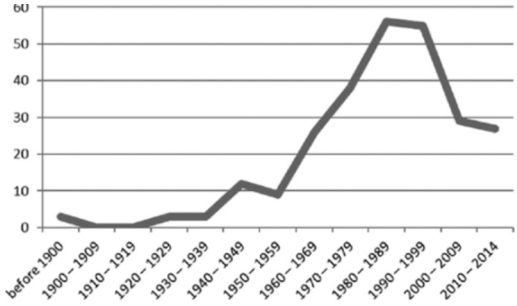


Figure 1: Number of translations of Brazilian books into English, from Melo's 2017 study.[26] The data suggest a growing trend in the translation of Brazilian authors' works, but the total is still a pale representation of the literary journalistic production in the country.

Alchemist, one interesting fact to learn from the line graph is that the number of translations from 2010 through 2014 (twenty-seven) is nearly the same as in the entire previous decade (twenty-nine).

The Methodological Approach

A great many of the discussions in the 2000s on literary journalism in Brazil were about the term itself, suggesting the origins of journalism studies were closely linked to literary studies. Therefore, a consensus is not expected or perhaps even possible to achieve, but the investigation should be open to researchers who want to devote their time to pursue it.[27] Eventually, a more fertile approach would be to envisaging literary journalism as a discipline, that is, a field of study with international and institutional support, that might lead to advancement in and expansion of Brazilian literary journalism studies.[28] Achieving this goal might include the recovery of lost texts for the literary journalism canon. In other words, in order to see the big picture required for fruitful debate of this field in Brazil, it will be necessary to survey researchers working on these projects—as well as to discover the range of academic disciplines in which research on this phenomenon is occurring.

In matters of textual analysis, literary journalism studies in Brazil inherit the methodologies of literary as well as of journalism studies and include discourse analysis, content analysis, and narrative analysis. All three are linked to French traditions, again presenting evidence of the strong bonds that unite both academic communities. Examples are Rogério Borges's study, which uses discourse analysis,[29] and Martinez and Pessoni's screening of the communication field as a whole, which found French researcher Laurence Bardin's—in a Portuguese and not Brazilian translation—to be the most used content analysis approach.[30] These methodological approaches are evidence of the essayistic tradition used in the field, although a slight increase in more empirical-leaning approaches—employing methods such as content analysis, for example—is gaining traction. It may also suggest the ongoing impact on the communication field of the ideological issue, as a consistent portion of its researchers perceive themselves or claim to be related to left-wing parties, therefore following a Latin American tradition of doing politically left-wing-engaged research.

Founders of Brazilian Literary Journalism Studies and Gender Studies

The first corpus of primary texts on which Brazilian literary journalism studies was founded in the 1990s consisted of four bodies of literature:

(1) Theoretical discussions about the nature of literary journalism in its interface with literature,[31] with some works confronting the point, "journalism that is literature"[32];

(2) Panoramic perspectives of the field, establishing its landmarks[33];

(3) Literary journalism pioneers, such as the journalist, short-story writer, and playwright João Paulo Emílio Cristóvão dos Santos Coelho Barreto (1881–1921), known as João do Rio.[34] Above all, studies on Euclides da Cunha, who covered the Canudos's 1897 insurrection for the newspaper *O Estado de S.Paulo*. Cunha used surplus material (mostly the reports not printed by the daily) to write *Os Sertões*,[35] which was published in Portuguese, in 1902, then translated and published in English as *Rebellion in the Backlands* in 1944.[36]

(4) Studies about historic publications, such as *Revista Realidade*,[37] still considered the Brazilian *New Yorker*, particularly the 1966–68 period, known as its golden years, that is, immediately before the military dictatorship issued AI5, the decree that suspended the constitutional guarantees and resulted in the institutionalization of torture as a state tool, including the torture of journalists.

The literature that provides this brief background of the founding of the field has two specific characteristics in the Brazilian case. First, most references used in past studies are from books. As a result, more recent studies published in academic journals are sometimes left out of scholarly research. This is slowly changing as a result of the internationalization process taking place in graduate program policies instituted by Brazilian governmental agencies such as Capes (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior). Capes is linked to the Brazilian Ministry of Education, which regulates private, community, and government universities; and under these several influences, scholars are increasingly becoming aware of the need to include the more current research that is available in scholarly journals.

A second characteristic is that the history of literary journalism in Brazil is narrated predominantly by male voices. This suggests inequality of gender and a possible gender bias in this history. There is substantial evidence that women had an important presence in nineteenth-century Brazilian journalism. They wrote for newspapers and magazines and belonged to diverse fields of knowledge, social classes, and regions. One of the reasons for the creation of journals during this period was the struggle for the right to female education, for access to male-dominated professions and, later, to win the right to vote. Nevertheless, ignored by journalistic and literary historiographies, most of these pioneers—especially free-spirited women who were fighting for gender rights and divorce causes—have been condemned to oblivion.[38] Buitoni stresses in her seminal work that until the mid-twentieth century, journalism by women could be reduced to the three Cs: *casa*, *cozinha*, *coração* (home,

kitchen, heart).[39] The ideological and cultural connotations of the three Cs indicated the limits of the private spheres of life.

From the 1950s on, university-educated female journalists started their careers in Brazilian newsrooms, following the flux of sociopolitical and economic changes, including the processes of urbanization and technical modernization of the press. Nonetheless, the modest move was not yet a conscious movement towards gender equality. Ramos notes that when she started to work in a newspaper in 1952, there were no more than thirty female journalists active in the São Paulo press, most of them working for stereotypical feminine magazines, writing social columns or soft stories.[40] Until the 1970s, Brazilian journalism was far from being considered a suitable environment for "good girls," due to the bohemian atmosphere around it,[41] including foul language—insults, regardless of the gender of the reporter, were cried out through the newsrooms when someone did something the editor considered foolish.[42] However, the harsh environment did not stop pioneers like Carmen da Silva, who, in 1963, at *Cláudia*, the first women's magazine of Abril Publishers, was assigned the column, The Art of Being a Woman (a title she hated). She made it a resounding success, talking about relationships, female orgasm, and abuse of male authority, among other taboo topics.[43]

Revista *Realidade*'s Special Edition

Only four years later, the flowering of sociocultural advancements in Brazil was clearly stopped. Revista *Realidade*'s special edition on women, *A mulher brasileira, hoje* (Brazilian women today), published in January 1967, was confiscated upon arrival in newsstands by the military government on the grounds that its content was not appropriate (See frontispiece photo). If this magazine's coverlines were analyzed now, a half century later, they might be considered naïve. The first issue, "Pesquisa: o que elas pensam e querem" (Survey: what women think and want), and second, "Confissões de uma moça livre" (Confessions of a free young lady), suggest an approach towards sex that conservative military society would have considered offensive. The third issue's coverlines, "Ciência: o corpo feminine" (Science: the feminine body), and fourth, "Eu me orgulho de ser mãe solteira" (I am proud to be a single mother), would also break a taboo. In the 1960s, Brazilian society in general—and particularly the middle class, the social group targeted by the magazine—was conservative and would not consider the idea of extramarital offspring appropriate. The fifth coverline, "Por que a mulher é superior" (Why women are superior), suggested that being able to give birth makes women naturally superior to men. All of the other coverlines suggest reports related to women's rights claims, that is, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

movements focused on legal issues, such as the power to decide what to do with one's own body.[44] Finally, the sixth coverline, "Assista a um parto até o fim" (Watch a birth from start to finish), goes back to the biological/scientific explanation of the body viewed as in opposition to the religious perspective, that the woman's body and consequent behavior were supposed to be chaste and, therefore, kept within private spaces and spouse's eyes.[45] This set of coverlines evidences the sociocultural, regressive tidal wave Brazilian literary journalism faced in the 1960s, as compared with previous years in Brazil and the United States, where topics such as women's rights, birth control, and sex were being openly discussed in journalistic publications. Even today, in 2020, despite cultural production related to major cultural events such as Carnival,[46] Brazilian social customs are more conservative than the images of the country usually represented abroad.

This Marlboro land of men found in newsrooms is somehow reproduced in journalism studies, where male scholars are cited in historical studies as founding fathers of the field.[47] The founding mothers are usually excluded. Again, the omission reflects the relative invisibility of female researchers such as Adísia Sá, Cremilda Medina, Lucia Santaella, Sonia Virgínia Moreira, and Zélia Leal Adguirni, despite the important output of their work.[48] An in-depth review of the role of female scholars in journalism studies, including in literary journalism, is still to be conducted.

The same opaque phenomenon that haunts female journalists and journalism researchers is also observed when considering the discussion of gender and Brazilian literary journalism. Despite solid work, such as the several studies conducted by Biroli, Miguel, and Veiga,[49] there are still gaps to be filled. A recent study of the holdings in the Brazilian Journalism Research Association database, with more than 1,500 papers delivered at its annual conference since 2004, shows only seven instances of the keyword *gender*, with the number reduced to five in the period covered by the analysis, 2010–14. Only one paper is connected to the strong tradition of gender studies produced in the country in other fields of knowledge, such as anthropology and psychology.[50]

A recent comparative study on Brazilian journalism, for which data were collected using rigorous protocols among 144 male and female journalists from four Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, Juiz de Fora, and Vitoria), also highlights current perceptions of professionals towards gender. The findings give strong evidence that the gender variable is not currently included in studies of the field. Nonetheless, the qualitative analysis suggests useful findings, one of which is that, despite sociocultural changes, Brazilian women might be ghettoizing themselves. Some male respondents reported believing females undersell and limit themselves in various ways, although

the men admit women are more educated, hardworking, and efficient than men are. Notwithstanding equality concerns, sexist narratives still emerge in workplaces,[51] as part of the perception that men are more suited to perform activities such as covering hard news, for example.

The Feminization of the Field

In the introductory essay of the 2015 *Literary Studies Journal* special edition devoted to women and literary journalism, Leonora Flis endorsed Barbara Ehrenreich's point of view that the transformation of the journalism business model is the problem, not sexism.[52] Yes, and no, and, above all, in the Brazilian case, it depends.

This statement might be limited to the conception of journalism as a space of work, that is, as a profession. In relation to that, it can be said that the post-1990s period in Brazil, because of economic liberalization and other social processes, advanced the feminization of the Brazilian press and corresponding research. And here the reference to the phenomenon is limited to indicate an increase in the number of women in the profession. It is important to remember that technology has both radically changed newsrooms and created new opportunities for women, empowering them and transforming gender relations.[53] In the Brazilian case, according to demographic characteristics, there were by the second decade of the twenty-first century more women than men in the newsrooms, 63.7 percent, based on data from Jacques Mick and Samuel Lima's 2012 study, which is the best known Brazilian study on the issue. Mick and Lima found that only 8.7 percent of women have incomes higher than the incomes of people working in ten minimum-wage jobs (around US$2,700).[54] However, a more recent, international study, the Worlds of Journalism Study, released in 2018, shows different results in relation to gender equality in Brazilian newsrooms. Conducted with simple random sampling and convenience sample—a non-probability method for which the sample is taken from a group of people easy to contact or to reach—of 376 working journalists, the findings paradoxically show a gender balance: 50.8 percent are men and 49.2 percent are women, "an outcome that is nonetheless surprising, as during the last two decades the image of newsrooms as spaces of an ever-growing female presence was common." In addition, the findings show the typical Brazilian journalist is young, on average 34.68 years old, and only 11.7 percent of journalists are over fifty years old.[55]

Education has always been a hot issue in Brazil. For forty years (1969–2009), a university degree was mandatory in order to work in a newsroom. Although that is no longer required, of the 376 journalists interviewed by investigators in the World of Journalism Study, 271, that is, 72.1 percent, have

a university degree.[56] This means more than seven out of ten journalists hold a bachelor's degree either in journalism or in other areas, "14.2 percent have obtained a master's, and 1.6 percent have completed a doctorate. Another 5.1 percent undertook some university studies but did not complete their degrees."[57] These findings follow the national statistics. In Brazil, women present a higher level of education than men, but 60.9 percent of management positions (public or private) are occupied by men.[58]

The fact is that, despite the different findings of the studies, the increase in the participation of women in the journalistic work market occurs in a context of journalism market precariousness,[59] which can be hypothesized as occurring in the literary journalism and journalism research fields as well. Traditional journalism, as it was known until the end of the 1990s as a profession and a way of living, has been to a great extent transformed by the emergence of digital technologies—as suggested by Ehrenreich. As a result, some journalistic practices, such as the use of search engines, have changed greatly over the last five years. Brazilian journalists are keenly aware that their profession is in a state of flux.[60] In the Worlds of Journalism Study, 76.1 percent of respondents pointed to a strong deterioration of working conditions in the profession, reporting an increase in their average working hours, the rise of social media, user-generated content, and audience feedback and involvement in news production. "Two-thirds of Brazilian journalists also reported an increase for market-related influences, such as profit making pressures, audience research, competition, pressure toward sensational news, and advertising considerations."[61] On the other hand, "ethical standards and journalism education were the two sources of influence that had weakened significantly over the years."[62] This suggests, by extension, that the same phenomena affecting Brazilian journalism are occurring in Brazilian literary journalism studies, causing an overload of work and pressures on professionals in both fields, which is still to be investigated further.

Therefore, specifically in the Brazilian case, a hypothesis can be defended that the journalism business model transformation is the problem, but sexism might also be a contributing factor. Perhaps the most impressive data to support the existence of sexism in the country is the fact that Brazilian women devote almost twice the amount of time, on average, to home care than do men (20.9 hours per week versus 11.1 hours per week[63]). These data might corroborate evidence of the predominance of masculine mentality on news making,[64] including the presence of a glass ceiling, the invisible barrier that prevents women from reaching the top of the hierarchy and participating in decision-making processes. In Brazil, a country most known for images associated with Carnival, sexism still today seems to be a whispered, not an openly talked about issue.

It is not simply about who is doing the dishes tonight. Miguel and Biroli note that there are primarily three resources necessary to join public/political activities: financial resources, free time, and a network.[65] The lack of free time associated with an inequitable domestic workload, along with less access to economic resources, directly results in less female presence in public spheres.[66] An alarming report is that the number of Brazilian households headed by women jumped from 23 percent to 40 percent between 1995 and 2015.[67] These data certainly evidence the entry of Brazilian women into the labor market. But 49.3 percent of these families are headed by a woman alone, without a spouse—meaning both less free time and fewer financial resources. Putting these data together with the cultural tradition of women being engaged only in private spheres,[68] may help explain why, despite the existence of a minimum quota (30 percent) of candidacies of each sex in elections established by law in 2017, women were only 10.5 percent of the federal deputies in office—the lowest in South America, while the world average of deputies is 23.6 percent.[69] At this pace, the political sphere in Brazil might remain a naturalized space for men in years to come.

However, if journalism, in addition to being a space of work, is also considered a historical and collective construction, based on permanencies and changes,[70] the discussion can be extended to other layers of complexity,[71] including the female journalist and researcher. The argument, then, is not simply about a journalistic *écriture feminine*, as correctly pointed out by Isabelle Meuret, when she discusses female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War.[72] That is, women writing. It is about layers of representations, including identity, culture, history, and power, among others, which permeate the interface between gender and literary journalism studies.

Considerations and the Need for Further Studies

So far, literary journalism studies may have focused too much on literary techniques and not enough on establishing dialogues with important disciplines, such as anthropology, cultural studies, economics, history, and political areas where gender studies are based. Despite the growth in Brazilian literary journalism field research,[73] Brazilian studies are still not present in the dialogue, due possibly to the language bottleneck, for only a small portion of the national Brazilian journalistic-literary corpus of writings is available to the international scholarly community.

On the issue of gender equity, the predominance of men long found in the newsrooms is somehow reproduced in literary journalism studies, where male scholars are cited in the historical studies as the founding fathers of the field—reflecting to a certain extent the invisibility of the *founding mothers*.

As is true of female journalists, female journalism researchers are cited far less than men. Nonetheless, a comprehensive review of the role of female researchers in journalism studies, including literary journalism, is still to be conducted in Brazil.

Despite the gloomy state of the Brazilian scene, some of the journalists—and probably journalism researchers as well—even choose to look at the bright side. In a recent interview, Brazilian war correspondent Patrícia Campos Mello said that being a female reporter:

> helps more than it disturbs, for I pass more easily through check points and can get into places men journalists can't, like inside the people's houses, so *machismo* itself works in my favor. However, it is true we have limitations, for there are some places I will not be allowed to go alone without the presence of a man, as once in Libya, when I interviewed soldiers fighting against the fundamentalist state.[74]

Integrating literary journalism studies, by using a transdisciplinary approach, and thereby linking this area of study to the gender studies field—with its relationships to anthropological, cultural, economic, historical, ideological, and political spheres—might be easier said than done, especially in Latin American countries such as Brazil. However, this in-depth perspective might generate a sort of a Kintsugi effect—the Japanese art of repairing broken pottery with lacquer mixed with powdered gold. The philosophical attempt is to include the breakage as part of the history of the object, and therefore the repair makes the piece even more beautiful and unique than when it was not damaged.

Monica Martinez is a professor of the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Cultura, Universidade de Sorocaba, and visiting professor, CELSA (École des hautes études en sciences de l´information et de la Communication), Sorbonne Université. She serves as chair of the Global Engagement Commitee (IALJS) and the International Relations Committee (SBPJor).

Notes

[1] Sims, *True Stories*; Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*; Thérenty, *La Littérature au Quotidien*; among others.

[2] Lima, *Páginas Ampliadas*.

[3] Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 18–19.

[4] Soares, "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull," 118–33.

[5] Martinez, "Literary Journalism: Conceptual Review, History and New Perspectives," 21–36.

[6] Queiróz, "Roger Bastide, Professor da Universidade de São Paulo," 215–20; Melo, Rahde, and Beatriz, *Memórias das Ciências da Comunicação no Brasil*, 11–15.

[7] Melo, "Quem Sabe, Faz a Hora," 198.

[8] Martinez, "Meio Século de Pesquisa Sobre Revistas Segmentadas" [Half a century of research on segmented magazines], 1:191–204. See also Melo, *Jornalismo semanal ilustrado*, in which his description of North American influences includes U.S. and Canadian scholars and the seminal work of Marshall McLuhan, among others.

[9] Melo, *Fatores Sócio-Culturais Que Retardaram a Implantação da Imprensa no Brasil* [Socio-cultural factors that delayed the deployment of the press in Brazil].

[10] Lima, "Breve Roteiro Histórico ao Campo de Estudo da Comunicação no Brasil" [Brief historical roadmap to the field of study of communication in Brazil], 21–53.

[11] Baitello, "Semiótica da Cultura: Busca de uma Visão Sistemática," 87–89.

[12] Pastina, "Ethnography as an Approach to Investigating Media Practices," 121–37.

[13] Peruzzo, "Pressupostos Epistemológicos e Metodológicos da Pesquisa Participativa," 161–90.

[14] Canclini, *Culturas Híbridas*.

[15] Martín-Barbero, "Dos Meios às Mediações," 9–31.

[16] Martins, "Ciências da Comunicação e Mundo Lusófono," 11; see also, Laguna, *Global Impact of the Portuguese Language*.

[17] IBGE, "População."

[18] Trindade and Domingues, "New Journalism in Portuguese," 2:235–45.

[19] Schwarcz and Starling, *Brasil: Uma Biografia*.

[20] IBGE, "Brazilian Territory Area."

[21] Soeiro, *Dificuldades dos Hispanofalantes*. See also, Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*.

[22] IBGE, "População," tabelas.

[23] British Council, *O Ensino de Inglês na Educação Pública Brasileira*, 7.

[24] British Council, *Demandas de Aprendizagem de Inglês no Brasil*, 7.

[25] Melo, "Mapping Brazilian Literature Translated into English," 1–37; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* [*Casa grande e senzala*].

[26] Melo, "Mapping Brazilian Literature Translated into English," 27.

[27] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 1–8.

[28] Bak, introduction, 1–20.

[29] Borges, *Jornalismo Literário: Teoria e Análise*.

[30] Martinez and Pessoni, "O Uso da Análise de Conteúdo na Intercom," 299–319.

[31] Costa, *Pena de Aluguel*; Pena, *Jornalismo Literário*; Castro and Galeno, *Jornalismo e Literatura*, Castro, *Jornalismo Literário: Uma Introdução*.

[32] Bulhões, *Jornalismo e Literatura em Convergência*, 9.

[33] Lima, *Páginas Ampliadas*.

[34] Rio, *Religions in Rio/As Religiões no Rio*, *Bilingual Edition*; Rio, *Vertiginous Life*.

[35] See Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* [*Os Sertões*].

[36] Martinez, "Literary Journalism: Conceptual Review, History and New Perspectives," 26.

[37] Faro, *Revista Realidade 1966–1968*; Moraes, *Leituras da Revista Realidade, 1966–1968*.

[38] Muzart, "Uma Espiada na Imprensa das Mulheres no Século XIX," 225–33.

[39] Buitoni, *Mulher de Papel*, 135–36.

[40] Ramos, *Mulheres Jornalistas*, 16.

[41] Gudupaty et al., "Gender: Towards Equality?" 107.

[42] Ramos, *Mulheres Jornalistas*, 22.

[43] Buitoni, *Mulher de Papel*, 94–95.

[44] Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Estudos de Gênero na Pesquisa em Jornalismo no Brasil: Uma Tênue Relação," 3.

[45] Priore, *História do Amor no Brasil*, 24.

[46] The most popular holiday in Brazil, Carnival is a mixture of Christian and afro-descendent traditions, where one can be free to live life not as a burden and/or punishment. Matta, *O Que Faz do Brasil, Brasil?* 49.

[47] Park, "A Notícia Como Forma de Conhecimento," 168–85.

[48] Melo and Assis, *Valquírias Midiáticas*. The authors provide profiles of seven women researchers, pioneers in the field of communication in Brazil, 19–41.

[49] Biroli, "Gênero e Política no Noticiário das Revistas Semanais Brasileiras," 269–99; Miguel and Biroli, *Caleidoscópio Convexo*; Veiga, *Masculino, o Gênero do Jornalismo*; Veiga, "Gênero: Um Ingrediente Distintivo Nas Rotinas Produtivas do Jornalismo," 490–505.

[50] Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Gender Studies in Brazilian Journalism Research, A Tenuous Relationship"; Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Estudos de Gênero na Pesquisa em Jornalismo no Brasil, uma Tênue Relação."

[51] Gudupaty et al., "Gender: Towards Equality?" 19.

[52] Flis, "On Recognition of Quality Writing," 8; see also Dow and Flis, "An Interview with Barbara Ehrenreich," 146–58.

[53] Gudupaty et al., 109.

[54] Mick and Lima, *Perfil do Jornalista Brasileiro*, 47.

[55] Moreira, "Journalists in Brazil," 1.

[56] Moreira, 1.

[57] Moreira, "Journalists in Brazil," 1.

[58] IBGE, *Estatísticas de Gênero: Indicadores Sociais das Mulheres no Brasil*, table.

[59] Paulino, Nonato, and Grohmann, *As Mudanças no Mundo do Trabalho do Jornalista* [The journalist as audience and worker], 4.

[60] Moreira, "Journalists in Brazil," 1; see also Moreira and Alonso, "Journalists in Newsrooms," 304–17.

[61] Moreira, "Journalists in Brazil," 5.

[62] Moreira, 5.

[63] IBGE, *Estatísticas de Gênero: Indicadores Sociais das Mulheres no Brasil*.

[64] Veiga, *Masculino, o Gênero do Jornalismo*, 4.

[65] Miguel and Biroli, *Caleidoscópio Convexo*, 95.

[66] Miguel and Biroli, 95.

[67] Cavenaghi and Lopes, *Mulheres Chefes de Família No Brasil*, 74.

[68] Tabak and Toscano, *Mulher e Política*, 319–21.

[69] IBGE, *Estatísticas de Gênero*, table 1.

[70] Ruellan and Le Cam, *Emotions de Journalistes*, 5.

[71] Morin, "O Pensamento Complexo, Um Pensamento Que Pensa," 199–213.

[72] Meuret, "Rebels with a Cause," 80.

[73] Hanc, Lewis, and Martinez, "Essentials of the Craft."

[74] Mello, interview by Monica Martinez, undated.

Bibliography

Baitello Junior, Norval. "Semiótica da Cultura: Busca de uma Visão Sistemática." *Fronteiras* 5 (1998): 87–89.

Bak, John S. Introduction to Bak and Reynolds, eds., *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 1–20.

———, and Bill Reynolds, eds. *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences*. Amherst, Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

Bertaux, Daniel. *Histoires de Vies: La Perspective Ethnosociologique*. 4th ed. Paris: Armand Colin, 2017.

———. *Narrativas de Vida: A Pesquisa e Seus Métodos*. Natal/São Paulo: EduFRN/Paulus, 2010.

Biroli, Flávia. "Gênero e Política no Noticiário das Revistas Semanais Brasileiras: Ausências e Estereótipos." *Cadernos Pagu*, no. 34 (2010): 269–99. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0104-83332010000100011.

Borges, Rogério. *Jornalismo Literário: Teoria e Análise*. Vol. 7 of Série Jornalismo a Rigor. Florianópolis: Insular, 2013.

British Council. *Demandas de Aprendizagem de Inglês no Brasil*. 1st. ed. São Paulo: British Council, 2013, 7. https://www.britishcouncil.org.br/sites/default/files/demandas_de_aprendizagempesquisacompleta.pdf.

———. *O Ensino de Inglês na Educação Pública Brasileira*. São Paulo: British Council, 2015. Accessed April 7, 2020. https://www.britishcouncil.org.br/sites/default/files/estudo_oensinodoinglesnaeducacaopublicabrasileira.pdf.

Buber, Martin. *I and Thou*. Translated by R. G. Smith. 2nd ed. London: Con-

tinuum, 2004. First published 1923 in German [*Ich und Du*], by Insel Verlag (Leipzig).

Buitoni, Dulcília Helena Schroeder. *Mulher de Papel: A Representação da Mulher Pela Imprensa Feminina Brasileira*. 2nd rev. ed. São Paulo: Summus, 2009. First published 1981 by Edições Loyola (São Paulo). Page references are to the 1981 edition.

Bulhões, Marcelo. *Jornalismo e Literatura em Convergência*. São Paulo: Ática, 2007.

Calligaris, Contardo. "O Ódio Pelas Mulheres." *Folha de S. Paulo*. January 25, 2018. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/contardocalligaris/2018/01/o-odio-pelas-mulheres.shtml?loggedpaywall.

Campbell, Joseph. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. 3rd ed. Novato, CA: New World Library, 2008.

Campbell, Lyle. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. First published 1998, Edinburgh University Press (Edinburgh).

Canclini, Néstor García. *Culturas Híbridas: Estratégias Para Entrar e Sair Da Modernidade*. 3rd ed. São Paulo: Edusp, 2013.

Castro, Gustavo de. *Jornalismo Literário: Uma Introdução*. Brasília: Casa das Musas, 2010. Accessed April 7, 2020. https://media.proquest.com/media/hms/PFT/1/tdht5?_s=q8TLepyG3JY7PLB2Fw6Dm3kDKBM%3D.

———, and Alex Galeno, eds. *Jornalismo e Literatura: A Sedução Da Palavra*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Escrituras, 2005.

Cavenaghi, Suzana, and José Eustáquio Diniz Lopes. *Mulheres Chefes de Família no Brasil: Avanços e Desafios*, 2018. https://www.ens.edu.br/arquivos/mulheres-chefes-de-familia-no-brasil-estudo-sobre-seguro-edicao-32_1.pdf.

Conde, Maria Rosa Berganza. "A Contribuição de Robert E. Park, o Jornalista Que Se Converteu em Sociólogo, à Teoria Da Informação." In *A Era Glacial do Jornalismo–Teorias Sociais da Imprensa*, edited by Christa Berger and Beatriz Marocco, 15–32. Porto Alegre: Sulina, 2008.

Costa, Cristiane. *Pena de Aluguel: Escritores Jornalistas no Brasil, 1904–2004*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.

Cunha, Euclides da. *Rebellion in the Backlands*. Translated with introduction and notes by Samuel Putnam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. First published 1902 as *Os Sertões* by Lammert & C. Editores (Sao Paulo).

Dow, William, and Leonora Flis. "An Interview with Barbara Ehrenreich." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 1 (2015): 146–58. http://ialjs.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/148-160-LJS_v7n1.pdf.

Faro, José Sebastião. *Revista Realidade 1966–1968: Tempo de Reportagem na Imprensa Brasileira*. Canoas, Porto Alegre: Ulbra/Age, 1999.

Flis, Leonora. "On Recognition of Quality Writing." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 1 (2015): 7–14. http://ialjs.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/009-016-LJS_v7n1.pdf.

Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves* [*Casa-grande and senzala*]*: A Study of the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. 2nd ed. Translated from the Portuguese

by Samuel Putnam, with introduction by David H. P. Maybury-Lewis. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. First English edition published 1946, Knopf (New York).

Gudupaty, Nagamalilka, Jyotika Ramaprasad, Svetlana Pasti, Claudia Lago, Xianzhi Li, and Ylva Rodny-Gumede. "Gender: Towards Equality?" In *Contemporary BRICS Journalism: Non-Western Media in Transition*, edited by Jyotika Ramaprasad and Svetlana Pasti, 104–29. London, New York: Routledge, 2017.

Gyldenstead, Cathrine. "Innovating News Journalism through Positive Psychology." Master's Capstone Project. University of Pennsylvania/Penn Libraries, 2011.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity, Community, Cultural Difference*, edited by Jonathan Rutherford, 222–37. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990.

Hanc, John, Mitzi Lewis, and Monica Martinez. "Essentials of the Craft: Providing Effective Feedback." Panel at IALJS-13 (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies) Conference, Vienna, Austria, edited by IALJS/Austrian Academy of Sciences. Vienna: IALJS, May 2018.

Hartsock, John C. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

———. *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.

Holland, Jack. *Misogyny: The World's Oldest Prejudice*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006.

IBGE. "Brazilian Territory Area." *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, 2016. Accessed April 14, 2020. https://www.ibge.gov.br/en/cities-and-states.html?view=municipio.

———. *Estatísticas de Gênero: Indicadores Sociais das Mulheres no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, Coordenação de População e Indicadores Sociais, 2018. Accessed April 17, 2020. https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101551_informativo.pdf.

———. "População." *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, 2017. Accessed May 3, 2020. https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/populacao/9103-estimativas-de-populacao.html?=&t=o-que-e.

Jung, Carl Gustav. *Os Arquétipos e o Inconsciente Coletivo*. 8th ed. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2012.

———. *The Portable Jung*. Edited by Joseph Campbell. New York: Penguin Books, 1976.

Laguna, Asela Rodrígues de, ed. *Global Impact of the Portuguese Language*. New York: Routledge, 2017. First published 2001 by Transaction (New York).

Lima, Edvaldo Pereira. *Páginas Ampliadas: O Livro-Reportagem Como Extensão do Jornalismo e Da Literatura*. 4th ed. São Paulo: Manole, 2009. First published 1993 by Unicamp (São Paulo).

Lima, Venício A. de. "Breve Roteiro Histórico ao Campo de Estudo da Comunicação no Brasil." In *Mídia, Teoria e Política*, 21–53. São Paulo: Perseu Abramo, 2001.

Matta, Roberto da. *O Que Faz o Brasil, Brasil?* Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco, 1986.

Martín-Barbero, Jesús. "Dos Meios às Mediações: 3 Introduções." MATRIZes 12, no. 1 (January/April): 9–31.

Martins, Moisés de Lemos. "Ciências da Comunicação e Mundo Lusófono." In *Anuário Internacional de Comunicação Lusófona*, 11–16. Minho, Portugal: Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade (CECS), 2015–16. http://hdl.handle.net/1822/45164.

———. "Communication Sciences and Lusophone World." In International Yearbook of Lusophone Communication, 11–16. Center for Communication and Society Studies (CECS), 2015–2016.

Martinez, Monica. "A História de Vida Como InstâNcia Metódico-Técnica no Campo Da Comunicação." *Comunicação & Inovação* 16, no. 30 (February 25, 2015): 75–90. doi:10.13037/ci.vol16n30.2622.

———. "Gender Studies in Brazilian Journalism Research: A Tenuous Relationship." In *IAMCR Conference*. Montreal, July 2015.

———. "Literary Journalism: Conceptual Review, History and New Perspectives." *Revista Intercom* 40, no. 3 (Sept./Dec. 2017): 21–36. DOI: 10.1590/1809-5844201732. http://www.portcom.intercom.org.br/revistas/index.php/revistaintercom/article/view/2798/2103.

———. "Meio Século de Pesquisa Sobre Revistas Segmentadas." In *Jornalismo e Midiologia*, ed. Iury Parente Aragão, Osvando J. de Morais, and Sônia Jaconi, 191–204. Vol. 1 of *Fortuna Crítica de José Marques de Melo*. São Paulo: Intercom, 2013.

———. *Jornada Do Herói: Estrutura Narrativa Mítica na Construção de Histórias Em Jornalismo*. São Paulo: Annablume/Fapesp, 2008.

———, Claudia Lago, and Mara C. S. Lago. "Estudos de Gênero na Pesquisa Em Jornalismo no Brasil: Uma Tênue Relação/*Gender Studies in Brazilian Journalism Research: A Fragile Relationship*." *Revista Famecos: Midia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, no. 2 (May, June, July, August 2016).

———, Claudia Lago, and Mara C. S. Lago. "Gender Studies in Brazilian Journalism Research: A Tenuous Relationship." Paper presented at the IAMCR Conference, Montreal, Canada, July 2015.

———, and Arquimedes Pessoni. "O Uso Da Análise de Conteúdo Na Intercom: Pesquisas Feitas Com o Método (1996 a 2012)." In *Notícia Em Fragmentos: Análise de Conteúdo no Jornalismo*, edited by Thaïs de Mendonça Jorge, 299–319. Florianópolis: Insular, 2015.

Melo, Cimara Valim de. "Mapping Brazilian Literature Translated into English." *Modern Languages Open* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1–37. Accessed April 7, 2020. http://doi.org/10.3828/mlo.v0i0.124.

Melo, José Marques de. *Fatores Sócio-Culturais Que Retardaram a Implantação Da Imprensa no Brasil*. 2nd ed. Porto Alegre: Edipucrs, 2003.

———, Introduction to *Memórias das Ciências da Comunicação no Brasil*, edited by José Marques de Melo and Maria Beatriz Rahde, 11–15. Porto Alegre, EDIPUCRS, 1997. See especially Introduction. 11–15.

———, ed. *Jornalismo Semanal Ilustrado*. Centro de Pesquisas da Comunicação Social. Vol. 1. São Paulo: Faculdade de Jornalismo Cásper Libero, 1968.

———. "Quem Sabe, Faz a Hora." In *Ciências da Comunicação no Brasil 50 Anos: Histórias Para Contar*, edited by Carlos Eduardo Lins da Silva, José Marques de Melo, Maria Cristina Gobbi, and Osvando J. de Morais. Vol. 1, 27–31. São Paulo: Vanguarda do Pensamento. Fapesp/Intercom/Unesp/ECA-USP, 2015. Accessed June 16, 2020. https://fasam.edu.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/50-Anos-de-hist%C3%B3ria.pdf.

———, and Francisco Assis, eds. *Valquírias Midiáticas*. São Paulo: Intercom, 2010.

Meuret, Isabelle. "Rebels with a Cause: Women Reporting the Spanish Civil War." *Literary Journalism Studies* 7, no. 1 (2015): 76–98. http://ialjs.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/078-100-LJS_v7n1.pdf.

Mick, Jacques, and Samuel Lima. *Perfil do Jornalista Brasileiro: Características Demográficas, Políticas e do Trabalho Jornalístico em 2012*. Florianópolis: Insular, 2013.

Miguel, Luis Felipe, and Flávia Biroli. *Caleidoscópio Convexo*. São Paulo: Unesp, 2011.

Moraes, Letícia Nunes de. *Leituras da Revista Realidade, 1966–1968*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2007.

Moreira, Sonia Virgínia. "Journalists in Brazil." Worlds of Journalism Study. Munich, 2017, 1–6. https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/32084/1/Country_report_Brazil.pdf.

———, and Martin Oller Alonso. "Journalists in Newsrooms: Professional Roles, Influences, and Changes to Journalism." *Brazilian Journalism Research* 14, no. 2 (2018): 304–17.

Morin, Edgar, and Jean-Louis Le Moigne. "O Pensamento Complexo, Um Pensamento Que Pensa." In *A Inteligência Da Complexidade*, 199–213. 1st ed. São Paulo: Fundação Peirópolis, 2000.

Muzart, Zahidé Lupinacci. "Uma Espiada na Imprensa das Mulheres no Século XIX." *Revista Estudos Feministas* 11, no. 1 (Jan.-June, 2003): 225–33. https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/ref/article/view/S0104-026X2003000100013/8720.

Park, Robert. "A Notícia Como Forma de Conhecimento: um Capitulo da Sociologia do Conhecimento." In *Meios de Comunicação de Massa*, edited by Charles S. Steinberg, 168–85. São Paulo: Cultrix, 1972.

Pastina, Antonio La. "Ethnography as an Approach to Investigating Media Practices—from Macambira to Texas." *Matrizes* 8, no. 1 (2014): 121–37. https://www.revistas.usp.br/matrizes/article/view/82934/85971.

Paulino, Roseli Aparecida Fígaro, Cláudia Nonato, and Rafael Grohmann. *As Mudanças no Mundo do Trabalho do Jornalista*. São Paulo: Salta/Atlas, 2013.

Pena, Felipe. *Jornalismo Literário*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006.

Peruzzo, Cicilia M. Krohling. "Pressupostos Epistemológicos e Metodológicos da Pesquisa Participativa: Da Observação Participante à Pesquisa-Ação." *Estudios sobre Las Culturas Contemporáneas* 23, no. Especial 3 (2017): 161–90.

———, and Jorge González. "Agroecología y Antroponomía En Movimientos

Sociales de Brasil: 'Si Los Demás Están Bien, Yo Estoy Mejor.' " *INTERdisciplina* 6, no. 14 (January–April 2018): 205–35. https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://revistas.unam.mx/index.php/inter/article/viewFile/63387/55655.

Priore, Mary Del. *Ao Sul do Corpo: Condição Feminina, Maternidades e Mentalidades no Brasil Colônia*. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1995.

———. *História do Amor no Brasil*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006.

Queiróz, Maria Isaura Pereira de. "Roger Bastide, Professor da Universidade de São Paulo" *Estudos Avançados* 8, no. 22 (September-December 1994): 215–20. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40141994000300023.

Ramos, Regina Helena de Paiva. *Mulheres Jornalistas: A Grande Invasão*. São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial do Estado de São Paulo/Faculdade Cásper Líbero, 2010.

Remnick, David, ed. *Life Stories: Profiles from the* New Yorker. New York: Random House, 2000.

Rio, João do. *Religions in Rio/As Religiões no Rio*, *Bilingual Edition*. Translated by Ana Lessa-Schmidt. Hanover, CT: New London Librarium, 2015.

———. *Vertiginous Life*. Hanover, CT: New London Librarium, 2017.

Ruellan, Denis, and Florence Le Cam. *Emotions de Journalistes: Sel et Sens du Métier*. Grenoble: Presse Universitaire de Grenoble, 2017.

Schwarcz, Lilia Moritz, and Heloisa Murgel Starling. *Brasil: Uma Biografia*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015.

Sims, Norman. *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007.

Soares, Isabel. "Literary Journalism's Magnetic Pull: Britain's 'New' Journalism and the Portuguese at the Fin-de-Siècle." In Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 118–33.

Soeiro, Rita Coimbra. "Dificuldades dos Hispanofalantes na Aprendizagem da Pronúncia do Português Língua Estrangeira." PhD diss., Universidade do Porto, 2010. http://hdl.handle.net/10216/55306.

Tabak, Fanny, and Moema Toscano. *Mulher e Política*. Vol. 43 of Coleção O Mundo Hoje. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982.

Thérenty, Marie-Ève. *La Littérature au Quotidien: Poétiques Journalistiques au XIX^e^ Siècle*. Paris: Seuil, 2007.

Trindade, Alice, and Juan Domingues. "New Journalism in Portuguese: From 19th Century Literary Journalists to the Present Day." In *Global Literary Journalism: Exploring the Journalistic Imagination,* ed. Richard Lance Keeble and John Tulloch, 235–45. Vol. 2. New York: Peter Lang, 2014.

Veiga, Marcia. "Gênero: Um Ingrediente Distintivo Nas Rotinas Produtivas do Jornalismo." *Estudos em jornalismo e Midia* 9, no. 2 (July-December, 2012): 490–505. https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/jornalismo/article/view/1984-6924.2012v9n2p490/23361.

———. *Masculino, o Gênero do Jornalismo: Modos de Produção das Notícias*. Florianópolis: Insular, 2014.

Above: Raquel Ochoa, holding copies of her literary works (Jacqueline Silva). Below: One of Ochoa's travel vistas (Isabel Branco).

Of Wind and the Other: Literary Journalism by a Portuguese Female Travel Writer

Raquel Baltazar
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Rita Amorim
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

Abstract: Raquel Ochoa is a contemporary Portuguese writer who is deeply passionate about traveling and writing. This study analyzes her 2008 book, *O Vento dos Outros* (The wind of others), a series of travel *crónicas* across Central and South America, with the aim of situating Ochoa within Portuguese literary journalism. For six months, the author drifted aimlessly from the Andes in Costa Rica to Patagonia in Argentina, describing the theatre of reality from a sentimental woman's perspective. Ochoa, a travel writer who immersed herself to meet the Other, uses "their winds" to reveal alterity. In a literary and subjective style, Ochoa reveals Latin American landscapes as well as detailed personal encounters and adventures with real people through an exploration of the senses and emotions. Moreover, her critical portrayal of the social plight of the Latin American peoples, a by-product of colonization and globalization, confers Ochoa a place in Portuguese literary journalism.

Keywords: Raquel Ochoa – literary Journalism – travel literature – Portuguese female *crónicas*

Raquel Ochoa (Lisbon, b. 1980) is a lawyer by profession and a passionate travel writer by avocation. A true globe-trotter, she contributes regularly to newspapers and magazines, posts monthly travel *crónicas* on her blog, O mundo lê-se a viajar (One can read the world by traveling),[1] and has been a creative writing teacher since 2008 at Escrever Escrever (Write write). In 2009, she was awarded the Prémio Agustina Bessa-Luís for her novel, *A Casa-Comboio*, the story of an Indo-Portuguese family from Damão that doubles as an untold history of Portuguese India.[2] Ochoa started traveling at the age of sixteen, and nomadism has been her inspiration for writing and living. She says a travel experience is good when "we destroy the minimum, we do not change the natural silence of a place and we start a friendship, maybe a love." She adds, "If there are lessons to be learned from so many leagues, it is this: 'It takes patience. There are trips that take years to tell us what they meant to us.' " The travel literature genre has the "ability to surprise everyone because it reflects the world, and the world is never tight, never completely discovered."[3]

Travel writing and literary journalism, where this study seeks to locate these *crónicas*, are intersections, both embracing the traveler's personal account and the journey itself as one of the topics covered. As with other literary journalists who "have traveling as their journalistic interest,"[4] the two activities, touring and writing about their trips, are inseparable for Ochoa. *O Vento dos Outros* (The wind of others), began as a travel notebook on a six-month journey across the Andes, from Costa Rica in Central America to Patagonia in South America. The book is divided into four parts: *Atlântico e Pacífico, o Mesmo Mergulho* (The Atlantic and the Pacific: The same immersion) (Costa Rica); *Terras Altas* (Highlands) (Peru); *Com Rumo e sem Norte* (On track without bearing) (Chile); and *Entrar na Patagónia* (Entering Patagonia) (Argentina).

Ochoa makes the topic of these *crónicas* the journey itself and the ways she is deeply transformed by it: "[O]nce we've trodden certain places, you will never be the same person again,"[5] she writes. The greatest advantage of traveling aimlessly "on track without bearing"[6] is that plans just happen, without a watch, and the sun that "eradicated the will to think"[7] becomes a guide. Kramer and Call in *Telling True Stories* highlight that the reporter should take the chance to walk the same tracks as the object of his investigation.[8] Pursuing true immersion, Ochoa follows the farthest, harshest, most deserted, least touristic tracks, covering off-road, stone-laid trails and "waiving the most comfortable journey along the coast that most would choose,"[9] thus transporting the reader to the world of the Other,[10] that is "the *foreign*: the one who does not belong to a group, does not

speak a given language, does not have the same customs; he is the unfamiliar, uncanny, unauthorized, inappropriate, and the improper."[11] Some of these harsh moments of inevitable yet desirable solitude, which Ochoa describes, of "quiet and selfish contemplation, away from all, easily addicting to silence"[12] are lasting and fulfilling for "at any moment, even now, if I close my eyes, I can easily go back, as if I had lived there all my life, as if I had never left."[13] This engagement situates this woman's experience within a specific context that reveals the limits and possibilities of contemporary travel writing. Taking into account Mary Louise Pratt's argument in *Imperial Eyes*,[14] the patriarchal and imperialist undertone of most travel writings is being adapted and adjusted by modern writers like Ochoa. In her *crónicas*, Ochoa locates two dualities, one of the Other and one of her own culture. Her travel narratives are not looking for a romanticized place but for a genuine, authentic, and alternative space that allows for a dialogue between cultures and genres. At the same time, Ochoa's writing is the triumph of a woman's spirit over cultural difference, not just an anthropological or historical approach but a humanistic one. Ochoa's descriptions, personal details, and introspections reveal a desire to enter an unknown social system alone and experience the metaphysical *wind* of the existential journey. Maureen Mulligan writes,

> The solitariness of Western life, the alienation of cities, the breakdown of the family: these are the classic tropes motivating romantic travel writing, often juxtaposed with the glorification of the close physical and relational solidarity evident in poorer societies whose members stick together in ways that have been forgotten in the consumerist divisive West.[15]

A deliberate expression of the writer's state of mind, when the writer is in a different geographical location, can transform an unknown culture into a new understanding of Self and the Other. As such, the writing is not just about the journey but about the landscape and the people. It is not an escape from what seems a civilized known world but an encounter with a distant Other. It is an intellectual and cultural displacement with a purpose. In this sense, *O Vento dos Outros* can be categorized as literary journalism for its blending of autobiographical description, philosophical reflection, spiritual enquiry, and the experience that becomes timeless and immortalized, which Coutinho argues is characteristic of the form.[16] Ochoa reveals *alterity*—that is, a sense of being in a world that is totally different from the known self and culture[17]—and thus offers the Portuguese audience a vision of Latin America as the simultaneously close and distant, known and unknown, transatlantic Other.

Travel Writing and Literary Journalism

Scholars over the years and across countries have described literary journalism, which began to emerge before the nineteenth century as a phenomenon, form, style, genre, and as a discipline. The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies, and its scholarly journal, *Literary Journalism Studies*, attest to the growing worldwide interest in this form of journalism, which is now more than a hundred years old. Literary journalism, also called narrative journalism, as nonfiction, factual reporting that resorts to stylistic strategies and narrative techniques, was the name chosen by Bak and Reynolds to refer to the genre at an international level, as exemplified by their volume *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences.*[18] Soares argues that from the perspective of its tone, this form of writing is a narrative kind of journalism, from the perspective of its style, a journalism with a literary flair, a journalism of embellished writing. This is journalism that reads as literature and for which the main aim is to stay true to the storytelling of reality through the personal imprint of the journalist.[19] Hartsock notes that literary journalism makes use of techniques related to literary discourse, such as scene construction, dialogue, and concrete detail. In literary journalism the author or narrator tells real stories, making use of the author's senses and point of view.[20] Sims notes that the main features of this genre of journalism are immersion, structure, precision, voice, responsibility, and symbolism.[21] Literary journalism is different from conventional journalism in its use of real subjects and literary writing techniques such as *mise-en-scène,* detail, and description. This journalism is also found under the forms of nonfiction known as narrative, reportage, documentary, and *crónicas.* In her book of travel *crónicas*, Ochoa deals with the "look" and the "feel" of the world[22] and takes the time to travel, meet, and tell the story.

To situate Ochoa within literary journalism in Portugal, one must go back to the end of the nineteenth century, for, Soares argues, the first "new" journalists in Portugal were Eça de Queirós and Ramalho Ortigão, who wanted to break away from the constraints of conventional journalism.[23] Batalha Reis and Oliveira Martins followed in this path by not being impartial, using humor and irony to disclose the political, social, and economic plight of the underprivileged. Committed to report the truth, and using immersion reporting, their writings maintained an intimate dialogue with the reader. Coutinho argues this form of journalism knows "a distinct emancipation through the writing of great names of national journalism who seek to face reality in a more humane, immersive and descriptive manner."[24] In fact, in twenty-first century Portugal, many well-known journalists are also writers, and vice versa, as exemplified by the following:

Sílvia Caneco is a Portuguese journalist who became known for her two reports in the newspaper *Jornal i* in 2002, for which she was awarded the Literary Journalism Award, Prémio Jornalismo Literário Teixeira de Pascoaes-Vicente Risco, and from which is highlighted "Preso duas vezes. A vida no hospital-prisão" (Stuck twice. Life in the prison hospital). Paulo Moura's "A menina que amou demais" (The girl who loved too much) is a tragic episode which was reported in a very sensitive and human way and which appeared in the newspaper *Público,* and was later published in the 2014 book *Longe do Mar* (Far from the sea). Susana Moreira Marques immersed herself for six months in the rural, isolated, poor northern region of Portugal to hear and tell the stories of terminally ill patients, caretakers, and families, which resulted in the 2008 book, *Agora e na Hora da Nossa Morte*, translated and published in 2015 in English, as *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*, a book reviewed in this volume. (See interview with Marques on page 150. See review of Marques's book on page 195.) Pedro Coelho is known for his 2007 book, *Rosa Brava, Pastora de Sonhos e Outras histórias* (Rosa Brava: shepherd of dreams and other stories), a compilation of several feature stories and the result of years of immersion in the peripheries of the Azores islands, the rural north of Portugal, and the Portuguese prison system.[25] Miguel Sousa Tavares's book *Sul*,[26] which consists of travel *crónicas* from Brazil, and José Luís Peixoto's travel *crónicas* for *Volta ao Mundo* magazine, are true cases of contemporary travel writing that share a kinship with Ochoa's work.

Closing the Gap between Writer and the "Other"

Stripped of all European or first-world luxuries, Ochoa stays in poor households, modest hostels, even a lightless cubicle, carrying only a backpack, experiencing the earthly existence of these distant, as Trindade writes, "different, eventually exotic" Other(s),[27] immersing herself in their cultures and environments. On an alterity path, to discover the identity of the Other and of the Self, the author becomes, in Soares's words, the " 'I' that writes about personal experience as a way toward both self-discovery and the discovery of the 'Other' with whom the 'I' engages."[28] Ultimately, Ochoa discovers that she is "the Other, for the Other."[29] That is, she, as a traveler and guest in their country, is revealing her own Otherness to her hosts and hostesses, even as she becomes aware of their Otherness to her.

Ochoa portrays Latin American landscapes and peoples through sharing her new understandings, empathies, impressions, feelings, and emotions, thereby making the reader a witness to her experiences. Fear and despair, and love and passion, are so naked that the distance between the subject and the object is narrowed, as Hartsock describes the reader's experience.[30] The

writer and the reader are immersed in the experience of the Others' different, unknown, exotic cultures, traditions, and identities: "I was now *in loco,* I could feel their smell, understand the mode of living of this so different people," Ochoa writes.[31] Her literary style—"I left that place with tranquility injected into my arms"[32]—engages and touches the reader. Everything is voiced in the personal tone and intimate familiarity of a sensitive woman, involving the reader as closely as possible. The whole captures what Hartsock refers to as "writing subjectivity."[33] Ochoa takes the reader to Machu Picchu, where she reflects, "the impact one feels before such intense scenery intensifies the awareness of the site's hidden myths and history."[34] The writer's detailed, first-person accounts of real, day-to-day adventures, dangers, relationships, friendships, passions, encounters, departures, and losses are a mark of her genuine involvement with the Other in what Herrscher calls the "theatre of reality"[35] and of literary journalism itself. Unbelievably beautiful landscapes are experienced—by Ochoa and, through her words, the reader, through the senses—colors, tonalities, odors, sounds, and temperatures. As well as giving personal understandings of Ochoa's surroundings, these travel *crónicas* are an emotional and intellectual journey deep into the self where, Ochoa writes, "my own mental travels carried on, unsupervised."[36] This is the travel of identity and self-discovery: "At that moment, I finally understood the spiritual onus of the others' wind."[37]

Ferreira argues that personal motivations, determination, and curiosity motivate the travel journalist to walk a certain path, while at the same time portraying "a state of mind, an attitude, a behavior, a personal and collective experience full of meanings"[38] and revealing a humanistic perspective. Indeed, the journalist's journey corresponds to what Magris defines as a wandering around the world, letting oneself pass, passively, through the flow.[39] Ochoa displays a deep understanding of the Latin American reality, its social and political contexts, as Luís Fernando does with Angola[40] or Miguel Sousa Tavares, with Brazil.[41] In *O Vento dos Outros* Ochoa shares the historical, geographical, and political backgrounds of Latin American peoples and their cross-cultural civilizations (which are a mix of European and Indigenous peoples). She presents local stories and legends as well as photographs she took of real people and livelihoods as sources of inspiration, as have been noted by researchers such as Coutinho and Trindade.[42] Ochoa uses code-switching, alternating her use of two languages, Portuguese and Spanish, in the *crónicas* and thus shows a cultural and linguistic encroachment of the Other on the Subject, and is the case of a language, Spanish, being added to voice as noted by Trindade.[43]

Traveling Is a Little Like Being the Wind

Abrahamson and Pelczar note that book titles can "sell the book by sounding good while also giving an idea of what's to come"[44] and lead readers to search the world beyond the pages. The title *O Vento dos Outros* and some of the book's subtitles—"Pura Vida, um cão e uma vida" (Pure life, a dog and a state); "Espaço neutro" (Neutral space); "Montanhas mareadas" (Nauseated mountains); "Continuo a exercer o meu direito à abstracção" (I still have the right to abstraction); "A besta branca" (The white beast)—are carriers of message. *O Vento dos Outros* is not simply about the way the wind became baffling: "suddenly, I was not just on the land of the wind, I was on the land which became the wind!"[45] Along foreign and unknown Latin American landscapes, Ochoa describes the wind as the "unsettling,"[46] relentless, and humanized companion "full of character, it passes but never stays."[47] It is the "lord of those lands which could be felt, seen and heard as it smelled of independence,"[48] and the "fool, never seen, ripping me off the ground if it wanted."[49] Powerfully, it "authorizes the first drops of daily rain,"[50] and "only allows the strongest to resist."[51] Its sound is music "flying through the ends of the gorges which don't exist,"[52] followed by "thousands of sounds, sometimes like voices that would make me look back, as if someone was calling, cursing, purring or simply whispering."[53] Patagonia is "addicted to its orchestra of wind, which flees ties and roots, homes and countries."[54] Its absence of noise is also noted: "the silence of a dead volcano, inhabited by a green lake, changes your conscience,"[55] and "never has a silence taken over me. Never had I heard such a mute silence. Breathing became strange."[56] The wind bonds people and language. Orlando, a native American Indian, "replicated opening his mouth before beginning as if he was going to blow wind instead of words"[57] and inserted reading into his life like "an upsetting gale."[58] *O Vento dos Outros* is the carrier of their identity.

Traveling Is Losing People

A recurrent leitmotif of literary journalism is the disclosure of social plights, inequalities, and injustices endured by real people in real places where "poverty reigned the streets,"[59] and, Soares notes, on the "margins of social ostracism."[60] These hardships belong to ordinary "citizens whose everyday lives are mostly ignored," Trindade argues, "by both the local and international press," belonging to "sectors of the population that had, so far, attained no public recognition."[61] An unknown or inconvenient truth known to the public only through Ochoa's telling of the story is that "Latin America is a land of social inequalities where the boiling point took place many years ago and still exists."[62] Literary journalists add their point of view and poignant

criticism: "I traveled without the ambition of wanting to know more than was possible but with the evidence of the social and cultural inequalities,"[63] as the following example, in which Ochoa describes South America as "a continent of volcanoes and a society of social unrest."[64] It is an intense criticism of the real world where real people live and where "there are demands and accusations of systematic violation of human rights on behalf of the Chilean and indigenous Mapuche authorities. They don't keep quiet."[65]

Ochoa's *crónicas* describe the social, cultural, and political environment of some South American countries where "religious displays are intimately linked to social and political displays."[66] Contemporary Peru, for instance, is a "troubled nation" whose "portrait is bleak due to human rights abuses, corruption, and violations of law. Economic modernization has benefited only a small sector while the majority of the population makes enormous sacrifices and hundreds of thousands of families live on the edge of poverty."[67] Ochoa travels with the locals to work at five in the morning on old, uncomfortable, overloaded, and irregular buses where "it smelled bad, the seats were dirty, of sweat, of dust, of food leftovers."[68] She describes Peruvians as hardworking, nice, well-bred people, but closed and with no interest in foreigners. The urban populations differ from rural peasants, who do not seem to bathe, wash their clothes, or clean their hands and nails. They spit on the floor of the bus and throw litter out the window—simple people bound to the earth.

Social changes and the current worldwide state of affairs, such as how tourism, international commerce, and brands have devalued local handicraft and products, are exposed: "How far does the goodwill and values of those who consider themselves more indigenous coincide with the global challenge forced on almost everyone in the world through globalization and its ways? Don't they sometimes run over human dignity?"[69] Social criticism is cast on the enduring, imposing leftovers of colonialism and imperialism emphasized by words such as "running over," "submissive," and "animal"[70] when referring to the United States' undesirable presence in the country. Historical buildings, such as churches and cathedrals, are solemn, "but even that colonial beauty makes the touch of oppression implicit."[71] In Cusco, Peru, the U.S. presence shows two conflicting worlds, exploiter and exploited, "the best and the worst that everyone can see. As if the Inca offspring mixed with the Hispanic culture were sold to tourism with anger, self-disdain, sold, money and business, survival and work, rich and poor."[72] The past and the present invaders mingle while "there's a decolonizing silence amongst Peruvians. A silence I do not grasp or is not for me to grasp. I'm just another trespasser"[73] in what Soares describes as a "place where tourism has distorted the landscape."[74]

Pure Culture Shock

The mix of peoples and cultures in some Latin American countries has generated complex and somewhat turbulent societies. All countries are developing and suffering from great social and economic injustices and inequalities, and this is reflected in people's hostile attitudes toward foreigners, as the people do not benefit from tourism. The foreigner is the Other: "the presence of outsiders is easily felt, you are frequently the point of convergence of dark eyes. They assume you are European or North-American."[75]

Awareness "of how different human beings can be from each other"[76] sometimes entails what Ochoa describes as a pure culture shock. The author states that "against common belief, *indigenous movements* still subsist consistently in Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Paraguay and in Bolivia [representing an] ethnic hotchpotch."[77] The different reality and cultural environment of Limón, Costa Rica, is shocking as "we find a city of mounted houses, aggressive traffic where people were suspicious, if not violent," and ultimately "annoyed by our presence there: our simple stroll on the street made them angry."[78] In Chosica, Peru, "people are very closed, we never meet foreigners and the level of kindness towards a foreigner in simple things like sharing public transport was that of total indifference, as if we were invisible. Invisible beings don't have the same rights as normal people."[79]

Immersion in cultural and religious festivities highlights differences: "a spit, a push, a theft, a feeling of insecurity were things that made me as alert as a clean bed."[80] At the end of the (self) journey, Ochoa views Central and South America as a large bowl of bloods and races with individual countries, each with its own cultural heritage, peculiarities, and ethnic borders. The word "different" gains a new dimension. In many of these Latin American territories, ethnic multiculturalism and confrontation date back a long time. Today, many indigenous groups face extinction. The *montaña* region (the poorly populated, Eastern Amazon plains), for example, sometimes functions as a "safety valve for social tensions,"[81] welcoming landless peasants and, as Soares notes, "documenting the difficult survival of illegal Latin immigrants."[82] Ochoa writes, "People should leave because they want to, not because they are trapped in a country with no opportunities. This is what we must fight against."[83] Dialogues with the Other, along with detailed description and perspective, set the scene and, in this case, introduce identity and alterity, as Trindade notes, "by giving voice to unusual narrators and doing that in different styles."[84] Orlando, the Native American Indian friend, left his village at sixteen to see the world and was not welcome on his return: "It was in my own home that I understood the prejudice of intolerance."[85] Orlando sees the European woman as different and belonging to "a culture which stimulates independence."[86] Immersion changes

Ochoa, leaving her torn between two worlds. The European lifestyle, where "men in suits run to work under the same stress that grants any *yuppie* in Europe his credibility,"[87] becomes senseless. First-world lifestyle feels inadequate, causing the sensation of being "in-between, neither here nor there, I needed time to understand this new world, still feeling the Andes' air in my lungs."[88] The culture shock that Ochoa describes finds echo in Edward Said's analysis of modern Orientalism: "a vision of the contemporary Orient, not as narrative, but as all complexity, problematics, betrayed hope."[89]

Pachamama: A Woman's Sensitive Insights

This female narrator, a traveler, and a writer, who Fitzgerald might describe as "simultaneously sentimental and subjective,"[90] embarks on this emotional journey and strongly identifies with Mother Nature: "everything you give Pachamama, she gives back to you."[91] This relationship is always portrayed through the sensitive look of a woman who reveals a true love for the landscape. Closeness to the mountains causes strong feelings and sensations and the distance generates *saudades* (longing) and the feeling of the "condor's breast syndrome."[92] An ordinary daybreak or nightfall is described in a sensitive and literary style: "the day already shaking on the other side of the night and we fell asleep without resisting," and, "the daylight bugs changed guard with the night bugs, you could hear it."[93] Feelings of wonder, marvel, and astonishment incite physical reactions: "I felt invaded, such energy handcuffed me," and, "at each gesture I could feel the Andes in my body, I had them in my body aches."[94] Intimacy with nature encourages isolation: "I felt like running, far away, as far as possible, the farther the better. I knew the landscape was very strong."[95] This hermit experience of isolation and immersion generates the contradictory and desperate need for company and the adopted dog, the backpack, or fatigue itself, become Ochoa's travel companions.

Love is described in a romantic and feminine manner, like a love story that when it "appears it is forever, then it passes."[96] Regardless of how long it lasts, love is experienced as "my place . . . to feel this is the first time we love, although we have loved so many times before."[97] Love-making becomes "those moments (where) human beings forget all constraints, emptying all thoughts and entering for seconds in the other's intensity, which already is your own," in a "night (when) we burned with such passion that we fell asleep inside each other's dreams."[98] A passionate and sensitive style links, as Trindade says, a "sentiment to an event."[99]

These travel *crónicas* are descriptive, factual, subjective, consisting of humanistic literary writing, portraying real people with real lives deserving a place in Portuguese literary journalism. To read *O Vento dos Outros* is to travel with the heart and the senses.

Raquel Baltazar is assistant professor at the School for Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal, where she teaches English for the social sciences and Portuguese as a foreign language. She is a research fellow at CAPP (Centre for Public Administration and Policies) and a member of IALJS (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies). Her research interests are in the fields of cultural studies, Portuguese contemporary literature, Iberian studies, identity studies, Portuguese as a foreign language, travel literature and literary journalism.

Rita Amorim is assistant professor at the School for Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon, Portugal, where she teaches English for the social sciences. She is a research fellow at CAPP (Centre for Public Administration and Policies) and CEAF (Centro de Estudos Africanos) and a member of IALJS (International Association for Literary Journalism Studies). Her research interests are in the fields of English language teaching, English as a Lingua Franca*, code-switching, language and education policy, travel literature and literary journalism.*

Notes

[1] Ochoa, O Mundo lê-se a Viajar [One can read the world by traveling], (translations by the authors, unless otherwise noted).

[2] Ochoa, "A Redenção É um Momento Inestimável da Leitura**"** [Redemption is an invaluable time for reading], para. 1 (translation from website); Ochoa, *A Casa-Comboio*.

[3] Ochoa, "O Que a Vida Me Ensinou: Raquel Ochoa," (online interview).

[4] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," 1.

[5] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 62.

[6] Ochoa, 113.

[7] Ochoa, 38.

[8] Kramer and Call, *Telling True Stories*, 24.

[9] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 53.

[10] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," (online, unpaginated).

[11] Al-Saidi, "Post-Colonialism Literature the Concept of *Self* and the *Other*," 95.

[12] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 122.

[13] Ochoa, 102.

[14] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 217–21.

[15] Mulligan, "New Directions or the End of the Road?" 67.

[16] Coutinho, "Desafios para a Historiografia . . . Challenges for a Historiography . . . ," 3–4.

[17] See also, *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 11th ed. (2003), s.v., "alterity."

[18] Bak and Reynolds, *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 10.

[19] Soares, "Le livre et le journalisme littéraire," (unpaginated).

[20] Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 23.

[21] Sims, "The Art of Literary Journalism," 9.

[22] Archibald MacLeish, *Poetry and Journalism*, Gideon D. Seymour Memorial Lecture by Archibald MacLeish (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, October 12, 1958), 13, quoted in Connery, *Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism*, 11.

[23] Soares, "The Island of Loneliness?" 215.

[24] Coutinho, "Desafios para a Historiografia . . . Challenges for a Historiography . . . ," 15.

[25] Soares, "The Island of Loneliness?" 215.

[26] Tavares, *Sul*.

[27] Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 99.

[28] Soares, "A Global Context for the Weapons of Storytelling," 131.

[29] Roberto Herrscher, *Periodismo Narrativo* (Providencia, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Finis Tarrae, 2016), 35, quoted in Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 98 (translation from Portuguese to English by Alice Trindade).

[30] Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 42.

[31] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 47.

[32] Ochoa, 62.

[33] Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*, 17.

[34] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 100.

[35] Herrscher, *Periodismo Narrativo*, 48, quoted in Soares, "A Global Context for the Weapons of Storytelling," 131.

[36] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 165.

[37] Ochoa, 193.

[38] Ferreira, "Interacionismo e as percepções de compra da experiência turística," 1.

[39] Magris, *El infinito viajar*, 21.

[40] Trindade, "Angola – Territory and Identity. Chronicles by Luís Fernando."

[41] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," (online, unpaginated).

[42] Coutinho, "Desafios para a Historiografia . . . Challenges for a Historiography . . . ," 7; Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 97.

[43] Trindade, 102.

[44] Abrahamson and Pelczar, "Searching for the Perfect Title," 109.

[45] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 191.

[46] Ochoa, 104.

[47] Ochoa, 193.

[48] Ochoa, 163.

[49] Ochoa, 192.

[50] Ochoa, 20.
[51] Ochoa, 175.
[52] Ochoa, 131.
[53] Ochoa, 192.
[54] Ochoa, 194.
[55] Ochoa, 28.
[56] Ochoa, 60.
[57] Ochoa, 24.
[58] Ochoa, 23.
[59] Ochoa, 103.
[60] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," (online, unpaginated).
[61] Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 93, 99.
[62] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 162.
[63] Ochoa, 162.
[64] Ochoa, 161.
[65] Ochoa, 145.
[66] Ochoa, 74.
[67] Ochoa, 56.
[68] Ochoa, 64.
[69] Ochoa, 163.
[70] Ochoa, 22.
[71] Ochoa, 48.
[72] Ochoa, 71.
[73] Ochoa, 69.
[74] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," (online, unpaginated).
[75] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 48.
[76] Ochoa, 69.
[77] Ochoa, 162–63 (emphasis in the original).
[78] Ochoa, 30.
[79] Ochoa, 54.
[80] Ochoa, 69.
[81] Ochoa, 46.
[82] Soares, "From Amazonas to the Northeast," (online, unpaginated).
[83] Ochoa, "O Que a Vida Me Ensinou: Raquel Ochoa."
[84] Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 100.
[85] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 24.
[86] Ochoa, 24.
[87] Ochoa, 51.
[88] Ochoa, 115.
[89] Said, *Orientalism*, 238–39.
[90] Fitzgerald, "Nineteenth-Century Women Writers," 20.
[91] Ochoa, *O Vento dos Outros*, 89.
[92] Ochoa, 137.
[93] Ochoa, 21, 25.

[94] Ochoa, 118–19, 101.
[95] Ochoa, 155.
[96] Ochoa, 136.
[97] Ochoa, 187.
[98] Ochoa, 136, 185.
[99] Trindade, "Literary Journalism: Many Voices," 96.

Bibliography

Abrahamson, David, and Alison Pelczar. "Searching for the Perfect Title." *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 109–11.

Al-Saidi, Afaf Ahmed Hasan. "Post-Colonialism Literature the Concept of *Self* and the *Other* in Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians*: An Analytical Approach." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 5, no. 1 (January 2014): 95–105.

Bak, John, and Reynolds, Bill, eds. *Literary Journalism across the Globe: Journalistic Traditions and Transnational Influences.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

Connery, Thomas B., ed. *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism: Representative Writers in an Emerging Genre*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992. See esp. Introduction: "Discovering a Literary Form."

Coutinho, Manuel João de Carvalho. "Desafios para a Historiografia do Jornalismo Literário Português. Challenges for a Historiography of Portuguese Literary Journalism." *Comunicação Pública* 12, no. 22 (2017): 1–15. http://journals.openedition.org/cp/1379.

Ferreira, Raquel Marques Carriço. "Interacionismo e as percepções de compra da experiência turística." *Biblioteca Online de Ciências de Comunicação*, 2009. Accessed May 6, 2020. http://www.bocc.ubi.pt/.

Fitzgerald, Jonathan. "Nineteenth-Century Women Writers and the Sentimental Roots of Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 8–27.

Frus, Phyllis. *The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the Timeless*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hartsock, John. *A History of American Literary Journalism: The Emergence of a Modern Narrative Form*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

Kramer, Mark William, and Wendy Louise Call, eds. *Telling True Stories: A Nonfiction Writers' Guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University.* New York: Plume Books, 2007.

Magris, Claudio. *El Infinito Viajar*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2005. https://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=TkKdDwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PT4&dq=Magris,+Claudio.+El+infinito+viajar&ots=rKNRF_mZ5e&sig=fvb2pxJSj7IE4mjAVUgf8kY2Czo#v=onepage&q=Magris%2C%20Claudio.%20El%20infinito%20viajar&f=false.

Mulligan, Maureen. "New Directions or the End of the Road? Women's Travel Writing at the Millennium." *Journal of English Studies*, 2 (2000): 61–78.

Ochoa, Raquel. *A Casa-Comboio*. Lisbon: Gradiva Publicações, 2010.

———. "A Redenção É um Momento Inestimável da Leitura." Interview by *Sintra*, June 1, 2014. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://cm-sintra.pt/index.php?option=com_content&catid=194&id=2520&view=article.
———. *O mundo lê-se a viajar*, *As crónicas de viagem de Raquel Ochoa* (blog). http://omundoleseaviajar.blogspot.com.
———. *O Vento dos Outros*. Lisboa: Marcador, 2012.
———. "O Que a Vida Me Ensinou: Raquel Ochoa." Interview by *Notícias Magazine*. August 29, 2017. Accessed May 13, 2020. https://www.noticiasmagazine.pt/2017/raquel-ochoa/historias/123134/.
Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London and New York: Routledge, 1992. Second edition published 2008 by Routledge (London and New York).
Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin, 1978.
Sims, Norman. "The Art of Literary Journalism." In *Literary Journalism*: *A New Collection of the Best American Nonfiction*, edited by Norman Sims and Mark Kramer, 3–19. New York: Ballantine Press, 1995.
———. "The Problem and the Promise of Literary Journalism Studies." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 7–16.
———. *True Stories: A Century of Literary Journalism*. With a foreword by Ted Conover. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009.
Soares, Isabel. "From Amazonas to the Northeast: Brazil under the Gaze of a Portuguese Literary Journalist." *Revista Famecos*: *Midia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, supp. (October 2016). http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/24664.
———. "A Global Context for the Weapons of Storytelling." Review of *Periodismo Narrativo*, by Roberto Herrscher. *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 130–33.
———. "The Island of Loneliness? Literary Journalism from the Azorean Periphery." In *Centres and Peripheries: Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Journalism in the Twenty-First Century*, edited by David Hutchinson and Hugh O'Donnell, 215–25. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2011.
———. "Le livre et le journalisme littéraire: bref historique d'une affaire: Entre la zone de combat et le front narratif: la quête de pérennité du reportage littéraire de guerre." Speech presented at the Séminaire de la Chaire Sá de Miranda–Celis. University of Clérmont-Auvergne, France, November 2018.
———. "*South*: Where Travel Meets Literary Journalism." *Literary Journalism Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 17–30.
Tavares, Miguel Sousa. *Sul*. Lisbon: Oficina do Livro, 2004. First published 1998.
Trindade, Alice. "Angola–Territory and Identity. Chronicles by Luís Fernando." *Revista Famecos: Midia, Cultura e Tecnologia* 23, supp. (October 2016). http://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/24636.
———. "Literary Journalism: Many Voices, Multiple Languages." Keynote Address, IALJS–12, Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 2017. *Literary Journalism Studies* 9, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 92–107.

Susana Moreira Marques

Scholar-Practitioner Q+A . . .

An Interview with Susana Moreira Marques

Alice Trindade
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, CAPP, Portugal

Isabel Nery
Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, CAPP, FCT, Portugal

Keywords: Portuguese writing – literary journalism – immersion – elderly studies – dying alone

Susana Moreira Marques was born in Porto, northern Portugal, in 1976, and currently lives in Lisbon. She worked for the BBC World Service and lived in Great Britain for a number of years, where her work was published in newspapers such as the *Guardian*. Her career as an author—the designation she likes to use for people who engage in writing, as it is the term that puts aside any differences between journalist and writer—has undergone different phases. She has worked for national newspapers such as *Público* and *Jornal de Negócios*, and more recently she has been with the Portuguese national public radio, RDP, where she hosts a weekly *crónica*. Moreira Marques's work with the BBC until 2011 allowed her the freedom to research and reach different publics and outlets in places as varied as Hong Kong and Australia.

Moreira Marques is a person whose demeanor is as graceful and observant as her writing. Elegant and delicate, she produces powerful texts based on information acquired through immersion research, handling difficult topics such as migrants' rights, sickness, and death, as well as easygoing texts that can be read on her blog, Bay Window,[1] which she wrote for two years about her experiences while living in London. As an observer, her gaze comes from the outside, but she allows her senses and feelings to gather impressions that

allow her to write within her own construction of mood. While all writing involves making a wide range of choices, Moreira Marques's reflects the delicateness of topics and her own response to them. In her point of view Moreira Marques is exact, yet unobtrusive. Characters and stories appear in a manner that neither imposes on them nor on the reader. The latter has the freedom to read and interpret at will, and the former are handled with respect for their individuality. The stories always have an author's touch in the ordering and rendering of events and, invariably, they become Moreira Marques's stories.

Isabel Nery and Alice Trindade interviewed Moreira Marques at her home in Lisbon, on April 9, 2018.

Isabel Nery and Alice Trindade: In 2012, you won the Journalism Prize for Human Rights and Integration, promoted by the Portuguese Media Office and the Portuguese UNESCO Commission, for a series of reports, titled *Novos Portugueses* (The new Portuguese).[2] You were also awarded a prize, *Jornalismo Contra a Indiferença* (Journalism against indifference) for the same series by *Assistência Médica Internacional* (International Medical Assistance). In 2016, you were given an Honorable Mention for a series of texts, "Armas e Bagagens" (All packed up), "Quando as palavras libertação e independência conspiraram" (When words, liberation, and independence conspired), and "À procura de um território comum" (In search of common ground), published in *Jornal de Negócios*.[3] How did the translation of your book *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*[4] change your work?

Susana Moreira Marques: As strange as it may seem, I've traveled more with the book and had more events with the English translation than with the Portuguese one. I've had more invitations to dialogue with other authors. In Portugal the book had wonderful reviews, but it didn't make it to festivals and conference circuits like the English version.

Nery and Trindade: Could that be because it deals with the issue of death?

Moreira Marques: Yes and no. In England, I went to several events where authors also published on the same topic. In Portugal, festivals usually don't include nonfiction. Besides, they are rather closed, inviting the same authors. In Portugal, if you don't write novels you are not considered a writer. You are just a journalist, which is a level below the writer. In English the word *author* includes everything, from fiction to history. Even festivals have a different mindset. They are book festivals, not literary festivals, as in Portugal.

Nery and Trindade: How was the reception of your book at the Edinburgh festival?

Moreira Marques: The Edinburgh International Book Festival is where I launched the book in English in 2015. It's the largest book festival in the

world, with 800 authors in three weeks. They call all kinds of writers. Some were doctors, some were writers, and some were people who had written memoirs. But also, musicians, philosophers, and politicians. One of the issues they focused on was old age and dying. In some cases, I was invited to talk because of the subject, but also about the writing, the relation between literature and journalism. Other events were about writing from reality. The process of writing fiction and nonfiction was part of the literary discussion in a way that doesn't happen in the Portuguese-speaking world.

Nery and Trindade: The mixture of literature and journalism in this genre was probably something that you didn't think of. For you, is this book journalism, literature, or both?

Moreira Marques: It's a difficult question. When I wrote it, I wasn't thinking in those terms. I was thinking of doing the best book I could. I was aware that I had material that was very rare and special and that I could write something that could be special as well. What I had in mind was to do something that could live longer than an article. Because the subject was so strong, though not that explored, I knew it was exceptional. In that sense it can be seen as literature.

Nery and Trindade: Kevin Kerrane, who writes about literary journalism, says literary journalism is "news that lasts."[5]

Moreira Marques: I wanted to write something enjoyable to read, that I would like to read as a reader. When the book came out, almost all reviews mentioned the fact that it had a mix of genres. It was journalism, but it had oral history and diary style. But this mixture wasn't on my mind. I was just looking for the right way to tell it, and it came naturally like this. Maybe this happened because this mix was already in my universe.

Nery and Trindade: How so?

Moreira Marques: I read journalism, fiction, and poetry. I've always struggled with language, trying to make a piece that was not just information but that could convey something through language. It was a part of me already. Maybe it was kind of condensed in the book. One journalist from *Expresso*, José Mário Silva, did a very good review of the book.[6] He told me that he used to read my pieces in *Público*,[7] and this was surprising. I would not be able to publish something like this in *Público*. But I had been thinking and writing like this, sometimes just for myself, for a long time.

Nery and Trindade: How did those other articles prepare you to write this book?

Moreira Marques: It was more the style. I wrote a piece about an elderly surrealist artist who lives in Paris, for *Colóquio Letras*.[8] I spent a lot of time with her. I slept in her house. I felt I had the time to get to know her. I could

do that kind of work that you don't get to do for a newspaper. In terms of structure it was also very fragmented, which was possible because it was for a literary magazine.

Nery and Trindade: Immersion reporting is often said to be a literary journalism technique, like anthropological work.

Moreira Marques: Yes. People will see my book as they want: journalism or literature. I understand that some people still don't have a clear notion of what literary nonfiction can be. A writer told me: "Your book is a novel." What he meant was that my book didn't sound like journalism, but like literature. If under the title I had put the word "novel," people would have accepted it and the problem would have been solved.

Nery and Trindade: Except, you did write journalism. Did you at any time refrain from writing something that didn't happen exactly like that?

Moreira Marques: I didn't do the field work as if I was to write for a newspaper, because I knew I was doing a book. I knew I wanted another kind of depth and relation with those people.

Nery and Trindade: Do you remember any constraints while doing field work that you wouldn't have if you were doing a novel?

Moreira Marques: No. The constraints were more in the writing process, not in field work. If they do come in the field, they are in your mind. I didn't do field work as a regular reporter, not with that mindset.

Nery and Trindade: How are the mindsets different?

Moreira Marques: I was working with a completely different time frame. I wasn't in a hurry to get the information. The first time I met people I never recorded anything. Every day I got a lot of information I knew I wouldn't use. But it was part of the process for people to get to trust me and engage. At the beginning people saw me as another health professional. They wanted to complain and talk about doctors. I needed to go through all that. I also talked a lot with the doctors to know the cases they had, to be able to choose. It's completely different from the story for a newspaper where you need to fit information into an expected output.

Nery and Trindade: So, time would be the biggest difference you felt in the field?

Moreira Marques: Yes. I wanted to go in a more anthropological way. Before I started to do journalism, I worked in cinema for some years. I spent a lot of time with people who worked in documentaries. I did a documentary on *retornados*,[9] returnees, families from Angola and Mozambique. It's not a good film—I was young—but it was a good experience. Looking back, I came out of it with the clear idea that people who worked in documentary film do a lot of field work.

Nery and Trindade: Time is usually an issue for journalists. How long did you have to do your book?

Moreira Marques: Almost a year. For field work, one month. Because I got the money from a Gulbenkian[10] fellowship, I could, for the first time, write a story where I could spend time with the people involved. I've always suffered with lack of time in journalism. I had a built-up desire to do something not in a rush. It's possible to write a book in two weeks. All the writers are different and if you're honest in your writing, that's not a problem. But this is not how I want to work, because of the superficiality it entails. If you read a 6,000-word piece in the *New Yorker*, you see that it couldn't have been done in two weeks.

Nery and Trindade: You state in an interview for the newspaper *Público* that your occupation consists of "positioning words on a piece of paper."[11] How do you go about it? Tell us some of your writing habits.

Moreira Marques: In the case of the book, first I read about the subject, palliative care. I read nonfiction but also novels or even history that could be references for me. I invited a photographer to come with me, because the first edition had photography. I went to Trás-os-Montes[12] for the first time in June 2011. I stayed for two weeks, then went back later in the summer for a week and in autumn for another week.

Nery and Trindade: Was that deliberate?

Moreira Marques: Yes. I wanted to be able to follow people through time. I also like the idea of seeing things through the seasons of the year. The landscape, but also the atmosphere. If you go in August, it's completely different because of the *festas*.[13] The first trip was to do a reconnaissance. I met a lot of people and traveled a lot around the villages. I was shadowing the doctor, going where she was going and talking to whoever she was talking to. I was aware that, as families who were dealing with their losses and the different stages of illness and grief, they would feel different things and say different things. I wanted to follow the process. This is why I decided not to go for a month in a row.

Nery and Trindade: How did you decide to write about this topic?

Moreira Marques: I lost two of my grandparents in 2010. They both died alone in the hospital, and this is something that is very hard to forgive yourself—the people you love dying alone. My grandmother was like a second mother to me. She brought me up, so it was quite hard to deal with her death, with the way she died, and the lack of support and information from doctors. That made me very aware of all the difficulties, silences, and taboos that surround dying.

Nery and Trindade: You were influenced by your own experiences, as it often happens with literary journalism.

Moreira Marques: By coincidence, a very good friend of mine, whom I met in London, was working in palliative care. She started researching in this area, at a time when the Gulbenkian Foundation decided to support projects on the topic. I interviewed the director of the foundation's health department, Jorge Soares, a doctor and a scientist. He told me about the project in Trás-os-Montes and in the Alentejo.[14] He sent me a lot of information and told me he always wanted to do something about the project that could remain. So, I made a proposal to write a book. That was that. It fell from the sky. Everything was easy from the very beginning.

Nery and Trindade: Did you try to publish the story in any mainstream media?

Moreira Marques: That's a funny story. I tried a prepublication, but I was told that it wasn't fit to be published in *Pública*. They told me it was too literary, and they couldn't publish it. I've always been a collaborator for *Público*, but I think that if I had been a writer, instead of a mere journalist, they would have published it.

Nery and Trindade: So, it was only published in book form?

Moreira Marques: Yes.

Nery and Trindade: Was it because of the topic: death?

Moreira Marques: I don't know. Yes, in a way. The first thing my editor told me was that it was not going to sell. Anything about death doesn't sell.

Nery and Trindade: She prepared you for failure?

Moreira Marques: Yes, basically.

Nery and Trindade: So, the difficulties didn't come only from the topic but also from style?

Moreira Marques: Yes. But they don't mind if it's a writer. If it's a journalist they will ask, "Why are you writing in the first person? Who cares about what you think?" There were a couple of pieces that I wanted to write differently, for instance, using the first person, and it was a struggle. I had to fight.

Nery and Trindade: Would it be different if newsrooms knew more about literary journalism in Portugal?

Moreira Marques: Yes. But in recent years I think that has changed. Nowadays I read more carefully written pieces. I think journalists today can communicate with other journalists and read them. You are not confined as in the past. We have very good journalists.

Nery and Trindade: What do you feel about literary journalism in Portugal and in Portuguese language? Some people say there is no literary journalism in Portugal. Despite that, are there any influences from other authors you would like to share?

Moreira Marques: I was influenced by readings, but also by journalists

who I have met and inspired me, like Alexandra Lucas Coelho and Paulo Moura. They were wonderful influences because I could see that the journalism they were doing was lived with such passion and engagement with the world, and that interested me. It was beautiful and romantic. The way they did it made me think that I could do it as well. It wasn't the kind of journalism that I had studied at school.

Nery and Trindade: Portugal is described as a poet's country. Can that also contribute to this lack of interest in nonfiction?

Moreira Marques: Maybe. I was never very good at writing news. I wrote about everything, from politics to sports, but I know I'm not a very good news journalist. I don't get a thrill from breaking news. My thrill is to tell stories.

Nery and Trindade: Did your experience at the BBC have an influence on that?

Moreira Marques: I was also influenced by my readings in London. Not only the papers. It made me think about the way we do things in Portugal. Why can't we use the first person? Who made that rule? I started questioning things. Today my library is half Portuguese and half English. I obviously knew some of the New Journalists but maybe I wasn't aware that the world of literary nonfiction was so large. I read Joan Didion and was completely taken aback. When I read those kinds of things I think: "Wow! I want to do it. I want to be able to write like this." She shows you that you can write about reality and do literature. And that can often be more interesting than literature. In the United Kingdom there is a large market for nonfiction. There are also many good memoirs. I keep discovering things.

Nery and Trindade: We are now in a more mature state of our society, after the dictatorship. Maybe we can think about reality with more detail nowadays.

Moreira Marques: Possibly. A couple of years after the book came out in English, an Australian magazine did a reading list for experimental nonfiction and put me in it. There's a large world of nonfiction out there, and I really think that, right now, nonfiction is pushing more boundaries than fiction. I feel fiction is a bit tired. There's a lot of repetition. Whereas in literary nonfiction there's a sense of newness. That's really exciting. I love that.

Nery and Trindade: Can you give some examples of Portuguese literary journalism authors?

Moreira Marques: Besides Alexandra Lucas Coelho and Paulo Moura, we have some very good things from the 1950s and 1960s, like Raul Brandão's *Os Pescadores* [Fishermen], at a time when people were very preoccupied with reality. Maybe they felt a duty to talk about reality. There's also Bernardo San-

tareno's *Nos Mares do Fim do Mundo* [In the seas at the end of the world].[15] It's a mixture of fiction and nonfiction. We've had literary journalism before, but it wasn't tagged like that. Maybe authors sort of lost that habit, as the novel became the big thing. I often prefer to talk about literary nonfiction than literary journalism.

Nery and Trindade: Researching your published work, it is clear that you have national and international careers, on multiple platforms: you write for *Público*, contribute to *Jornal de Negócios* in Portugal; and in the United Kingdom you worked for the BBC and published with the *Guardian* and *Granta*. Your nonfiction book *Now and at the Hour of Our Death* was published in Portugal and the United Kingdom. You now have a weekly, Thursday radio *crónica* with the Portuguese public radio station,[16] and contribute to the online platform *Buala*[17] that publishes contents from Portuguese language authors. Your journalism is multifaceted, so where do you feel best? Do you have any particular sense of belonging to a specific journalism subgenre?

Moreira Marques: There's a lot of interest in reality. Even in film, you see young filmmakers doing documentary or a mix between documentary and fiction—like trying to catch something that is about to disappear. My book is about dying, but it also ends up being about the dying of places and cultures. A lot of the journalism I have done since has to do with this.

Nery and Trindade: You also have a weekly spot on the radio. Has it been a good experience?

Moreira Marques: Yes. I'm not a radio fan, and I hadn't done radio before, but it's very interesting. Two years ago, I got this invitation from *Antena 1*. I found out that I like to use my voice more than I thought. At the beginning it was strange because there is so little time to do it: about three minutes. But it was quite an experience to feel every word counts. There's a tenderness in radio. I've grown into it.

Alice Trindade is associate professor with ISCSP, ULisboa, serving as vice-dean since 2012 and a member of one of its research centers, the Center for Administration and Public Policies, CAPP. Trindade is one of the founding members of IALJS and served as president from 2010 to 2012. She has most recently published on Portuguese language African literary journalism and the adoption by Angolan journalists of crónica as a tool for active citizenship and engagement, especially since the end of the Civil War in the early years of the twenty-first century. In 2018 she coedited with Andrew Griffiths and Audrey Alvés the volume, Literary Journalism and Africa's Wars*, part of a series edited by John Bak at the University of Lorraine.*

Isabel Nery is currently working on her doctoral thesis on literary journalism under Alice Trindade's supervision. Nery's research, included in the activity of the Center for Administration and Public Policies, is financially supported by grant no. SFRH/BD/129265/2017, awarded by the Portuguese national funding agency for science, research, and technology–FCT.

Notes

[1] Moreira Marques, Bay Window.

[2] News on this award may be viewed at the website for the newspaper and news agency, respectively: *Público* and Lusa, https://www.publico.pt/2012/06/21/portugal/noticia/reportagens-do-publico-premiadas-pela-unesco-1551418.

[3] Moreira Marques' texts, "Armas e Bagagens" [All packed up], "Quando as palavras libertação e independência conspiraram" [When words, liberation, and independence conspired], and "À procura de um território comum" [In search of common ground], published by *Jornal de Negócios*, as referred to on the UNESCO page of the Portuguese ministry of foreign affairs, https://www.unescoportugal.mne.pt/pt/premios-concursos-e-bolsas/premios-cnu/premio-de-jornalismo-direitos-humanos-e-integracao.

[4] Moreira Marques, *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*, translated by Julia Sanches from the original Portuguese, *Agora e na Hora da Nossa Morte*.

[5] "News that lasts" is a somewhat frequently quoted paraphrase of Kerrane's quote of Ezra Pound. Kerrane wrote, "the best characterization of literary journal-

ism may ultimately be the definition that Ezra Pound gave for literature itself: 'news that stays news.' " Kerrane, "Making Facts Dance," *The Art of Fact*, 20. See also Pound, *A B C of Reading*, 15.

[6] Mário Silva, "O Livro Feliz" [The happy book]. *Expresso* is a reputable Portuguese weekly newspaper, published in Lisbon.

[7] *Público* is a Portuguese daily newspaper that used to publish literary journalism pieces in its Sunday supplement, *Pública*, which no longer exists.

[8] *Colóquio Letras* is a quarterly literary magazine, in press since 1971. See Moreira Marques, "Brancas são as madrugadas. De olhos abertos com Isabel Meyrelles" [Dawns are white. Eyes wide open with Isabel Meyrelles], 157–77.

[9] *Retornados*, or returnees, were people who in 1974 and 1975 moved to Portugal from former African and Asian colonies during the various independence processes. An estimated one million people came to Portugal during that time, many of whom had no connection to the "old" country. Socially, sociologically, economically, and in many other respects, this was an unprecedented refugee crisis, whose history is, in a way, yet to be determined.

[10] The Gulbenkian Foundation is a private sponsor for artistic activities and scientific research in Portugal. It is named after its founder, Calouste Gulbenkian, a wealthy Armenian oil entrepreneur who settled in Portugal late in life.

[11] Correia Pinto, "A vida em 'contra-corrente' de uma escritora e jornalista 'freelancer." [A freelance writer and journalist's life against the grain]. (All quotes are Nery and Trindade's translations from original Portuguese texts).

[12] Trás-os-Montes is the northeastern area of inland Portugal where Moreira Marques conducted her research for the book.

[13] Inland Portugal, and for that matter the entire country, is home to hundreds of thousands of emigrants who return to Portugal for the holidays, usually in August. Traditionally, this is the month for popular celebrations and festivals, religious or otherwise. Villages that throughout the year are scarcely inhabited, and mostly by the elderly, rejuvenate. This phenomenon, which has gone on for decades, sees a steady influx of people swarm into towns and cities all over Portugal, including the islands, and continues to bring almost deserted villages back to life.

[14] Alentejo is the area of Portugal that is situated south of the River Tagus, and directly north of the southernmost province, Algarve.

[15] Brandão, *Os Pescadores* [Fishermen]; Santareno, *Nos Mares do Fim do Mundo* [In the seas at the end of the world]. Santareno is the *nom de plume* of António Martinho do Rosário, a famous Portuguese playwright. Rosário was a doctor and a psychiatrist, who as a young man had been the ship doctor in the Portuguese fleet of fishing boats that headed for months in Newfoundland and Greenland to fish one of the most beloved elements of Portuguese staple diet, codfish. The coastal town of Ílhavo, in the center of Portugal, has a museum dedicated to this craft and the adventurous sailors who manned it.

[16] *Crónica* (Portuguese, for chronicles). Moreira Marques, *O Fio da Meada*. Marques no longer has this radio contribution. In November 2019, after the interview for this piece, the Portuguese Ministry of Culture awarded her a yearlong, creative writing award.

[17] Moreira Marques's writings are available at BUALA. See Moreira Marques. "Author's Articles."

Bibliography

Brandão, Raul. *Os Pescadores*. Lisboa: Verbo, 2009. First published 1923, Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand (Lisboa).

Correia Pinto, Mariana. "A vida em 'contra-corrente' de uma escritora e jornalista 'freelancer.' " *Público*, January 30, 2013. http://p3.publico.pt/cultura/livros/6435/vida-em-contra-corrente-de-uma-escritora-e-jornalista-freelancer.

Kerrane, Kevin. "Making Facts Dance." In *The Art of Fact*: *A Historical Anthology of Literary Journalism*, edited by Kevin Kerrane and Ben Yagoda, 17–20. New York: Touchstone Simon and Schuster, 1997.

Mário Silva, José. "O Livro Feliz." Atual, *Expresso*, December 29, 2012, 29. www.tintadachina.pt/pdfs/7eb1689eeda481abf73bd3d93580c299-press.pdf.

Moreira Marques, Susana. "Author's Articles." BUALA, Accessed February 27, 2020. http://www.buala.org/pt/autor/susana-moreira-marques.

———. Bay Window (blog). Accessed February 26, 2020. http://bay-window.blogspot.com/.

———. "Brancas são as madrugadas. De olhos abertos com Isabel Meyrelles." In "Homenagem." Special Issue, *Revista Colóquio de Letras*, no. 174 (May 2010): 157–77.

———. *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*. Translated by Julia Sanches. London and New York: And Other Stories, 2015. First published 2012 as *Agora e na Hora da Nossa Morte* by Edições Tinta da China (Lisbon).

———. "O relatório mundial da felicidade na crónica de Susana Moreira Marques." *O Fio da Meada*. March 15, 2018. https://www.rtp.pt/play/p2057/e335877/o-fio-da-meada.

Pound, Ezra. *A B C of Reading*. New York: New Directions, 2010. First published 1934, Yale University Press (New Haven). Page reference is to the 1934 edition.

Público e Lusa. "Reportagens do Publico premiadas pela UNESCO." News Release. June 21, 2012. https://www.publico.pt/2012/06/21/portugal/noticia/reportagens-do-publico-premiadas-pela-unesco-1551418.

Santareno, Bernardo [António Martinho do Rosário]. *Nos Mares do Fim do Mundo*. Ílhavo: Museu Marítimo de Ílhavo, 2016. First published 1959, Editorial Ática (Lisbon).

Erik Drost, Birds Flying in Formation, October 12, 2013. Wikimedia Commons.

Teaching LJ . . .

The Literary Journalism Doctorate: A Missing Piece in the Disciplinary Puzzle?

Susan L. Greenberg (moderator)
University of Roehampton, United Kingdom

John S. Bak
Université de Lorraine, France

Alex Bertram
University of Roehampton, United Kingdom

Robert S. Boynton
New York University, United States

Kevin M. Lerner
Marist College, United States

Abstract: This edited discussion took place as a panel at the Fourteenth International Conference for Literary Journalism Studies, Stony Brook University, United States, in May 2019. Susan Greenberg proposed the topic for the conference as a way of exploring the question raised the previous year by the association's founding president, John S. Bak: Is literary journalism a full-blown discipline, or a more amorphous area of "studies"? One of the qualifying conditions identified by Bak was the existence of a recognizable body of doctoral work in the field. And so, the following question arises: What is the current state of doctoral-level research around the globe? To structure the response, Greenberg included doctorates in both the *practice of* literary journalism, and those involving research *about* the genre, or about related areas. She also widened the search to include all narrative

nonfiction genres, and posed a few starter questions, namely: Where is doctoral research on literary journalism taking place within higher education throughout the world? How much research is being conducted? Is this still a minority interest? What kind of critical constructs are used, and how does that influence the field in general and doctoral work in particular? Each contributor drew their own conclusions, but a thread can be seen running through all four contributions: namely, the need for a critical discourse that not only informs the practice but also responds to it, in a bilateral dialogue.

Keywords: higher education – doctoral studies – PhD – disciplines – literary journalism – narrative nonfiction – practice research

John S. Bak

International Dimension of Literary Journalism Doctorates

This is an important panel, and I am honored to be included with all these great names in literary journalism studies. I believe it is important to consolidate the information currently available on our international doctoral studies programs (methodologies used, authors studied, diplomas delivered, etc.), just as we do our academic research. Evidence of healthy doctoral programs in literary journalism studies around the world is evidence of healthy literary journalism research, which supports IALJS and *LJS*. And the good news is that there is ample evidence of a healthy and growing field of literary journalism studies around the world. But that development involves some growing pains that will have to be addressed, first at future IALJS congresses, but also by the senior scholars among us, as I will discuss later.

In the different doctoral work that I have been involved with, the first thing to note is the relative novelty of PhDs in the field, regardless of country or continent. The IALJS can take a bow for that because the majority have come after 2006, when the association was founded. The theses and postdocs I have identified below are the direct products of IALJS's global network that has helped make literary journalism a recognizable academic field in some places (though surely not all). Graduate students feel more inclined to undertake a PhD thesis on literary journalism (and its various monikers around the world) when they can see: an abundance of scholars out there who make up a vibrant academic community that they can join, with whom they can exchange ideas, and from whom they can choose a director/jury; respected and collegial outlets wherein they can present and publish their research; and a dynamic field in which they could potentially find a permanent (tenured) academic post. These three key elements are

now present throughout the world for young scholars of literary journalism studies, even if the third one remains precarious at the moment (more on that later).

The next trend to note is that most of the PhDs I have been involved with tend to come out of journalism or communications departments, rather than literature or language departments—be it *Lettres Modernes* or the *Département d'anglais* in France, or English departments in the United Kingdom, United States, or Australia. This is critical. It suggests that the majority of future PhDs risk not having proper literary training needed to fully exploit a literary journalistic text. The few PhD projects that are based in literary studies reside there only because they are not about literary journalism *per se*; the topic of literary journalism comes up only in specific chapters, for example, relating to research methods, such as immersion reporting.

For instance, many of my PhD students working from a non-literary discipline use aesthetics à la Wolfe or Sims instead of more pure literary analysis when analyzing their primary sources. The effect is that many follow the four or five *literary signs* of literary journalism (e.g., dialogue, scene development, characterization) which, in literary studies, make up only a small part of literary discourse analysis. When studying a Shakespearean sonnet, for example, a literary scholar does not first need to identify it as *literary* in order to write about it—it just *is*.

Future PhD students in journalism, media, or communications departments would be well advised to follow courses in English or literature departments, just as PhD students in English or literary departments should be made to follow courses in journalism departments as part of the completion of their degrees. Ideally, a new discipline, subdiscipline, or even interdisciplinary degree that draws on courses in both established fields should be mandated for any PhD on literary journalism—at least, before literary journalism studies becomes a discipline in its own right, with all the academic privileges (and headaches) that accompany that status.

Those theses in which I have participated—from direction, to jury member, to formal adviser, to informal friend—were concerned with literary journalism in a particular country. The tally so far includes Australia, Italy, Brazil, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, Czech Republic, Poland, and Spain. Again, the majority were conducted within communications and media departments, including journalism, but several others came from different fields, such as cultural studies. That is good news, as it shows the diversity of interests in literary journalism studies. The downside is that it produces PhDs who do not fit within the traditional departments that are hiring.

To illustrate these points, I can summarize a few examples here:

Direction or Codirection

1. "From Pike to Twain: American Romanticism in the Mississippi Travel Narratives of the Nineteenth Century," Gaëlle Lafarge, France;
2. "Literary Imagery and Subjectivity in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* by Zora Neale Hurston," Marie Pittman, France;
3. "An Epidemiological Study of the Counterculture and the Rationale for a Theory of Narrative Movements," Talal Victor Hawshar, France/Czech Republic;
4. "Peace Journalism and War Journalism: Reportage on Migration in the Parisian Press 2016–2018," Maria Carolina Giliolli Goos, France/Brazil;
5. "The Literary Journalism of Antônio Callado: Locating a Particularly Brazilian Style within a Genre Influenced by the New Journalism," Lillian Martins, Brazil;
6. "A History of Portuguese Literary Journalism since the Nineteenth Century, Including Interviews with Contemporary Portuguese Journalists," Manuel Coutinho, Portugal;[1]

The first three theses, from France, all of which are still in progress, are in English departments in which English is considered a foreign language, and the core of studies is based on literature, history/civilization, and language (grammar, phonetics, writing). The first of the three is being written in French. The students are not writing directly about literary journalism but are using components of literary journalism theory or immersion reporting methods as they apply to larger topics, such as nineteenth-century travel narratives, fact and fiction hybridity, and cognitive conditioning through nonfiction narrative discourse. The fourth, French PhD (Maria Carolina Giliolli Goos) is in a French journalism department. I can only codirect this PhD because I am not recognized by the French governing body to direct a PhD that is not connected to English studies, and her PhD is about contemporary French journalism and its narrative quality. The final two PhDs were defended in 2018. The Brazilian PhD, undertaken within a journalism department and written in Portuguese, was on a Brazilian literary journalist, and my goal was to support the thesis' theory and methods as the graduate student analyzed the original books in Portuguese. Finally, with the PhD from Portugal, also within a communications department, a first draft of the thesis had already been completed (in Portuguese) before I was asked to serve as an additional adviser. Manuel Coutinho translated his work from Portuguese (for an additional European recognition on his diploma), and my job at first was

to help correct the English, but in the end, I also helped reshape the literary journalistic aspects of the thesis. The thesis was ultimately reshaped, and not simply translated. While the final two theses have already been defended, sadly, their candidates are still trying to find work within the academy.

Jury Member/External Reader

1. "Inscribing Virtues in Australian Literary Journalism: An Analysis of How Journalists Communicate Emotions and Virtues in the Walkley Awards Winning Feature Articles from 1988 to 2014," Jennifer Martin, University of Melbourne, Australia;
2. "Narrative Journalism (2008–2016): A New Generation of Spanish Authors," Antonio Cuartero Naranjo, Universidad de Málaga;
3. "War Reportage in the Liminal Zone: Anglo-American Eyewitness Accounts from the Western Front (1914–1918)," Sara Prieto García-Cañedo, Universidad de Alicante[2]

I had no hand in the directing of these three PhD theses, but I was asked to sit on all of their juries. What is noteworthy here is that two of the theses were produced in Spain. In general, the hispanophone and the lusophone countries on both continents are responsible for a good portion of the PhD theses being written and defended right now—something worth noting. I have the feeling that, in Spain at least, the tradition of *periodismo literario* has existed as long as literary journalism has in the United States, and only now are the two traditions actually communicating with each other, and the PhDs being defended in Spain are evidence of that.

Perhaps, and this is just a supposition, while the Spanish and Portuguese theses are taking into account scholarship written in English, I suspect the opposite may not always be true. Real scholarship at the PhD level needs to be bidirectional between the anglophone and the non-anglophone communities, since serious scholarship on literary journalism has already been produced in certain countries for close to thirty years now and should figure in all our bibliographies whenever relevant.

As a side note, all three of these young *Doctors* did find jobs within the academy, but only one (Sara Prieto García-Cañedo) is on a permanent post; the other two (Jennifer Martin and Antonio Cuartero Naranjo) are currently employed on short-term postdoc projects that are quickly reaching term.

Additional PhD Theses and Postdocs

1. Ailton Sobrinho, PhD student, Université Clermont Auvergne, is currently writing a thesis on the impact of the nineteenth-century French *chronique* and *fait divers* on the development of Brazil's literary journalism;

2. Sara Izzo, postdoc, Universität Bonn, defended her thesis, "Jean Genet und der revolutionäre Diskurs in seinem historischen Kontext," on the late political literary journalism of French playwright Jean Genet;
3. Cecilia Aare, PhD student, Stockholms universitet, is currently writing her PhD, "Den empatiska reportern. Om reportagets narrativitet och reporterns uppdrag," on the role empathy plays for a journalist writing, and an audience reading, a piece of literary nonfiction;
4. Federico Casari, postdoc, Universität Tübingen, defended his thesis, "The Origin of the Elzeviro. Journalism and Literature in Italy, 1870–1920," 2015, Durham University;
5. Liliana Chávez, postdoc, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Mexico City, defended her PhD thesis, "Based on True Stories: Representing the Self and the Other in Latin American Documentary Narratives," University of Cambridge, 2017.
6. Aleksandra Wiktorowska, independent scholar, defended her PhD thesis, "Ryszard Kapuściński: visión integradora de un reportero. Clasificación, construcción y recepción de su obra," Faculty of Philology of the Universitat de Barcelona, 2014.[3]

I have also had the honor of conversing, either in person or through a series of emails, with other graduate students and former students who are currently completing or have recently defended PhD theses involving literary journalism. While I never had a direct hand in any of their PhD theses, I did play a role—as many of us have done within IALJS—in editing selections of the research that came from their theses and which were subsequently published in a book or journal that I have directed. I see this "mentoring" role as essential within IALJS, a mentoring that we can all agree has been there from the start, through the advice of scholars who have included Norm Sims, David Abrahamson, John Hartsock, Tom Connery, and others.

Of note here, again, is the variety of departments in which these PhD students have worked: Sobrinho, in a department of Portuguese studies; Izzo, in French and Italian studies; Aare, in the Department of Culture and Aesthetics; Casari, from an Italian department in the United Kingdom to an Italian department in Germany (his post recently rescinded); Chávez, from the Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages and Linguistics in the United Kingdom to a Latin American Literature department in Mexico; and Wiktorowska, from a cultural studies department in Spain to occasional postdoc work in France and independent research. The range evinces just how far-reaching literary journalism has become.

Of note also is that, while all of the recent graduates found work within the academy (though not always teaching literary journalism), they have been

employed on short-term postdoc positions that will be coming to an end shortly. In order to help each of them, I have tried involving them in my own research projects, but again, that will only bolster their CVs. It all depends on who will eventually hire them and in what capacity.

Conclusions

What can be learned from all of this? First, that at the doctoral level, literary journalism is still considered a media-centered field, even within non-media departments, and perhaps we should continue to focus on that angle. But I would not want to abandon the literature and language departments at all, because media scholars tend to focus too much on "canned" aesthetics from Tom Wolfe, as described earlier, and not on literary discourse analysis as such.

Second, one of IALJS's early challenges was to get students writing PhD theses on literary journalism so as to insure the field's growth. And as I have argued here, it has succeeded in doing so. But IALJS's greatest challenge today remains in helping recent PhDs find suitable employment, ideally within a university. Nearly all of our recent graduates are working in precarious, short-term posts, which give them little job security and even risks their abandoning their research on literary journalism studies all together. This would be catastrophic for IALJS and the field of literary journalism.

A lack of permanent academic posts is a widespread problem across all of higher education, but the additional problem in our field is that they are not simply waiting for the older guard (in which I include myself) to retire so that they potentially could fill our vacant positions. The fact is that many of us who are senior scholars are *not* in posts tied to literary journalism that will need refilling. So, in all honesty, what are these young scholars to do? We have all involved them in research projects and published their work to bolster their already strong CVs, but that is not proving enough. More needs to be done, and sooner rather than later. That should be a panel for a future IALJS congress.

While all of us at IALJS can pat ourselves on the back for having brought an increasing number of students to the doctoral level, our work is far from complete. We need to help them get permanent academic posts, and that will be no easy task.

Robert S. Boynton

The Dog That Didn't Bark—Literary Journalism's Absence at the Doctoral Level

U.S. academia and journalism have long had an awkward relationship. An offspring of Europe's ancient educational institutions, the U.S. university did not include professional schools of any kind until the nineteenth century. This is critical. Columbia University did not have a law school until 1858, or a business school until 1916. The nation's first journalism school, at the University of Missouri, was founded in 1908. So it was unsurprising that in 1892, when newspaper baron Joseph Pulitzer offered Columbia $2 million ($55 million, adjusted for inflation) for a journalism school, the university's president swiftly rejected it. It took two more decades and a new, more entrepreneurial president, before Pulitzer's offer was accepted. Columbia Journalism School opened in 1912, a year after Pulitzer's death.

This historical background is a touchstone for me, as I think about the relationship between literary journalism and PhD programs. These questions linger: Is journalism a profession or an art form? Is it an object of scholarship or a craft suitable only for instruction? Is it ensconced in the faculty of arts and sciences (as at my university) or taught in a self-contained school, as with law, medicine, and business? Such institutional considerations might be dismissed as inside baseball, but a discipline's academic pedigree influences and reflects the way it is perceived in the world.

Given journalism's uneasy place, *literary* journalism is *twice*-cursed: at odds with (or ignored by) academia and neglected—sometimes denounced—by mainstream journalism, it has no natural home, institutional redoubt, or constituency. The situation improved slightly with the founding of the IALJS in 2006 and its journal, *Literary Journalism Studies*, in 2009.

Literary journalism ran afoul of academic and journalistic sensibilities for different reasons. With the exception of nineteenth-century polymaths like Stephen Crane and Walt Whitman, academics judged U.S. nonfiction writers too recent, and journalism too insubstantial, to warrant study. To be fair, they felt the same way about U.S. fiction, which English departments did not teach until well after World War II. In the 1920s, mainstream journalism, under the sway of Walter Lippmann, rejected literary journalism as lacking sufficient objectivity. As Miles Maguire notes in a forthcoming essay, the Pulitzer competition did not acknowledge anything akin to literary journalism until 1979, when it created an award for "feature writing."[4]

And, frankly, this is one of the reasons many of us are drawn to literary journalism. Neither codified by scholars nor assimilated by mainstream journalism, this duel neglect is one of the factors behind literary journalism's

enduring vitality, both across genres and across the globe. An air of raffish independence is part of its allure.

Aside from investigating the historical relationship between literary journalism and academia, I looked at the work that has been produced in the past twenty years. I searched all dissertations with the phrase "literary journalism" in their title, and then widened to include dissertations that used the phrase frequently in their texts. I then added some of the icons of the genre to expand the pool. The resulting tally came to roughly thirty-five dissertations.

By far the largest departmental home was English with fifteen, journalism/communication programs came second with eleven dissertations, and American studies with just five. Spanish/Portuguese studies had another four.

Literary journalism is itself interdisciplinary, so I looked at two relatively recent developments in the university—area studies and American studies—to see whether either field provided guidance for literary journalism scholarship. Emerging after World War II, area studies was too dominated by Cold War ideology to be a model, so I focused on the latter.

The birth of American studies is commonly dated at 1927, with the publication of Vernon Lewis Parrington's three-volume *Main Currents in American Thought*.[5] Following that, Harvard's department of history and American civilization was founded in 1936, and the *American Quarterly* was launched in 1949.

One attraction of American studies as a model for literary journalism studies is that both have an interdisciplinary core. "Whereas other disciplines define themselves by their purview—French studies French language and literature, etc.—American Studies defines itself by its approach, its vision," writes Mark Bauerlein in "The Institutionalization of American Studies."[6] In many respects, American Studies resembles literary journalism's uncomfortable relationship with mainstream academia. Both have "[a]n uneasy relationship with traditional scholarship and with academe as a whole,"[7] he concludes.

American studies has absorbed each iteration of the culture's self-expression—African-American Studies, Cultural Studies, Film Studies, Women's Studies, LGBTQ studies—proving itself as protean as the phenomenon it examines. As such, I argue that American studies is the best rubric under which literary journalism studies might thrive.

A version of this piece appears as the foreword to The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*, edited by William E. Dow and Roberta S. Maguire (Routledge, 2020).*

Kevin M. Lerner

Falling between the Cracks: A Recent Student's View of the Wider Disciplinary Problem

At first I thought, "I'm not qualified to talk on this subject." Then I realized no one is. I came to earn a doctorate in journalism—not strictly literary journalism, and if we are being honest, not even technically in journalism, but in communication—in something of a roundabout way. Which is to say, in more or less the usual way.

I backed into studying journalism, and while my career makes sense read backward, I would never tell another student that my path to what I am doing now is *the* path to what I am doing now. Doctorates, done right, are particular. After all, the goal is to become the world's foremost expert in a topic that no one else is quite as expert in. One does not just earn a doctorate in history, but in early modern east Asian history, and one's dissertation is about a particular person or movement or work of art. One does not just earn a doctorate in philosophy, but in the relationship between neuroanatomy and the philosophy of mind, with a dissertation combining functional MRI scans of cat brains and a disquisition on feline epistemology. And the problem is compounded in the world of journalism, since journalism does not have one particular academic home.

I began my studies as an undergraduate in a department of English literature—and when I began, the major offered only critical studies of fiction. Halfway through my time there, the department introduced a concentration in "creative nonfiction writing," one of the aliases of literary journalism. I quickly switched to that. But I earned a master's degree in journalism in a program where, at the time, any deviation from the inverted pyramid style of writing was viewed as somehow decadent. Sure, there are MFA programs in writing that will allow for nonfiction writing, but I felt the pressure to do something more . . . important.

And when I came to explore doctoral programs, I did not yet know how specific, how particular, the PhD was going to be, and I found myself in a small program where those of us studying journalism were sharing classrooms with information scientists and scholars of human communication. And within the journalism program itself, there were students taking critical theory approaches, students who took the more traditional social science approaches of mass communication, and I, a historian.

The problem with the literary journalism doctorate is that journalism is a topic, not a discipline. There is no one, accepted way to study the phenomenon of journalism; and literary journalism, as a subspecies of journalism, has even less secure an academic home.

I have studied journalism in an English literature department, in a dedicated journalism school, and in a department of journalism and media studies in a school of communication that also offers library studies, communication studies, and information science courses. I have *taught* journalism in an English literature department, in a department of communication that also offered theater and public relations courses, and in a department of communication that also offers sports communication and advertising courses. Literary journalism has always found its way into what I am studying and what I am teaching.

I could not reasonably tell any aspiring scholar or practitioner of literary journalism to follow my path, exactly, but neither is there a clear path of any kind to follow. So what, then, is one to do when pursuing a terminal degree in literary journalism? The first thing to know is that doctoral-level degrees in how to do literary journalism are practically unheard of in the United States. The doctorate of fine arts does exist, but good luck finding a writing program in one—or in persuading a university hiring committee that this is the degree that should get a tenure-track job.

But if you are not intent on learning the ins and outs of producing literary journalism, there is always the doctorate in literature, with a focus on nonfiction writing. That's one possibility, but of course you'll be learning literary journalism through the lens of literature. That's a perfectly valid approach to the field, but it is a specific one, and you are unlikely to find an adviser who has much expertise outside of literary studies.

Similarly, you might find that your best bet is in an area studies program. You could study Latin American literary journalism in a Latin American studies program. Or in East Asian, American, or even queer studies or women's studies programs. All of these are valid places to pursue the degree.

The other big option in the United States, of course, is the communications PhD, which is where you are most likely to find someone studying journalism. A lot of the big programs that have traditionally turned out PhDs made their names with a social science focus: that is, the midcentury mass communications degree. There is far more diversity of approach in these schools now, but there are vestiges of this social scientific legacy in most degree programs. You might be asked to learn your way around inferential statistics and how to craft a Likert scale as a part of a media effects survey. You will probably have to learn something of framing theory or agenda setting.

They're useful in their way, but maybe you won't find a way to apply them to a reading of the work of Susan Orlean, whose journalism is more specific, intellectual, humane, than anything that a theory of mass communication can explain. So one option here—and this is probably the most realistic op-

tion for pursuing a literary journalism doctorate—is to grit your teeth and power through the parts of the coursework that don't help your research, knowing that when you get to the comprehensive exams and the dissertation, you should have a little bit more freedom to direct your own studies.

Of course, that's true of anyone in a doctoral program: some of the material in the coursework will stay in the coursework and not follow into your career. But that material for most people does establish the field. In literary journalism studies, you might feel even more alienated, given that this subfield has not been widely adopted in these programs, and so you might find yourself leaving behind nearly all that coursework as you progress through your career as a scholar.

I found myself in a similar situation as a budding historian of journalism. I could have applied to doctoral programs in history had I known that history was where I would end up. But as an early career scholar, I knew that the journalism-half of journalism history was important to me, but I had not yet discovered the history-half. Historians of journalism are not unheard of in these big mass communication programs, but you don't find the same emphasis on historiography that you do on learning mass comm theories. My eventual dissertation adviser holds a dual appointment in the department of journalism and media studies and the department of history. He was trained as a historian in a "proper" history department. So, I see how a path into journalism studies from another discipline can work.

But perhaps the more important lesson to take from my adviser is not his path to working in a department of journalism, but my path to working with him. Because in the end, earning the doctorate is really about individual people. Choosing a program is important. And that's particularly true if you're undecided about the specific approach to the discipline you plan to take. You will want a big enough program that you can change your mind if you need or want to. But if you're directed, and you know what you want to study, then you need to identify the individual scholars you want to work with. Read their work. Reach out to them and talk to them on the phone or visit them. Talk about what you might want to study and build rapport before you ever enroll. My doctoral program was a decent fit for me. But my dissertation committee—literally, those four human beings—shaped me into the scholar I am.

And so, even though literary journalism studies has yet to become entrenched in the academy, that may not matter for you as a scholar, as long as you find the right people to work with.

Susan L. Greenberg

Supervising Narrative Nonfiction Practice as Creative Writing

The United Kingdom offers an interesting example for our topic. John Bak says that literary journalism has found a home primarily in communications or related media fields such as journalism, rather than English studies. That is quite correct, but my experience indicates that it is true only for research that is *about* literary journalism. If you wish to carry out doctoral work that consists of the *practice of* literary journalism—or more broadly, narrative nonfiction—you will find it not in media studies but rather, in the discipline of creative writing. And within the institutional structures of U.K. higher education, that discipline is typically based in English departments.

Furthermore, if you wish to carry out doctoral work in writing practice of any genre, you are more likely to be able to do that in the United Kingdom than in the United States, which is otherwise a much more established home for the discipline of creative writing. This is because in the United Kingdom, the terminal degree in creative writing is usually the PhD, not the MFA, and the United Kingdom sees a steady stream of U.S. students who come to the United Kingdom precisely because they want the doctoral-level experience. It makes a difference for our discussion, because the creative writing doctorate has an explicitly critical element that sets it up as more directly comparative to the *about* kind of research. The other key thing about the U.K. example is that there are a sufficient number of doctorates in writing practice to support generalization, including a steady trickle of practice-based doctoral work in narrative nonfiction genres, some of them overlapping with literary journalism. This work is usually identified as *creative nonfiction* or *life writing*. Out of the 180 or so creative writing PhDs logged on the British Library's ETHoS database, perhaps ten percent fall in that camp.[8]

I speak about this kind of U.K. doctoral work from direct experience. I have been supervising my own doctoral student (who is also present on this panel). I have served as an external examiner at other universities. And I have sat on the higher education committee of the creative writing subject association NAWE,[9] contributing to an update of the research benchmark that is used across the United Kingdom, so I have benefited from learning about the wider experience of colleagues. What might the U.K. experience mean for literary journalism as a discipline? And what experiences might be transferable to other contexts?

One potentially positive contribution is the use of a critical component as a standard part of the creative practice PhD. The critical commentary, usually comprising twenty or thirty percent of the total thesis, offers a chance to articulate the ways in which the creative work is original and to situate it in

the wider conversation about that genre. The requirement to define and contextualize the work is helpful for the same reasons as for a more conventional thesis: it encourages the candidate to aim higher and helps to develop the discipline by building a critical literature. In sum, it underwrites the process of making an original contribution to knowledge, relevant to both theory and practice.

As a doctoral supervisor, I can vouch for the usefulness of supervising a critical commentary in tandem with a creative work; I find that it keeps me on my toes, both pedagogically and intellectually, and I have gained immeasurably from the discoveries and unexpected perspectives that the supervisee brings to the subject. At the same time there are challenges in supervising narrative nonfiction practice at the doctoral level. My argument is that the challenges facing creative nonfiction are directly relatable to the challenges that face literary journalism as another, even newer, entrant to the academy, and can inform our discussion about the interpretive frameworks that might support the growth of the latter.

The main challenge is that narrative nonfiction writing practice is still a minority interest and there is generally a dearth of suitable specialists who can serve as supervisors and examiners. Those of us in that position are in demand but we would rather have less rarity value, because even when specialists are present, the wider lack of familiarity that results from narrative nonfiction's minority status in the academy can impact the process. For example, nonspecialists serving as internal examiners may bring unexamined assumptions about the form, and the attitude of colleagues who start from a low base of knowledge can veer sharply from hostile or overexacting to laissez-faire. At one end of the scale, they may have unrealistic expectations about the critical component and expect the student to do twice as much work by producing a full literary text *and* a conventional criticism. At the other, they may assume that *anything goes*, and the critical element is allowed to be erratic or purely anecdotal, thereby undermining its quality.

Alternatively, the critical commentary may be rigorous enough in its own terms but divorced from the creative work. This may be linked to a trend, whereby faculty members from literature programs—left under-employed by falling demand for PhDs in English—are redeployed to the supervision of creative writing students for the critical element of the thesis. The supervisee may end up working with two entirely separate supervisors on two separate writing projects.

In my own view, this latter approach is just as likely to undermine the quality of the thesis as does excessive laxity. A successful commentary that engages fully with the creative part of the thesis can help to raise the standard

of writing practice by creating a virtuous loop of discovery and innovation. By the same token, a commentary that does not engage successfully—either through laxity or separation—can weaken the work, resulting in something derivative or predictable.

Many difficulties can often be traced to a lack of familiarity with the literature, either about narrative nonfiction specifically, or more generally about creative writing as a discipline in its own right, including readings on reflexive practice. And that in turn reflects a wider difficulty for creative writing as a new subject area in the academy. The editorial board of the NAWE journal *Writing as Research*, for example, found it necessary to produce a bibliography that is distributed to all potential contributors, to avoid submissions that address their subject matter in a vacuum, and to raise the general quality of work that is coming through the pipeline.

To minimize the impact of any of the difficulties outlined above, I have worked hard to engage in regular debate with colleagues about the genre and my own approach to it, as a way of creating a supportive environment for such work. But there is a limit to what one person can do in isolation. The support I get from the network created by the IALJS has been crucial in that effort. The same has been heard from other members of the panel audience, who testify to their loneliness in the home institution, and the support from the IALJS that helped fill the gap.

Perhaps there is scope here for the IALJS to create a research benchmark statement tailored to literary journalism or even, with the right partners, to sponsor an international doctoral program.

Differences between United States and United Kingdom

If we look at the situation in the United States, we can see a level of interest in creative nonfiction as a genre that dwarfs the attention it receives in the United Kingdom, but the MFA as a terminal degree sets out to achieve different goals than the doctorate, and so it is less obvious as a comparative example.

The main difference is that in the United States there is great variety in the requirements for critical work, and a *commentary* directly related to the creative work is rare—possibly nonexistent. An MFA may require critical coursework to be taken alongside the creative workshop, but the potential choice of subject matter is broad, and the coursework is typically taken in other disciplines. In such circumstances the critical element of the degree operates separately from the creative work, minimizing the potential for an integrated analysis and an original contribution to knowledge about narrative nonfiction as genre.

The difference exists at the pre-doctoral level as well; in the United Kingdom the *critical reflection essay* is a standard element of *all* writing practice degrees, undergraduate as well as postgraduate. Which raises the question, how and why has this divergence emerged between the two systems?

A colleague from the NAWE Higher Education committee, Derek Neale from the Open University, offered me this rationale: "You could say that the U.K. requirement was intended to introduce criticality to creative practice, and its natural conclusion is the discipline-edifice qualification, the PhD. Or you could just say that it was canny—someone knew how funding bodies worked, and the critical requirement legitimizes the study in the eyes of funding bodies."[10]

The differences may also be linked to how other practice-based arts such as music, fine art, dance, and design are treated, says Neale. In the United Kingdom, for example, there is a history of fine art colleges and conservatories that were once parallel with the universities. Now that division has been eroded, and art schools have become part of the university, where PhDs prevail. The practice-origins of those subjects are not forgotten, but they are subordinated.

Overall, the comparison throws light on the way in which *all* disciplines, not just creative nonfiction or literary journalism, are subject to the prevailing higher education system in each country.

Alex Bertram

The Student Experience of a Practice-Based Doctorate

My practice-based creative writing PhD looks at the themes of photography and memory. The creative part of the thesis is a work of creative nonfiction, defined, following John Hartsock, as "narra-descriptive" writing in which cultural and personal revelations are intertwined.[11] I tell the story of the cultural life of a portrait of French actress Sarah Bernhardt that was taken at the London studio of Walter Barnett in 1910. Bernhardt was in her sixties at the time, and Barnett was a renowned Australian photographer who struggled to find a creative outlet within the confines of a professional practice. The thesis weaves the stories of these two people together through a personal journey into the history and travels of the portrait. It offers new insights into Barnett's contribution to the art of photography through the prism of Bernhardt's photographic and broader theatrical performances.

The research sits within the broader subject area of material culture history. This interest within history, a traditionally text-based discipline, is still relatively new. It forms part of a wider cultural turn that began in the 1970s, in which scholars believed that *culture*, or our interaction and relationships with objects and visual representations, could provide new insights into the constructions of social life. My research interest in photography draws on the specific anthropological concern with spatial and chronological contexts within which these objects, considered here as aesthetic and material objects, take on meaning over time.

Briefly, recent work by anthropologist and photographic historian Elizabeth Edwards has shown that when one looks beyond the image and engages with the material properties of a photograph, the researcher can glean information about the intentions of the maker and the social contexts in which it operated. Edwards's approach offers what has been described as an "alternative" history of photography, and she argues "that photographs, at the moments of their taking and circulation, constitute a complex matrix of power, authority, agency and desire."[12] Her approach is more about "a phenomenology of photography . . . the complexities of an experiential relationship to photographs that was not addressed by semiology."[13]

But how does my work offer an original contribution to knowledge? I propose that the project contributes in two ways. It offers a new consideration of the relationship between the form of narrative nonfiction and the subject areas of photographic history and material culture history. I explore these three artistic and academic forms—in effect, three different ways of envisioning the past, three different forms of *memory*—through the figures of both Barnett and Bernhardt in order to get a fuller sense of their histories.

Secondly, I follow the insight that the very act of writing, re-writing, and reading is in itself a research method, and propose that this process has led to the development of my technique and the discovery of my voice as a writer.[14]

I can offer six main discoveries so far:

First, I have found that there is a natural sympathy between my form of writing and the subject matter. Creative nonfiction and analog photography are both highly contingent forms of memory that are made to create a sense of the real. The link to the phenomenal world is a strength but it can also be a limitation. Both share the status of being between art and information and are therefore difficult to categorize. I have observed, however, that an inability to be categorized can also be an advantage. As my treatment of Sarah Bernhardt demonstrates, it can be one of the greatest sources of power. She cannot be reduced to a one-dimensional character.

Secondly, in this project I conceptualize the photograph as a three-dimensional object and chart its life story from studio to present day. My approach to research is informed by the discipline of visual anthropology in which there has been a move away from semiology towards a phenomenology of photography. By adopting this methodology for my research, I in turn become aware of my experiences with the photograph that I follow. I am sensitive to changes or inconsistencies in the photographic records that I might otherwise have missed. By combining a phenomenological approach to writing with a phenomenological approach to photographic research, I directly experience the unpredictable nature of the Bernhardt portrait. When I cannot date it due to her chameleon image, which shifts within a single sitting, I know what the disorientation of spectacle feels like, and I write it down. Critically, I can respond with far more flexibility to the inconsistences of this photographic record that might otherwise be off-putting to the researcher.

My direct experience engaging with the portrait has also helped me to see that the narrative itself operates much like the tragic Greek chorus: the use of personal revelation (the way I experience things and respond to them) and cultural revelation (the things that I find), which enables me to step in and out of the text, gives the reader the bigger picture. As this is a work of creative nonfiction, I can neither invent nor control the events of the portrait's *life* as it unfolds, in much the same way that the Greek chorus can only comment on the drama unfolding on stage. While I am aware that there are limits to an analogy with live performance, the observation reflects my approach in which I directly experience and record the unpredictable and fragmentary nature of the photographic archive. The observation also fits with the central theme for the project, which is *tragedy*. The term is defined here in both the literal and dramatic sense of the word. Sarah Bernhardt was, of course, one of the great-

est tragic actresses of her time. But the term also refers to what I perceive as Barnett's hurt at the lack of recognition of his work in his lifetime, and the irretrievability of the past. This theme gives a rationale to the entire thesis.

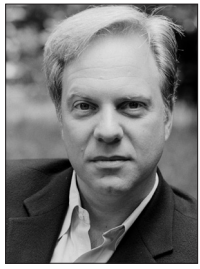
In the last chapter of my creative thesis, the analog portrait is digitized. For scholars in the field of visual anthropology the process of digitization is a process of translation. In any translation there is an understanding that the two representations are not the same. The process of digitization makes me aware that my form of creative nonfiction, in which I trace the life of a photograph, is also a form of translation. I offer a verbal representation of a visual representation. In much the same way as the digitization of the image has led to a new awareness of the material original, I too am highly aware of the balance between personal and cultural revelation, simply because the photograph is there.

The very act of digitally encoding an object also teaches us to look at ordinary objects or texts in a completely new way. In examining a photograph, for instance, one becomes aware that it is three-dimensional, with a front *and* a back. One might then say that when we attempt to describe the photograph digitally as a material whole, and when we take account of its experience over its lifetime, we reveal the shaping subjectivity of the people it has interacted with and its rhetoric of value in much the same way that the form of creative nonfiction reveals the shaping subjectivity of the narrator and his or her "aesthetics of experience."[15]

Finally, in terms of writing as a form of discovery, I have found that the very process of researching, writing, and reading has also helped to clarify why I chose to research this topic in the first place. When I began this project, the answer seemed straightforward: Walter Barnett's death passed largely unnoticed in Australia, his wife Ella burned his correspondence, and I wanted to see if his photographs held clues to his past. As I continued my work, however, I became aware that my interest in the project was equally about place and the complex nature of individual and cultural identity. I saw that the project was not just about remembering Barnett, an Australian expatriate who had lived for years in London, like me, but also, on a personal level, about not forgetting my own country. I also realized that I had become increasingly intertwined with the portrait itself, as a poignant object of memory.

John S. Bak, professor at the Université de Lorraine in France, and founding President of the IALJS, holds degrees from the universities of Illinois, Ball State, and the Sorbonne. Among other publications he coedited (with Bill Reynolds) Literary Journalism across the Globe *(2011) and (with Monica Martinez) "Literary Journalism as a Discipline,"* Brazilian Journalism Research *(2018). He heads the research project ReportAGES on literary journalism and war and was recently awarded a three-year research grant to study the influences of the French press on the Chilean* crónica.

Alex Bertram is a production editor with experience in trade and academic publishing. At the time of publication, she was completing a creative writing doctorate at the University of Roehampton.



Robert S. Boynton, director of New York University's Literary Reportage program, is author of The Invitation-Only Zone *(Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016) and* The New New Journalism *(Vintage, 2005).*

Susan L. Greenberg, senior lecturer at the University of Roehampton, holds a PhD from University College London. She is a founding member of the International Association of Literary Journalism Studies. Her latest book is A Poetics of Editing *(Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).*

Kevin M. Lerner is assistant professor of journalism at Marist College in Poughkeepsie, New York, and a 2014 graduate of the doctoral program in journalism and media studies at Rutgers University. He is the author of Provoking the Press: *(MORE)* Magazine and the Crisis of Confidence in the American Press, *published in 2019 by the University of Missouri Press*.

Notes

[1] Lafarge, "From Pike to Twain: American Romanticism"; Pittman, "Literary Imagery and Subjectivity in *Their Eyes Were Watching God*"; Hawshar, "An Epidemiological Study of the Counterculture"; Giliolli Goos, "Peace Journalism and War Journalism"; Martins, "The Literary Journalism of Antônio Callado"; Coutinho, "A History of Portuguese Literary Journalism Since the Nineteenth Century."

[2] Martin, "Inscribing Virtues in Australian Literary Journalism"; Naranjo, "Narrative Journalism (2008–2016)"; García-Cañedo, "War Reportage in the Liminal Zone."

[3] Sobrinho, Impact of the nineteenth-century French *chronique*; Izzo, "Jean Genet und der revolutionäre Diskurs"; Aare, "Den empatiska reportern"; Casari, "The Origin of the Elzeviro"; Chavez, "Based on True Stories"; Wiktorowska, "Ryszard Kapuściński: visión integradora de un reportero."

[4] Pulitzer Prizes, "Feature Writing," accessed March 3, 2020, https://www.pulitzer.org/prize-winners-by-category/211.

[5] Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought*.

[6] Bauerlein, "The Institutionalization of American Studies," 39.

[7] Bauerlein, 49.

[8] British Library, ETHoS e-theses, Online Service British Library, https://ethos.bl.uk.

[9] See Neale, et al., *Creative Writing Research Benchmark Statement*.

[10] Derek Neale, Senior Lecturer, Open University, email to author, November 29, 2018.

[11] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 10.

[12] Durden, "Elizabeth Edwards (1952–)," 87.

[13] Durden, 88.

[14] Cook, "Creative Writing as a Research Method," 204–5.

[15] Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*.

Further Reading

Bauerlein, Mark. "The Institutionalization of American Studies." In *Theories of American Culture, Theories of American Studies*, edited by Winfried Fluck and Thomas Claviez, 37–45. Vol. 19 of REAL: Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature, edited by Winfrid Fluck, Herbert Grabes, Jurgen Shlaeger, and Brook Thomas. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2003.

British Library. ETHoS e-theses Online Service.

Cook, Jon. "Creative Writing as a Research Method." In *Research Methods for English Studies*, edited by Gabriele Griffin, 200–217. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. First published 2005.

Dow, William E., and Roberta S. Maguire. *The Routledge Companion to American Literary Journalism*. London and New York: Routledge, 2019.

Durden, Mark, ed. *Fifty Key Writers on Photography*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013.

Hartsock, John C. *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016.

Neale, Derek, Susan Greenberg, Simon Holloway, and Andrew Melrose. *Creative Writing Research Benchmark Statement*. National Association of Writers in Education (NAWE), 2018. https://www.nawe.co.uk/writing-in-education/writing-at-university/research.html.

Parrington, Vernon Lewis. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920*. 3 vols. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1930.

Dissertations

Aare, Cecilia. "Den empatiska reportern. Om reportagets narrativitet och reporterns uppdrag." PhD thesis, Stockholms universitet, Sweden. In progress.

Casari, Federico. "The Origin of the Elzeviro. Journalism and Literature in Italy, 1870–1920." PhD thesis, Durham University, England, 2015.

Chávez Díaz, Liliana Guadalupe. "Based on True Stories: Representing the Self and the Other in Latin American Documentary Narratives." PhD thesis. University of Cambridge, England, 2017.

Coutinho, Manuel. "A History of Portuguese Literary Journalism since the Nineteenth Century, Including Interviews with Contemporary Portuguese Journalists." PhD thesis, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal, 2018.

García-Cañedo, Sara Prieto. "War Reportage in the Liminal Zone: Anglo-American Eyewitness Accounts from the Western Front (1914–1918)." PhD thesis, Universidad de Alicante, Spain, 2015.

Giliolli Goos, Maria Carolina. "Peace Journalism and War Journalism: Reportage on Migration in the Parisian Press 2016–2018." PhD thesis, Université Paris Nanterre, France. In progress.

Hawshar, Talal Victor. "An Epidemiological Study of the Counterculture and the Rationale for a Theory of Narrative Movements." PhD thesis, Université de Lorraine/Masarykova univerzita, France/Czech Republic. In progress.

Izzo, Sara. "Jean Genet und der revolutionäre Diskurs in seinem historischen Kontext." PhD thesis. Universität Bonn, Germany, 2016.

Lafarge, Gaëlle. "From Pike to Twain: American Romanticism in the Mississippi Travel Narratives of the Nineteenth Century." PhD thesis, Université de Lorraine, France. In progress.

Martin, Jennifer. "Inscribing Virtues in Australian Literary Journalism: An Analysis of How Journalists Communicate Emotions and Virtues in the Walkley Awards Winning Feature Articles from 1988 to 2014." PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, Australia, 2017.

Martins, Lillian. "The Literary Journalism of Antônio Callado: Locating a Particularly Brazilian Style within a Genre Influenced by the New Journalism." PhD thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista Jïjlio de Mesquita Filho, Brazil, 2018.

Naranjo, Antonio Cuartero. "Narrative Journalism (2008–2016): A New Generation of Spanish Authors." PhD thesis, Universidad de Málaga, Spain, 2016.

Pittman, Marie. "Literary Imagery and Subjectivity in *Their Eyes Were Watching God* by Zora Neale Hurston." PhD thesis, Université de Lorraine/Institut Catholique de Paris, France. In progress.

Sobrinho, Ailton. Impact of the nineteenth-century French *chronique* and *fait divers* on the development of Brazil's literary journalism. PhD thesis, Université Clermont Auvergne, France. In progress.

Wiktorowska, Aleksandra. "Ryszard Kapuściński: visión integradora de un reportero. Clasificación, construcción y recepción de su obra." PhD thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, Catalonia/Spain, 2014.

Book Reviews . . .

Nancy L. Roberts, Book Review Editor

Martha Gellhorn, November 1, 1940 (Associated Press)

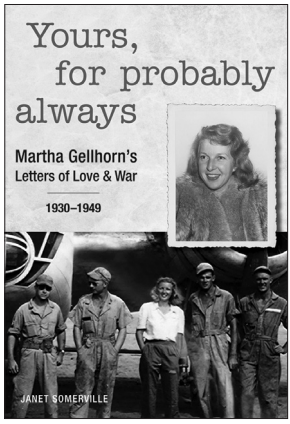
Timely and Timeless Words

Yours, for Probably Always . . . Martha Gellhorn's Letters of Love and War 1930–1949 by Janet Somerville. Richmond Hill, Canada: Firefly Books, 2019. Photographs. Timeline. Selected Further Reading. Letter Citations. Notes. Index. Hardcover, 528 pp., USD$40.

Reviewed by Isabelle Meuret, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

"I do not believe that Fascism can destroy democracy, I think democracy can only destroy itself."

— Martha Gellhorn, in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt (1939)



Long gone are the days when Martha Gellhorn was showcased as the wife of some famous great American novelist. Thanks to the copious scholarship attached to her name these last decades and the careful attention paid to her literary and journalistic production, the intrepid war correspondent is now acknowledged as a full-fledged and distinguished writer. While several biographies have documented her personal and professional trajectories, in particular Caroline Moorehead's *Gellhorn: A Twentieth-Century Life* (2003), the entertainment business has also contributed to glorifying this U.S. heroine, albeit through the slightly extravagant feature film *Hemingway and Gellhorn* (2012) by Philip Kaufman. In times when women's accomplishments are increasingly and justly receiving long-awaited and eagerly expected consideration, *Yours, for Probably Always: Martha Gellhorn's Letters of Love & War 1930–1949* is understandably a welcome and appreciable addition to existing knowledge. While this volume is not the first to present Gellhorn's correspondence—Moorehead's *Selected Letters of Martha Gellhorn* (2006) already disclosed before-unseen material—Janet Somerville's tour de force rests on her being granted access to Gellhorn's restricted papers, photos, journals, and correspondence, unpublished to this day.

Somerville, a Canadian literature specialist, set about the daunting task of sifting through Gellhorn's archives, a treasure chest held at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University. The book itself, an impressively hefty and elegant volume of letters, also contains two beautifully arranged inserts featuring vintage photographs of Gellhorn, her relatives, and friends, as well as reproductions of authentic missives, telegrams, and official documents, among which is a note signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself, and an emotion-laden visitor's pass to the Dachau concentration camp, wherefrom Gellhorn bore witness to the ultimate

horror. Unquestionably, the added value of Somerville's impressive curation of documents resides in its meticulous selection and arrangement, augmented with her own occasional comments and additions to the letters, journal entries, and diary notes of Gellhorn. Pondering over *Yours, for Probably Always*, more specifically with a view to its contribution to literary journalism studies, two elements stand out. First, Gellhorn showed unabated enthusiasm for and absolute dedication to her journalistic occupation and literary craft. Second, the timelessness and timeliness of her words, as they appear in letters spanning two decades, is astounding, given the particularly volatile moments in which we are living.

Gellhorn was undeniably proud of being a war correspondent; her determination to get the job done was her top priority and "obligation as a citizen" (413). This preoccupation is constantly present in her letters, which imply critical acumen and professional flair. Such commitment required a strong work ethic and constant introspection. She shared equal concern for the editors at *Collier's*, for her sources on the field, and for readers at home. That she went to great lengths to obtain firsthand information is clear from her letters and notes. If her reportages from the War in Spain published in *Collier's* bespeak her unwavering engagement in the coverage of the conflict, they also reflect the specific angle she was encouraged to develop, that is, stories of human interest. Her letters confirm this passion for people but, most importantly, they reveal the huge amount of reporting she did, behind the scenes, collecting information on the field and interacting with notable sources. Her scrupulous and methodical approach to her assignments shatters the simplistic image of Gellhorn as a reckless journalist willing to go to the war with the boys but telling stories that were peripheral to the actual military stakes. They confirm that her courage was immense; the risks she took are inferred from the moving letters she prepared for loved ones, never expedited, in case she died.

Gellhorn threw herself wholeheartedly in her journalistic ventures, but she was also a creative writer at heart. In a letter from Cuba, dated July 10, 1942, she confessed to Eleanor Roosevelt:

> I would rather be a journalist than anything except a first-rate writer. The writing of books is hard and lonely work and you are never sure for a minute that you have done the thing you planned and hoped to do. Journalism is hard and exhausting and marvelously exciting and always rewarding and you know exactly what kind of job you are doing, every minute. (352)

Gellhorn drew a line between her two activities, hence her concern about a realistic story of lynching she had written, of which she was no actual witness (135–36); and her reviewers were sometimes confused as to her reporting of true events (274). Is this dabbling with both reportage and fiction the reason why her then-French lover, Bertrand de Jouvenel, declared her journalism "unprintable," but trusted she would eventually "achieve the reputation of a Rimbaud" (98)? Allen Grover, from *Time* magazine, penned prescient lines: "I should one day publish your collected letters. They're magnificent prose" (110). Eleanor Roosevelt deemed that *A Stricken Field* (1940), a novel based on Czechoslovakia on the brink of war, enabled Gellhorn "to say certain things that [she] could not have said if [she] were simply

reporting what [she] had seen and heard" (272). Gellhorn, who felt "on occasion very mildly pleased with [her] articles" (401), cut her teeth on writing, flexing her muscles, "doing five finger exercises. . . . If you see something, you write it, to give the exact emotion to someone who did not see it" (285). She was also an avid reader of Koestler and Waugh, among others.

Besides these considerations relative to Gellhorn's journalistic and literary aspirations, her words, as noted above, are timely and timeless, to such an extent that reading her today proves a disturbing experience. Her commitment to social justice while documenting poverty during the Great Depression, her concern for the vulnerability of war victims, as well as her outright partisan advocacy journalism, strike a particular chord today, when nationalism and racism are alarmingly on the rise worldwide. Gellhorn's reflections do not necessarily offer a visionary take on the future, as her letters discuss events that spanned the 1930s and '40s, two decades tainted by the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, but they ominously resonate with the current global political climate and should therefore be read as a healthy, albeit baneful, remembrance of things past. By way of illustration, Gellhorn wrote in a letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, dated October 19, 1938, "I hate cowardice and I hate brutality and I hate lies. And of these three, maybe the lies are worst. Now Hitler has set the standard for the world, and truth is rarer than radium" (219). These comments were enlightened by her presence in Europe, where she observed first-hand the plight of Czechoslovakia and Spain, and then a whole continent adrift, blighted by Nazism.

While Gellhorn's correspondence is strident with social and political criticism, it is also instructive regarding gender-related matters. The #MeToo groundswell was undoubtedly a long-awaited and game-changing upheaval. However, as a watershed movement, it has also occasionally swept under the carpet instances where women actually stood their ground, outwitted, and surpassed their male rivals, or situations where male colleagues and partners were their best allies and brothers-in-arms. Gellhorn's letters acknowledge her irreconcilable enmities as much as her steadfast loyalties. They complexify gender relations in the interwar period and resist victimhood by repeatedly indicating that, for all the disappointments and deceptions she endured, Gellhorn was also often encouraged, praised, and trusted by male counterparts, mentors, and advisors. From the most abject and unfair ordeals she emerged with increased stature and command, not seeking revenge. She gained resilience and resourcefulness in the face of adversity. Arguably, her tongue-in-cheek admissions (after two abortions) that "[b]eing fertile is a great handicap" (54), or that she embraced her "future career as a *femme de ménage littéraire* [literary maid] with positive gratitude" (55), or that her father once claimed "blondes only work under compulsion" (66), should remain anecdotal.

More important is her recognition that she did not fit in a world that had limited expectations for women. That she "committed mortal sin" by opting for a life on her own terms was par-for-the-course "gossip" (60) in her native St. Louis. However, such parochialism did not spoil the genuine affection she felt for and received from her parents. Again, her admission that "I am somewhat the enemy of feminine . . . except

in a strictly limited field of personal relations" (299) shows that Gellhorn was capable of nuance and aware of the many human intricacies. Appreciably, Gellhorn's letters instantiate her attachment and admiration to her mother and to Eleanor Roosevelt, both dedicated and trailblazing activists. The numerous exchanges with the latter are telling of the support the president's spouse offered to Gellhorn and, conversely, the high esteem in which the writer held the indefatigable Mrs. Roosevelt. From these two women Gellhorn learned to be confrontational when the circumstances dictated. In a letter sent to Colonel Lawrence, on June 24, 1944, Gellhorn recalled that "General Eisenhower stated that men and women correspondents would be treated alike and would be afforded equal opportunities to fulfill their assignments." Yet eighteen days after the landing, "women correspondents are still unable to cover the war" (412). Her tone then became peremptory:

> There are nineteen women correspondents accredited; of these I know that at least six have had active war reporting experience, and at least two (of whom I happen to be one) have been war correspondents for seven years . . .
>
> Speaking for myself, I have tried to be allowed to do the work I was sent to England to do and I have been unable to do it. I have reported war in Spain, Finland, China and Italy, and now I find myself plainly unable to continue my work in this theatre, for no reason that I can discover than that I am a woman. Being a professional journalist, I do not find this an adequate reason for being barred. The position in which I now am is that I cannot provide my magazine, and three million American readers, with the sort of information and explanation which I am sent here to obtain . . .
>
> I must explain to my editor why I am not permitted to complete my mission here, and I trust that you will provide me with an official explanation which I can in turn send on to him. Naturally, since he has a very great obligation to the American public, he will protest this discrimination through channels in Washington. (412–13)

Gellhorn thus pushed her case with a view to doing her duty, not as a "need to beg, as a favor," but "for the right to serve as eyes for millions of people in America who are desperately in need of seeing, but cannot see for themselves" (413). This episode follows her fatal dispute with Hemingway, which resulted in their definitive separation. It is a known fact that he cut her short by stealing her job from *Collier's*, sabotaging her plans to cover the war, pure and simple, out of vainglory. Somerville provides evidence of the nightmarish situation in which Gellhorn ended up having to soldier on and embark on an endless voyage onboard a vessel loaded with explosives (397). However, this no-return tipping point in Gellhorn and Hemingway's relationship, no matter how repulsive and revolting, cannot efface the ties that bound them for seven years. Their correspondence is understandably quite central in Somerville's book, due to the many letters included, but it is unfortunately one-sided, as Gellhorn burned almost all of Hemingway's letters (only two survive). Although the rejection and deception are clear, mutual respect and appreciation, as well as tender complicity and passionate promises, exude from most letters. As Somerville notes, the palette of their own "idiosyncratic diction" is incredibly touching, a testament to their "cherished intimacy" (344).

Gellhorn was certainly an impetuous, engaging, and qualified journalist, but her personality was ambiguous. While self-assured and ambitious, she also lacked confidence and shared her fear of being a "profiteer" (385), conscious of her privilege to be married to Hemingway, and infinitely indebted to the Roosevelts for their backing and connections. While serious and caustic in her reports, she was also affectionate and hilarious. "Gellhorn, the first of her class to sin, the last to legalize," she wrote self-mockingly, or later, "What a shitty business: Who invented marriage since it fails?" (302, 418). And while she proved genial and gregarious, her musings on loneliness and abandonment tell a distinctly different story (410, 419). Yet Gellhorn was unapologetic: "feeling myself to be floating uncertainly somewhere between the sexes—I opt for what seems to me the more interesting of the two" (444). This honest take on gender fluidity is another lesson we take from this groundbreaking journalist. It is striking that, whether writing from the frontline, in the fire of action, or from her provincial hometown, Gellhorn's words indicate a similar engagement, critical eye, and evenness of temper. Her stepson's foreword to the volume echoes this equanimity, and points to the quality attention granted to all those who were blessed and privileged to receive her letters.

Yours, for Probably Always is certainly not restricted to a literary journalism audience and is accessible to a wider readership. Somerville embarked on a titanic project and fulfilled her grand enterprise with gusto. Nevertheless, despite the impressive collection of material and the laudable care brought to its organization, there remain a few gray areas in terms of methodology. While the bulk of the correspondence is between Gellhorn and her mother Edna, Eleanor Roosevelt, her partners and friends (Cam Becket, de Jouvenel, H. G. Wells, Hemingway, etc.), it is unclear how the actual curating was made. Somerville frames and complements each chapter with useful indications to help readers navigate the volume, but the criteria to select the letters, or passages thereof, or the reasons why so few diary notes are published in full, are not addressed. Scholars might miss such vital information to make sense of the blind spots in Gellhorn's papers. Also, while the architecture of the volume corresponds to the years 1930–49, substantial information that exceeds these two decades is crammed into the last part of the book. This paradoxically gives new momentum, but it also comes either too late or too soon, and slightly unbalances the whole edifice. It feels as if the author was itching to say so much more but had not anticipated the whole picture, or a possible sequel.

I first read *Yours, for Probably Always* with a view to identify how the volume would illuminate our knowledge of Gellhorn's life and times, already well furnished with biographies, critical chapters, and articles. Undeniably, Somerville's impressive work on the writer's archives contributes to the scholarship on Gellhorn. Having said that, I confess that I was tempted more than once to put down my academic glasses to take in Gellhorn's words as they were, imagining the pleasure and emotion she and her addressees must have felt when they received those missives that had traveled for so long, and from so far away. The volume makes us wistful of such correspondence, obviously handwritten in beautiful cursive script or typed on solemn headed notepaper, literally an extension of Gellhorn's persona, and of her kith and kin. Each piece

tells something about her mood, the place and time at which she penned those messages. We cannot help but regret and wax nostalgic about the corporeality, temporality, and spatiality of yesteryear correspondence, to which we held on physically in the absence of those we loved, admired, cherished. The remains of days when taking long looks at the world was a possibility, despite the atrocities of the times. A sharp contrast to today's vitriolic text and Twitter invectives that cause so much blast but blessedly never last.

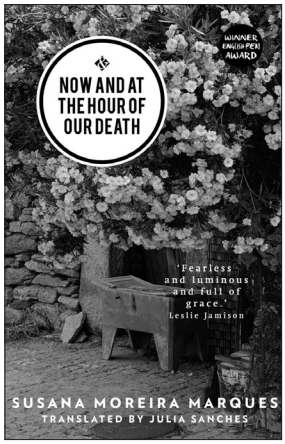
To finish on a positive and galvanizing note, which is also to bring to Somerville's credit—her sagacity to find gems in Gellhorn's massive correspondence—I suggest getting back to the latter's wise words, albeit she insisted "one should be a writer, and not a lecturer" (188). Indeed, in times of clicktivism and armchair engagement, Gellhorn's journalistic ethics transpires from her personal and professional contract, that is to be "where the trouble is" (352). In a letter dated fall 1939, sent from New York City, Gellhorn wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt a caveat that resonates like a mantra not just for journalists, but for all of us who, on a daily basis, struggle with ideas and juggle with words: "But the thing that distresses me the most is this: do you think any people have a right to a moral attitude which they will not back with action, or have they a right to convictions without courage, or have they a right to speeches and writing and radio the while they complacently eat their national dinners and absolve their consciences with words" (235). Gellhorn shied away from sermonizing or pontificating, but her letters, while never sententious, make clear how strongly she felt about her journalism and hoped it would inspire radical imagination and direct action. Surely, we have to thank Somerville for getting us reacquainted with Martha Gellhorn.

Behind the Mountains, Dying, Alone

Now and at the Hour of Our Death
by Susana Moreira Marques. Translated by Julia Sanches. London: And Other Stories, 2015. Paperback, 128 pp., USD $13.95.

First published as *Agora e na hora da nossa morte* in 2012 by Edições Tinta da China, Lisbon, Portugal.

Reviewed by Rita Amorim, Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal, and Raquel Baltazar, Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal



What genre, one may ask? A mix of lyric reportage, essay, interview, travel diary/notebook, and poetry, *Now and at the Hour of Our Death* does not fit into any defined genre. Some of its features, however—nonfiction with factual descriptions or real events, meditations, and interviews—lead us to believe it to be a Portuguese variety of literary journalism. Filled with detail in a style that avoids cliché and easy emotion, in a style recognizable to literary journalism scholars, it documents a life-changing physical and emotional journey for the author that leaves no reader indifferent or remaining the same: "It was easier to get here than it will be to leave" (16).

Susana Moreira Marques, a Lisbon-based journalist for *Público* and *Jornal de Negócios*, who has also worked for the BBC World Service in London, reveals the true skill of immersion as she moves to a remote, scarcely populated rural area in northwest Portugal, on and off for five months, to accompany a palliative care team and document the experience of life on the death rail or being at its bedside. Leaving all judgment outside, she becomes a villager, a resident, sitting in hot, uncomfortable, or unpleasant places, to just listen. Her book records detailed and intimate confessions of oncologic outpatients.

Moreira Marques goes all the way to death and back, almost a near-death experience, as she witnesses the ordeals of three groups of people: patients suffering and/or dying from terminal illnesses, such as cancer; family members looking after them; and dedicated professionals taking care of them. People fit into two categories—those who are departing or those who remain—and this is a story about their love, their sharing, their affections. Going from one village to another and entering many houses, she watches, listens, and registers the daily lives of real people aware that they or their loved ones are inevitably heading to their end. She takes note of their deep, intimate feelings, emotions, and thoughts in the most severe, lonely, and slow hours of despair as they acknowledge grief and come to terms with death, trying to make it a part of life.

Death, of course, which remains a taboo in Western cultures, awaits us all from the moment we are born. Here it is portrayed as a natural part of our existence from which there is no escape. Life and death go hand in hand and intersect each other. In a tough but tender manner, Moreira Marques demonstrates that writer and reader alike, quite like everyone depicted in her book, has no hope of being ready for death, least of all, if it entails suffering. The process of dying and the grief attached to it is viewed through the sentimental and compassionate eyes of a woman. The author is a sensitive woman who reveals the workings of the minds of the dying, in their words and in the words of their beloved ones, while simultaneously sharing her own feelings through several meditations. The author enters others' intimacy, reacting to what she hears, sees, and feels, taking the reader with her.

Now and at the Hour of Our Death is an intense, enriching book about contrasts. The indignity of death is played out against the backdrop of the beautiful northern Portuguese landscape. The old local population suffers through its final days while young immigrants struggle through winter and summer. A book about the changing of times and the social and cultural world in which they live, the poor living conditions of isolated populations are highlighted through the book's focus on end-of-life issues. Indeed, not only are the older people dying, the rural way of life—even the concept of remote poor communities—is fading away. It is a portrait of a dying, isolated corner of an aged Portugal hit by desertification. The population of Trás-os-Montes (behind the mountains) is aging as young people have been leaving to find jobs in the urban areas or in other countries. The author raises awareness of the ill elderly who are left behind to die alone, and the anonymous medical professionals, true unsung heroes, who minimize their patients' suffering and give them some dignity.

A title is never chosen at random. Portugal is traditionally and predominantly Christian, a religion where death and suffering are accepted naturally as a part of life. *Now and at the Hour of Our Death*, the last sentence of the *Hail Mary* prayer shows that, for these terminally ill patients, now and the hour of our death are the same. When the seriousness of their condition is detected, they begin dying, and the issue of faith is questioned. "But what is frightening is not the thought of the unknown: it is the thought that there may not be an unknown, only an end" (17). Our senses are awakened by this moving book of quotes and observations that is divided into two parts: Travel Notes about Death, a collection of fragmented notes, anecdotes, thoughts, emotions; and Portraits, which are interview transcripts and short case studies.

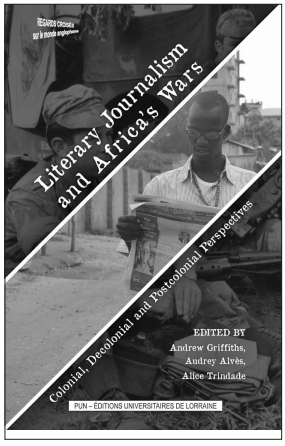
No ordinary reading experience, the book might be a life-changing experience for the reader, who, once finished, will have now also faced death. There is life and death in the dying and in the surviving, inside and outside the book. The reader becomes more aware that life should be lived more fully, because the memories of these people do not necessarily die with them. The sad, empty, and hollow journey from life to death is counterbalanced by the joy, hope, and beauty of celebrating life. There is a moral lesson, to live and love, fully: "life changes completely from one day to the next, and that's when you realize that there's no use fighting wars, there's no use getting annoyed—life's too short—and it changed my way of thinking, my way of being" (56).

Looking at Africa's Wars

Literary Journalism and Africa's Wars: Colonial, Decolonial and Postcolonial Perspectives Edited by Andrew Griffiths, Audrey Alvès, and Alice Trindade. ReportAGES Series, Vol. 2. Nancy, France: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2018. Illustrations. Notes. Works Cited. Paperback, 247 pp., 15€.

Reviewed by Marta Soares, Universidade de Lisboa, ISCSP, Centro de Administração e Políticas Públicas, Portugal

> "War is either a failure to communicate or the most direct expression possible."
> Charles Bernstein, "War Stories" (2003)



The second volume of the ReportAGES series, this collection of essays presents examples of literary journalism from Europe (England, France, Poland, Portugal, and Spain) and the United States that cover several wars and conflicts of (de)colonization which took place in Africa from the 1860s to the 1990s. The primary sources selected, as well as the essays exploring them, are culturally, linguistically, and politically complex in their different ways of looking at Africa's wars, pondering the impact of literary journalism on war reporting in different countries while allowing us to observe how discourses about Africa have changed over time.

With a thoughtful introduction by John S. Bak and Andrew Griffiths, the book comprises eight chapters, each providing an extract from a literary journalistic source focusing on a specific war, followed by a brief (yet comprehensive) contextual gloss and a scholarly essay. The primary sources contain a diversity of voices and perspectives—some of them comparatively unknown—that draw on different traditions and authors who represent them. While the original excerpts are presented both in their native language and in English, the essays are multilingual, ranging from English to French and Portuguese. Besides reflecting the diversity of ReportAGES, which is a research project that combines the efforts of several international partners, the inclusion of different languages reflects an editorial effort to "engage with the greatest possible diversity of perspectives," as Griffiths writes in the introduction (4). Though granting diversity and coherence to the volume, this multilingualism hinders access to some of the essays, which limits somewhat the possibilities of a fruitful dialogue between readers and scholars.

Starting from war reportage, *Literary Journalism and Africa's Wars* stands at the crossroads of history, journalism, and literature, addressing from multiple angles the

complex intersections between war, language, and power. Indeed, several primary sources take a critical stance on the political and cultural structures of their time, questioning the logic of the dominant colonial discourse pervading them by exposing the asymmetries it creates and supports. Chapter 1, for instance, focuses on Henry Morton Stanley, a Welsh-American explorer, writer, and journalist, who, after being sent in 1868 by the *New York Herald* to cover a British campaign to release European hostages in Abyssinia, voiced his disapproval of the attitude of British officials with regards to having African servants. As Andrew Griffiths observes in his essay, Stanley was very critical of the sense of entitlement displayed by the British, defining "himself in opposition to this privileged Other" (32). Chapter 5 illustrates the critical positioning against dominant structures that Frederick Forsyth and Kurt Vonnegut took in their writings on the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70), condemning the policy followed by the United Kingdom and the United States in this conflict. As highlighted by Cristopher Griffin in his comparative analysis, though coming from different backgrounds, these authors had a similar style, using techniques of literary journalism, namely the clear presence of a "point of view," to convey a personal perspective that criticized British and U.S. policies in Biafra, hence exemplifying the use of "literary journalism as a medium of resistance in a conflict that marked both authors profoundly" (142).

Still in the realm of power and language, while certain texts project an authorial voice that condemns the dominant structures of their time, other writings illustrate how this voice can be muffled by the political power through mechanisms of control such as censorship. Focusing on the Spanish-Moroccan War, chapters 2 and 3 present different strategies of working around censorship, showing photography and literature as an alternative way of telling the truth about the horrors of war that were meant to be hidden from Spanish readers. While Juan Galindo and Antonio Naranjo explore how *La Unión Ilustrada*, a graphic magazine founded in 1909, resorted to "literary photojournalism" in a way that countered its neutral editorial line, José Maneiro's comparative reading of three different perspectives on the Rif War (1920–27)—those of José Díaz Fernández, Ramón J. Sender, and Arturo Barea Ogazón—emphasizes how literature stood as an alternative to censored journalism by conveying a more accurate portrait of the violence and cruelty of war.

Censorship is also tackled in chapter 4, addressing the early days of the Angolan wars and their coverage in the Portuguese newspaper *Diário de Notícias*. After providing a detailed historical background of this conflict, Alice Trindade discusses the control exerted on mainstream press at the time, forced by censorship to convey the official discourse of *Estado Novo*. By looking more specifically at writings by Martinho Simões, Trindade argues that, as a consequence of such pressures, new strategies of representing war—stylistically aligned with literary journalism—emerged, namely the use of cinematic imagery from movies on World War II, which were familiar to the Portuguese audience, to represent a foreign reality in a way that was both apolitical (thus safe) and closer to the reader's understanding.

This way, Trindade points out, literary journalism played an important role in recreating a vision of Africa for a non-African audience, bridging the epistemic gap

between Europe and the so-called "dark continent." The use of language to bridge this gap is also addressed in chapter 8, where Ivan Gros analyzes several articles from *Le Monde* that cover wars in Africa from 1948 to the present time, and argues that French journalists created "metaphors of invention" so that readers could "see the invisible and make sense of the unintelligible" (208). In addition to granting access to the unfamiliar, these metaphors of invention also allowed verbalizing the extreme experience of war, an issue that is very much present in other texts. In chapter 6, for instance, Aleksandra Wiktorowska examines five different works by the Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuściński, written about several wars and conflicts in Africa, in order to illustrate how the author's style became increasingly personal and autobiographical when translating the lived experience of war into words, merging different areas (history, journalism, philosophy, sociology, and anthropology) in what Wiktorowska calls "integrating reportage." The use of individual testimony to verbalize the violence of war is also observed in chapter 7, that focuses on Philip Gourevitch's account of the Rwanda Massacre in 1994. While exploring the way literary journalism uses history and transforms it into a verbal representation of extreme events, Juan Domingues looks at Gourevitch's incorporation of the voices of those who survived the massacre, weaving a personal, impactful, and multivocal testimony that guides the author in telling these events.

As a whole, this volume outlines the academic field of literary journalism by clearly demarcating it (i.e., arguing why specific texts fit into this category) and by projecting a rich constellation of writers and scholars (Norman Sims, Tom Wolfe, among others) capable of upholding it. In fact, there is a systematic theoretical framing of literary journalism in the essays, presenting several definitions and different traditions (European and North American), pinpointing its style and constitutive aspects, and examining how its liminal position blurs the lines between objectivity and subjectivity, journalistic accuracy, and authorial voice.

Though a solid framing of literary journalism is provided, theoretical aspects related to colonialism and postcolonialism could have been further explored in dialogue with the primary sources. The issues rightfully raised by Griffiths in the introduction, namely the problematic of representing the Other, the fine line between "giving voice to" and "speaking for," among others, could have been furthered in some of the essays, especially where the work of seminal authors such as Frantz Fanon and Edward Said is mentioned but not compellingly aligned with the primary texts.

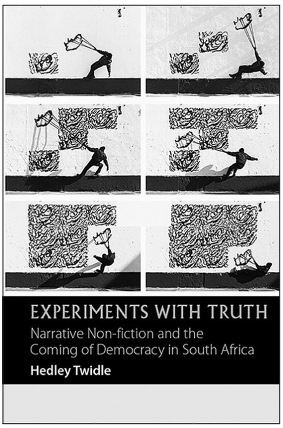
To conclude, the volume fully meets the goals set by ReportAGES, as it offers an overview of literary journalism on an international scale while exploring how it affects our understanding of war and its manifold impacts in personal and political terms. In a specifically academic scope, this collection is well suited for its target audience (students and scholars interested in literary journalism and war reportage), given the diversity of the primary sources, the depth of the historical and theoretical background that supports the analyses in the essays, and the different research methodologies put forth. In the wider context of war reportage, this collection lets us ponder the relationship between war and language, touching upon "the collective memory of what it means to be human—or inhuman," as Bak writes in the introduc-

tion (ix). In a way, war reporting shows humanity at its worst, in its ability to make war, and at its best, in its ability to endure and make language, which somehow echoes Toni Morrison's well-known statement at her Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, in 1993: "We die. That may be the meaning of life. But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives."

Truth-Telling in the Unsettling Present

Experiments with Truth: Narrative Non-fiction and the Coming of Democracy in South Africa by Hedley Twidle. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2019. Footnotes. Bibliography. Index. Hardback, 250 pp., USD$99.

Reviewed by Anthea Garman, Rhodes University, South Africa



Hedley Twidle's *Experiments with Truth*, which he offers as the first book-length response to democratic South Africa's boom in nonfiction, is an intellectually ambitious and exciting work. Up until this point, those of us teaching, critiquing, and researching the country's recent prolific production of nonfiction texts have had to rely on a special issue of *Safundi: the Journal of South African and American Studies*, titled "Beyond Rivalry: Literature/History, Fiction/Nonfiction," edited by Rita Barnard (volume 13, numbers 1 and 2, 2012); as well as book reviews in the media and the occasional master's or doctoral thesis to aid our thinking. Twidle has written a challenging, multi-faceted, and dense work, which takes a new and surprising approach to the matter.

Twidle quickly dispenses with the fiction/nonfiction boundary and declares that he is going to work across the "modalities of truth-telling" (to lift his description of the intentions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 4). He also declares his interest in compelling and risk-taking writing which has manifested itself—particularly in the post-apartheid period—in three genres of "non-fictive impulses": (1) literary journalism, testimonial narrative, and reportage; (2) the critical essay (which contains personal and political histories); and (3) life writing is its many forms and registers (3).

Twidle explains his method for the book (which is to read some surprising mixes of authors and texts against and with each other) as rooted in three "intellectual formations" (8). The first is literary studies, and it is in this section that he not only helpfully explicates the "non" in nonfiction but also states his disdain for the term (it's like talking about other clothes as "non-socks," he says) and his intention not to be caught up in the "problem of rivalry" (8) that the terms fiction and nonfiction set up between creativity and documentary. The second is historiographical, the writing on and archiving of the past. In particular, he is interested in how the ways of telling (and therefore the settled knowledge) of the colonial, apartheid past that South Africa has had, affects truth-telling today. This he returns to again as a refrain across the book, both because he is alert to the many ways denial of uncomfortable truth operates but because he is also conscious of the strong possibility that the past might also be "in-

appropriate, unpredictable or unusable" for the needs of the present (13). The third root is critical and postcolonial theory, which means that his sense of the present—its authors' situations and its writings—is how unsettled, how fraught, how complex it is to come to terms with (often literally). Twidle pairs the non in nonfiction with the non in nonwhite and immediately shows how the use of the non is also a negation, an unwillingness to give up the normative, to let others speak their own truth from their own positions and in modes not easily recognizable.

Another strong rationale for writing this book is that Twidle is convinced of the amazing *encounter* (a word that runs through the book) readers can have with writing. This sense of the magic that can happen through encounter leads him to go back to some texts (like Sol Plaatje's *Native Life in South Africa*, and the *Drum* writers), not for the purpose of finding an originary story for the nonfiction output and trajectory of this country's recent writing, but to show that encounters with authors and their texts know neither time nor genre nor other boundary in their ability to startle and arrest. So the surprising texts he puts together in this book presumably have had that power of encounter for him, and across his chapters he shows how these texts encounter—and illuminate or cast shadows on each other. Also, behind that word's positive use is the specter of colonial encounter, which haunts the South African past and present and therefore all its cultural outputs.

Having established that this book is not interested in an encyclopedic overview of the South African situation, and having also declared his politics (that the present is a tricky era in deed and word, that the past is not to be trusted as a source of help), Twidle then sets about testing other components beloved of the nonfiction theorist. It must be said that he makes no apology for rooting this work in the moment of writing—which is the disillusioned, frustrated, 25-years-after-the-demise-of-apartheid period, when almost every South African, black or white, sees no easy way out of a democracy that promised so much and delivered so little.

In chapter 2 he takes on the easy, simple, beautiful stories told of struggle and heroism against apartheid by choosing as his vehicle a protagonist Demetrios Tsafendas, the man who assassinated apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd. Tsafendas's chroniclers have treated him as mad, as a drifter, as a person with no real intention or presence, who somehow perpetrated a murder. Yet this man struck a blow at the heart of the apartheid machine. Only recently are different stories emerging that give meaning to Tsafendas's life and act. But they sit uneasily alongside stories such as Mandela's soaring and lyrical autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*. Twidle uses the telling of Tsafendas's story to introduce meaninglessness as a trope in some of the stories of the past.

He then turns to the pivotal historical moment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (which functioned in the early years of the new democracy). Here he looks at the stories of confession, failure, betrayal, and recognition of wrong. He is particularly interested in the irresolution of the commission's work, the aftereffects of living now with a sense of messy, unfinished business, and in this third chapter he probes stories that chronicle admissions of guilt and wrongdoing that never satisfy because either the confession is too shoddy and self-serving to be believed or too

well-crafted to be believed. He also takes on apartheid security agents' destruction of documents, which continues to bedevil the present by making all sorts of truth unknowable.

The best bits of the book are the ones where Twidle turns a sharp eye on techniques and tropes that have become commonplace in literature and literary journalism, such as the unreliable narrator. It's one thing for a reader to know that the narrator is signaling his or her unreliability, but what if that narrator is also unreliably unreliable, Twidle asks, giving examples of authors who are situated in compromising ways in relation to their stories and subjects. He spends a chapter focusing on the three early books of the much-awarded and feted Jonny Steinberg, which chronicle a farm murder in a rural area, the gang system in South Africa's jails, and the case of young men who will not test for HIV because of the stigma attached to the disease. Twidle shows that Steinberg's "I" position shifts from autobiographic to journalistic across his texts in a somewhat unstable and questionable way. He shows that Steinberg's *contracts* with his subjects, the individuals he makes the focus of his deep, sustained inquiries, are also unstable, often ending with the subject unhappy with the resulting text. He also unpacks the various kinds of evidence authors use to convince their readers of the value of the stories they are telling. While many authors are drawn to those complex spaces where great gaping holes in archival knowledge and memory are ripe for creative speculation, Twidle shows also just how these holes make truth-telling so risky a game. This may sound as though Twidle is judging bad storytelling by weighing it up against the checklist for good nonfiction. This is not the case. Twidle is emphasizing how the situation in South Africa, with its bizarre past and unsatisfying present, makes the apprehension of the truth difficult to render, and also for writers to claim to have rendered it. The result is the risky texts that are at once compelling and allow for an encounter, but which are also unstable and of this time of instability.

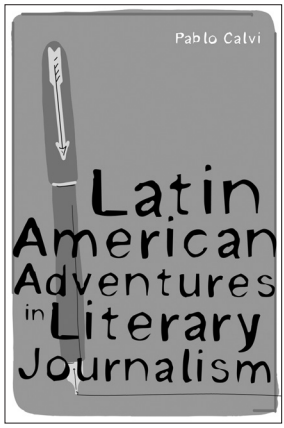
This unpacking of the intimate and terrible context-texts relationship of South Africa is the intellectual contribution of this book. Twidle has offered a way of seeing storytelling, truth-telling, and being here at this moment that has not been realized quite in this way before. The book culminates in a chapter that brings us into the #Feesmustfall, #Rhodesmustfall present, and speculates about how nonfiction is going to find its way into the future with a new generation of storytellers who have developed a brand of resistance to the present that is a powerful break with ways of telling that have become familiar for this genre. It is clear from this chapter that this unsettling present moment infects the whole book and drives the inquiry into the usefulness of the past, the positionalities of the authors who have reached the highest echelons of the nonfiction publishing industry, and the kinds of stories that to date have been told in a multiplicity of ways.

Twidle has called his book (after Gandhi) "experiments with truth," and it is clear that it is not just Twidle who is experimenting but all South African writers—fiction and nonfiction—who are trying to grasp for truth in a strange and challenging land.

Two Centuries of Latin America's Revolutionary Dialogue

Latin American Adventures in Literary Journalism
by Pablo Calvi. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019. Hardcover, 276 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. USD$45.

Reviewed by Sue Joseph, University of Technology Sydney, Australia



This colorful book, both in cover design and content, is as enlightening as it is revealing, and well nestled within the Pittsburgh University Press series, Illuminations: Cultural Formations of the Americas. The publisher's website describes the series as having its genesis in a Walter Benjamin notion, defining illumination as "that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to someone singled out by history at a moment of danger." And danger is certainly woven throughout the literary history presented here—indeed, perhaps initiating and shaping it. It is at this intersection of "danger" and literary journalism that Pablo Calvi demonstrates the growth of a particular canon as inevitable for democratic and republican freedoms—a far more colorful, organic, and imperative origin than the erstwhile privilege within which most other Western canons evolved. Playing out in Latin America throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a more palpable and vibrant demonstration of the roles of democracy and market capitalism on the evolution of differentiated evocations of worldwide journalism.

Latin America is huge: thirty-three countries and fifteen dependencies stretching from the United States–Mexico border to the tip of South America. Including parts of the Caribbean, it covers about thirteen percent of earth's land surface, much lying within the Southern Hemisphere. According to the United Nations, there are 653 million people living in Latin America. In reality, Latin America refers to all those countries in the region once claimed as part of the Spanish, Portuguese, or French empires—colonized and, in many regions, oppressed. And in the context of this book, that is important. For what predominates as an overarching theme of this text is these nations' struggle for independence and the links of this struggle to journalism and literary journalism, harnessed for political, cultural, social, historical, and geographical freedoms. Indeed, Calvi tags this struggle as a "revolutionary dialogue" (9) that underpins the success of multiple battles for democracy and independence within the region. Calvi writes of the text's provenance: "In its inception, this book was conceived as an attempt to understand the role of journalism—literary journalism in

particular—in the historical processes that gave rise to the idea of Latin America and its nations" (4). As an elegantly written and rational mapping of political and literary histories of the regions throughout a 130-year span, he succeeds.

The text covers the emergence and importance of journalism and literary journalism from the 1840s to the end of the Cuban Revolution in 1958, and through the Cold War to the 1960s. It is divided into three sections, bookended by an incisive, scholarly introduction (3–15) and conclusion (226–29). There are wide-ranging footnotes throughout the chapters, with a comprehensive notes section (231–49) and extensive bibliography (251–68). But it is Calvi's carefully crafted narrative, weaving together the words and aspirations, achievements, and leadership of eight extraordinary Latin American writers that makes a substantial, and important contribution to Western-leaning knowledge of literary journalism. The writers Calvi discusses here are: Francisco Bilbao, Domingo Sarmiento, and José Martí (Part 1, In-Forming the New Publics); Juan José de Soiza Reilly, Roberto Alt, and Jorge Luis Borges (Part 2, Leveling the Playing Field); and Rodolfo Walsh and Gabriel García Márquez (Part 3, Bottom-Up Journalism).

The book begins with an 1844 trial in Santiago, twenty-six years after Chile gained independence from Spain. After 300 years of Spanish colonial rule, the trial centered on a thirty-four-page "tirade against Spain's religious monarchy, along with its morals, uses, and the ideas it had infused into Chilean society during colonial times" (19–20). This "tirade" was written by a young Chilean journalist, Francisco Bilbao, and began what Calvi calls "one of the most talked about events in the subcontinent" (19). Bilbao was tried for blasphemy, immorality, and sedition. In his article, published in *El Crepúsculo*, he writes: ". . . see that multitude of old men and Spaniards who flood the camp, and tell me if you do not see the pulse of ancient Spain come back to life" (26). News of the contents of his article and trial "spread like wildfire" in the region and Bilbao became a "celebrity, a modern romantic martyr and hero, and the first victim of political censorship in postcolonial Chile" (31). Disruptions and protests against the government escalated. Calvi writes that Bilbao's defense and public reaction to his trial were "the first public acts in support of a liberal Latin American press, the first moves toward the affirmation of freedom of speech." He argues these were also the first steps toward strengthening "democracy and a free market society in the region" (33), as the civic response and reaction to Bilbao's treatment was not what was expected by the ruling conservative class.

The chapter on Argentinian Domingo Sarmiento is steeped in a history of Latin America pertinent to the growth of the region's press. Sarmiento's role in establishing periodicals (some short-lived), his political writings, and his rise to power as the seventh president of Argentina (1868–74), are the stuff of legend. Regarded as an intellectual, his capacity to travel and compare other countries and continents to the *caudillo* (military or political leaders) and their power, which he despised in his own country, drove him to lobby for the modernization of the train, postal, and education systems throughout the region. During his various exiles in Chile, he wrote the famed *Facundo: Civilization and Barbarism* (1845), regarded then (and today) as a foundational literary journalism text. More than most, Sarmiento understood the power

of the press, and through his editorships and writings, worked ceaselessly to garner readership to enlighten and inform. He used hyperbole and exaggeration throughout his texts in a bid to create a political following, but Calvi explains that these two literary techniques should be understood "not only as purely narrative devices but also . . . as mechanisms that connect Sarmiento's nonfiction with his extraliterary goals. . . . Sarmiento knew that aspiration drives behavior" (47–48). A powerful and influential man, Sarmiento's legacy was tarnished by "his consistent degradation of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and the racist undercurrent in his work" (67), a behavioral motif common contemporaneously in other colonial parts of the world.

The final chapter in Part 1 focuses on Cuban journalist and poet José Martí, regarded a Cuban national hero for his writings and his ceaseless mission toward Cuban self-government. Martí targeted Spanish colonial regulation and was ever wary of U.S. expansionism in the region. Travelling widely, Martí was "not strictly a reporter but rather a foreign correspondent . . . in more than one way, Martí was using the news" (73) to make his audience politically aware. Much of his work was direct translation, mostly not attributed, of articles from the U.S. newspapers; these "have become a sore point" for many "purists" (75). Caring more for the political and social impact of his words, Martí embellished, enhanced, condensed, and appropriated his translations. Calvi writes that Martí's "value of authenticity was neither precious nor rigid, and he seemed to subordinate it to his need for effectiveness and efficiency of message" (75).

Part 2 centers on Argentinian writers Juan José de Soiza Reilly, Roberto Alt, and Jorge Luis Borges. Soiza Reilly, born to a Portuguese father and an Irish mother, became "one of the first best-selling mass journalists in Latin America" (111). Coming from a relatively poor background, first in Uruguay, then Buenos Aires, his writing is even more astounding for cultivating an expanding middle-class. He "professionalized his literary journalism, perfecting genres such as the interview and *crónica* to a point where they became new forms of mass literature" (112). It was near the turn of the century, and Argentina was positioned, through its rich resources, to enter the global trade market. It was also a time when the "political press model" was giving way to "a modern, information-based press" (115). This in turn led to the growing popularity of mass magazines such as *Caras y Caretas*. Soiza Reilly made a name for himself by "revealing the dark side of Buenos Aires's modernity . . . for the first time in Latin America, a journalist used the mass media as a lens through which to see the world" (128). And interestingly, in 1909, Soiza Reilly in an interview talks about journalism as an "art . . . an art that has its heroes and victims . . . I am talking . . . about literary journalism" (143).

Roberto Arlt was also born to immigrant parents, his father Polish and his mother Italian. Born in Buenos Aires, he wrote novels and a semi-autobiographical work, was a staff writer for the evening *Crítica*, as well as author of a stream of columns between 1928 and 1942 for *El Mundo*, the Buenos Aires daily. "Arlt was," Calvi writes, "in more ways than one, a cultural reformer and an infiltrator" (146) . . . . "[His] effort was like a taxonomist, and through literary journalism he succeeded in painting modern Buenos Aires in its unique and strange colors" (147). And like Arlt,

Jorge Luis Borges became *best* known for his novels but worked as a journalist for many years when "the boom of the new press and the popularity of the tabloids gave [him] room for literary experimentation, at a time when the avant-gardes used journalism as a medium" (147). Using "irony, contextual interpretation, antiphrasis, and humor," Borges "built complicity with his readers" using them as a "sounding board" (147). Here Calvi explains that while Arlt studied the city and its people in all walks of life, Borges gave his readership a view of the world, but together, "the journalists of the new mass press contributed to turning the writer's adventure into an adventure *with* readers by sharing one of the rarest experiences in the new urban world: intimacy. Intimacy helped bring a previously top-down approach to literature—educating the public—to eye level . . . integrating the public into the democratic game" (147, emphasis in the original).

In Part 3, Calvi turns to authors Rodolfo Walsh and Gabriel García Márquez. In a precursor to the twenty-first century's *fake news* trope, Walsh writes of "an avalanche of information garbage" emanating from wire services in the 1950s and '60s—twice announcing the death of then–Cuban guerrilla leader Fidel Castro, for example. Cuban revolutionaries realized that "information balance" (182) was key at this time, and so Prensa Latina, the first Latin American News Agency was born, its home base, Havana. García Márquez wrote from Colombia and Rodolfo Walsh from Argentina. A portion of this chapter—the circumstances of Walsh's cracking a CIA code that implicitly played a role in the CIA's failed 1961 military invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs—reads like a good crime/war thriller. This chapter also discusses "testimonial literature" (186), citing Walsh's text *Operación Masacre* (1957; *Operation Massacre*, English translation, 2013) and García Márquez's *Relato de un Náufrago* (1970; *The Story of a Shipwrecked Sailor*, English translation, 1986), as exemplars of literary journalism. Both texts originally appeared as installments and, Calvi argues, have "strong links between Latin American and the Anglo-American literary journalism traditions" (186).

One observation here is the dearth, or rather, non-existence of written female (and non-binary) voices in Latin America throughout this time. In his introduction, Calvi tells us that this lack of female voice cannot be ignored but "should be accounted for as one of the main conditions imposed by the period it describes and attempts to understand" (4). And, in his conclusion, Calvi describes the field as "predominantly male and white" (228), and this as an "intellectual chauvinism" (229). He remedies this with mention of contemporary female and non-binary journalists in the late twentieth, early twenty-first centuries: Elena Poniatowska (Mexico), the late Pedro Lemebel (Chile), Leila Guerriero (Argentina), and Gabriela Wiener (Peru)—sounding a warning to scholars to accept and critique these writings equitably. And, in a footnote, Calvi writes: "Mahieux (2011) has recently incorporated female authors and nonbinary approaches into the list of *cronistas*." Mahieux cites Alfonsina Storni and Salvador Novo as, according to Calvi, "two interesting voices who, by their sheer existence, expand the scope of the period, though they certainly do not challenge its most dominant aspects as a whole" (249n1).

Latin America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was like a con-

glomeration of perfect storms raging through its land mass: rebellion against colonial rule, oppression, and conservatism; subsequent attempts to dismantle the colonial model and integrate modernity; seeking autonomy, republicanism, and democracy, sometimes with success, only to revert to authoritarianism and despotism again; reaching for market capitalism; and ubiquitous Indigenous issues, mostly poorly and brutally mismanaged, similar to other First Nations around the world. The region was in a state of flux and a veritable battleground at times. But Calvi argues that beating at its heart was the growth of the journalistic voice as a source of information and influence. Particularly pertaining to literary journalism throughout these centuries, Calvi writes of a canon different from the growth of Anglo-American canons. He writes of a different practice, of a different technique, of a different cultural understanding of literary journalism:

> Due to institutional instability . . . but also to literary tradition and literary history . . . it has evolved as an allegorical account of the present—a narrative form that could either be read as richly riddled with political undercurrents or interpreted plainly as a novelized historical record. . . . Justice, truth, freedom, and the public good have been . . . some of the forces behind literary journalism in Latin America, either floating on the narrative surface of its texts or palpitating beneath the heavy waves of rhetoric and a—more or less—oblique approach to facts. (228)

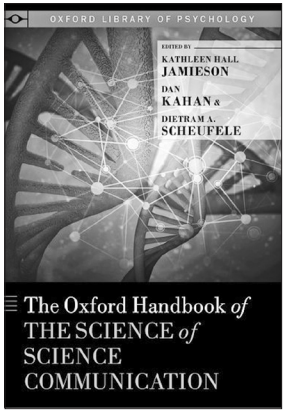
The allusion to a "novelized historical account" seems a considered and early version of contemporary discussions and debates within the Anglo-American field—the softening of boundaries between fiction and nonfiction, particularly within the literary journalism sub-genre of memoir.

Written vividly, this deeply researched text of meta-literary journalism acts as a bridge, or rather, an invitation, for practitioners, scholars, and students to shrug off the Anglo-American-centric impetus of studies in this field and mine the rich and courageous historical writings from their Latin American antecedents. There is much to learn from canons of other languages, and here Calvi presents a gift, an analytical and hybrid text, rigorous in its research and robust in its arguments, enticing us to wander beyond the comfort of our own cultures and ease.

Fact or Fiction? Researchers Examine Our Shared Concern

The Oxford Handbook of the Science of Science Communication
edited by Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Dan Kahan, and Dietram A. Scheufele. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Hardcover, 512 pp., Index. USD$170.

Reviewed by Matthew Roby and Susan E. Swanberg, University of Arizona, United States



Because the ability to discern fact from fiction in a multitude of public spheres is more important than ever, practitioners and scholars of literary journalism might wish to examine *The Oxford Handbook of the Science of Science Communication*, a cross-disciplinary collection of essays offering well-reasoned explanations for our susceptibility to misinformation. While the *Handbook* focuses on science communicators and the complex task of explaining science to the public, many of the collection's essays contain take-home lessons equally important to literary journalists—especially as more science and nature writers adopt the techniques of literary journalism to communicate science to their audiences.

Literary journalism, according to John C. Hartsock, combines the telling of true stories with "the aesthetics of experience." Whether the storyteller portrays a famine camp in Sudan, describes custom car culture, or recounts the aftermath of the Hiroshima bombing, literary journalism uses techniques traditionally associated with fiction writing, including immersion in the story being told, scene-by-scene construction, and dialogue.

Although reliance upon techniques used by fiction writers might suggest that literary journalism plays fast and loose with the truth, Mark Kramer has written that practicing this form of narrative nonfiction requires that those who call themselves (or whom others call) literary journalists "get reality as straight as they can manage, and not make it up" (25).

In "The Legend on the License," John Hersey—in the earnest but vexed tone he assumed on occasion—set forth one of literary journalism's most important canons: that journalists (New or not) must tell the truth. Some tricks of the fiction trade were acceptable, such as describing a scene in vivid detail or deftly adding a measure of dialogue, but others were not, including adding any kind of invented facts or stretching the truth for the sake of "art" (*Yale Review* 75, no. 2, 1986, 214). But Hersey himself sometimes blurred the truth as he did by creating a composite character from forty-

three different war veterans in his story, "Joe Is Home Now," although he explained what he did and why.

Science and nature writers must also avoid stretching the truth. Rich description of the habits and habitat of a charismatic-but-threatened animal and authentic dialogue between two field scientists are acceptable, but the moment the writer exaggerates or embroiders, credibility as a translator of science is lost.

Lost credibility on the part of the writer is not the only reason for communication failures, however. Sometimes audience characteristics—such as people's beliefs or biases—prevent the message from being received. This is where the *Handbook* can help science and nature writers in particular understand why it is so difficult to reach a skeptical or misinformed audience.

The deficit model of science communication, which suggests that to improve the public understanding of science all we need to do is force feed people more science, is on the ash heap. A group of creative researchers has come together, however, to explore the origins of what editor and author Dan Kahan calls "the science communication problem." In his essay titled "On the Sources of Ordinary Science Knowledge and Extraordinary Science Ignorance," Kahan concludes that members of the public readily adopt bad science because they place more value on the beliefs of those with whom they associate or want to associate than on information provided by experts. Thus, if your friends believe that childhood vaccines are bad, you will adopt that belief yourself to go along with the crowd.

Kahan and company's handbook calls for a scientific approach to understanding and addressing this phenomenon. Kathleen Hall Jamieson—recipient, in April, of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) Public Welfare Medal for her nonpartisan work on the importance of evidence-based political discourse and on the science of science communication—recognizes that the same factors that distinguish science, such as self-criticism, transparency, and self-correction, can also subject science to criticism by those who don't understand the scientific method and its multiple rounds of hypothesis testing.

According to essay contributors Martin Kaplan and Michael Dahlstrom, narratives animate the abstract and illuminate the human experience, deriving power from vivid portrayals of character and environment that captivate audiences. The danger, Kaplan and Dahlstrom caution, is that being transported by an enticing narrative can weaken a reader's ability to distinguish fact from fiction.

Despite oceans of evidence, established facts and endorsements by authoritative scientific institutions, some scientific messages arouse intense debate. Citing climate change and the childhood vaccination controversy, Kaplan and Dahlstrom highlight how persuasive-but-false narratives have infected the science communication environment. To use a scientific metaphor: water and dust refract, scatter, and bend sunrays passing through earth's atmosphere, changing their intensity and color from bright white to a rainbow palette. Likewise, scientific information might encounter partisans ready to twist and disseminate what once was "true fact" into an enticing, but misleading narrative.

For many, exposure to science ends with high school graduation, notes William

K. Hallman in his essay. Today there is more science information than anyone could possibly learn in a lifetime. Audiences attempting to digest this deluge often rely on faulty mental models and media cues that can muddle interpretation and make the public vulnerable to misinformation traffickers. And upheaval in the media landscape does not help. Nearly half the population gets its science information from the internet. Mike S. Schäfer notes that science coverage has shifted from legacy formats mediated by print and broadcast journalism to internet-based platforms that fragment the public audience and facilitate a plurality of messages.

Brian Southwell examines how scientists engage with the public on social networks. Science communication via social platforms is challenging as users often exist in isolated, self-reinforcing networks. Because not all science topics have an equal chance of becoming part of the conversation on social media, Southwell calls for more research on how framing influences information sharing.

Matthew Nisbet and Declan Fahy, well-known experts in the field of science communication, suggest that perhaps journalists should be required to develop special expertise along with interviewing, investigative, and storytelling skills before they report on important issues like climate change. Whether organizing an elite cadre of scientist-journalists would cure the problems of climate-change denialism and lack of trust in experts needs further exploration.

Kahan, Scheufele, Jamieson, and many of the other contributors address the science communication problem with an empirically based scientific approach. With one voice, this volume of dense but enlightening essays calls for continued study of the science of science communication along with prioritizing development of practical tools with which the public can distinguish science fact from fiction.

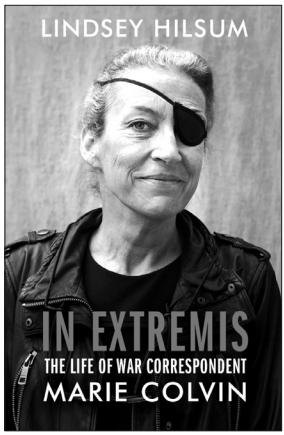
As Kahan notes, we understand a lot about how people come to know science. What we need is a cultural and structural shift that protects the science communication environment from misinformation. This handbook is an excellent resource for those seeking to create such a culture.

Whether you write about science and nature or not, learning about the mindset of your audience and the reasons for that mindset might help you choose the right tools—including the techniques of literary journalism—to reach a reluctant audience. John Hersey did just that when he opened his toolbox and found the ideal plot device, the right voices, and the precise tone to convince his audience of war-weary people that the citizens of Hiroshima were human too.

Brilliant War Journalist / Chaotic Private Life

In Extremis: The Life and Death of the War Correspondent Marie Colvin
by Lindsey Hilsum. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018. Hardcover, 378 pp. Photographs. Index. USD$28.

Reviewed by David Swick, University of King's College, Canada



Few journalism students long to be copy editors. Nellie Bly, Ida B. Wells, Hunter S. Thompson: most students want to be a ground-breaking, truth-teller famous for being feisty, unorthodox, and brave. Marie Colvin (1956–2012), the most famous war correspondent of our time, had all of these qualities. Vivacious, bright, and fun, she was a rule-breaker, a chance-taker, and a dedicated partier. Colvin is who many journalism students aspire to be.

Colvin's life was filled with paradoxes. For twenty-five years she delicately worked her way in and out of combat zones but was incapable of using technology and had no sense of direction. She wanted to create a secure, loving home for herself, but was unable to make that happen. She lived and vacationed in some of the world's most glamorous cities but felt distinctly at home on the battleground.

In the hands of the wrong biographer Colvin would become a myth. Fortunately, *In Extremis: The Life and Death of the War Correspondent Marie Colvin* is written by Lindsey Hilsum. The international editor for Britain's Channel 4 News, as well as a friend and colleague of Colvin's, Hilsum is clear-eyed and anti-hype. Her first biography is dispassionate, nuanced, and anchored in facts. The writing is clear, precise, and historically sound. At its best it is artful, one literary journalist writing about another, as Hilsum explores the many reasons to admire Colvin and grimmer truths that a mythmaker might choose to ignore. What emerges is the compelling story of a brilliant journalist. It is also a cautionary tale.

Marie Colvin was born into an Irish Catholic family in the safe, quiet town of Oyster Bay, Long Island, a suburb of New York. Her ex-marine father was a high school English teacher, her mother a guidance counselor. Colvin thought Oyster Bay boring, but she did learn to sail. All her life she loved to sail, and the worse the weather the better. She thrilled to the danger and rush.

At Yale she signed up for a writing course with *Hiroshima* author John Hersey. By the end of the first class she had decided that this was the kind of journalism she wanted to do. Her father, who had died shortly before, and with whom she had a conflicted relationship, had had "frustrated dreams of writing." In that first Hersey class, Hilsum says, Colvin, at twenty, "realized she didn't just *want* to become a journalist; she *had* to" (35, emphasis in original).

After stops at United Press International desks in New Jersey, Washington, and Paris, she was ready for riskier challenges. Colvin became a war correspondent, traveling to the Middle East, Timor, Chechnya, Sri Lanka, North Africa, the Balkans, and, finally, Syria.

Literary journalists and literary journalism scholars will note that throughout *In Extremis,* Hilsum brings anecdotes alive with dialogue and sensory details. When Colvin first met Libyan leader Muammar Gadaffi, Hilsum writes,

> The summons came at 3:00 a.m. . . . She noticed that Gaddafi was wearing French cologne. At the end of the interview, during which he said he was ready to hit U.S. targets anywhere in the world and described the conflict between the United States and Libya as being like the Crusades, he put his hand on her thigh and asked if he could see her again, as this if this were a date.
>
> "Why don't you call me?" Marie said.
>
> A few days later, an aide did just that, and Gaddafi came on the line to say he wanted to speak to her again. This time the meeting was a little weirder, and more menacing. When she arrived at the bunker, a white dress and a pair of little green shoes had been laid out for her on a chair. She refused to put them on, saying they were too small. Gaddafi strolled in, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. (73–74)

As Colvin gained experience and confidence, her writing evolved to focus on ordinary people, often innocents caught up in ghastly circumstances. In 1999 she wrote, "The human body, when burnt, is reduced to an almost childlike size. It is a horrible piece of knowledge that comes from reporting from Kosovo. In house after house, village after village, I have seen those bodies, so small that it seems they must be those of children, yet they are not" (184).

That same year Colvin was in Timor, in a civilian compound about to be abandoned by the United Nations, with a horrible attack by the Indonesian army looming. "Reporters and mainstream media left with the bulk of international UN staff and the local employees," Hilsum writes. "As the last truck trundled away, Marie called [her editor] . . . . He asked who among the journalists had remained, and she explained that it was just Irena, Minka, and she.

"Where are the men?" Sean asked.

"They've gone," Marie replied and, without missing a beat, added, "I guess they don't make men like they used to" (192).

Colvin was funny, articulate, and attractive, and people were drawn to her. Yet even while her career star was rising, her personal life was often a shambles. She longed for a home, children, and a loving partner, to return from her escapades to solid family life. Instead she moved through a long series of relationships, almost all of which her friends knew were doomed. She fought bitterly with former and current partners, and she suffered two miscarriages after she was forty. Her last lover, an international playboy, was an especially poor choice.

And so, comes the realization, obvious when it is finally revealed, that Colvin, like so many war correspondents, suffered from PTSD. She was diagnosed in 2004, three years after losing an eye in Sri Lanka. (She wore a special eyepatch with rhine-

stones to parties.) Shrapnel from that grenade attack remained in her face and chest. Her final years were poisoned by nightmares, insomnia, and a failing ability to make good choices. The drinking, always legendary, began to start at breakfast. (The number of pages that mention her drinking come to forty-four, almost one in eight.) Her life was unraveling, leading to a final tragedy.

As so often, Hilsum offers concise insight. "Marie was easy to love and hard to help," she says. "Marie reacted to advice on drinking as she did to advice on relationships—she listened, brow furrowed, head to one side, and then ignored it" (275).

Not all was bleak. Colvin stayed close to several girlfriends, some for more than thirty years. She was also close to her youngest sister and stayed in touch with other members of the family.

Martha Gellhorn, another pioneering U.S. female journalist who settled in London, was fueled by anger at warlords, dictators, defense secretaries, and other "monsters" who, if journalists were not watching, "would get away with anything." Colvin, while a great admirer of Gellhorn, was driven by empathy. She spoke of the importance of bearing witness, especially to the plight of helpless civilians. "Marie never practiced partisan journalism," Hilsum says, "the kind that adopts a cause and reports only the facts that advance it. Having no ideology, she never flinched from reporting stories that cast a bad light on people for whom she had sympathy. She was simply drawn to the underdog. . . . For her, context mattered, but the experience of individuals in war, whether fighters or victims, was the essence of the story" (185).

Hilsum has said that she worries about contributing to the "myth" of Colvin and the glamorization of war correspondents. Indeed, after the book was published some students on Twitter gushed; in a *Financial Times* article one was quoted thanking Hilsum for "immortalising" Colvin. This says more about the comprehension skills of some youthful readers than it does about the book. Hilsum helps us understand the attraction, the deep seductive power of reporting on war. She also lets us feel and smell and taste how horrifying it actually is. *In Extremis* is inspiring, but it is also sobering and dark.

One final unfortunate decision led to Colvin's death. She had been smuggled from Lebanon into Syria, to the city of Homs, and then to the neighborhood under siege by the Syrian army. She arrived, wrote a brilliant story, and got out of the neighborhood—which was expecting an all-out assault. Once out, however, she changed her mind. Without telling her editor, family, or boyfriend, she went back. The next day, thanks to an informant, the building was attacked. Colvin and a French photographer were killed running out of the building.

The last photo of Colvin ever taken, Hilsum says,

> shows her, back to the camera, wearing her thick black jacket and jeans, hair pulled into a scrunchie. She is writing, the bright white of her notebook a contrast to the dun-colored debris of war in the ruined house around her: dirty, crumbling walls sprout tangled iron rods, pots and pans are scattered, a green blanket lies on the ground next to crumpled, rusting iron sheeting. It's easy to imagine Marie in her final moments, rushing out of the shattered building in her warm, dark clothes, caught in flight in a freeze-frame, forever pushing forward, notebook in hand. (352)

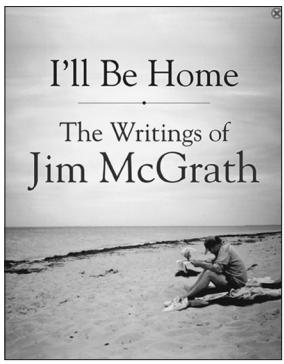
Going to war zones and reporting first-hand is vital work, crucial to the journalistic mission of shining light in dark places. It can come at a terrible price to its courageous practitioners, one that is only starting to be fully appreciated. Like Gellhorn, Colvin's ashes were scattered in the Thames.

Too often our heroes turn out to be terribly complex people, brilliant and professionally accomplished, but living damaged and unhappy lives. So it is with Marie Colvin. Considered by skilled biographers, heroes come tumbling off their pedestals to shatter at our feet. Shall we blame our heroes? The biographers? It is, after all, we who build the pedestals.

Capturing Lives and Emotion in Plain Language

I'll Be Home: The Writings of Jim McGrath
edited by Darryl McGrath and Howard Healy. Albany: State University of New York Press, Excelsior Editions, 2019. Paperback, 202 pp. Index, USD$24.95.

Reviewed by Rosemary Armao, State University of New York at Albany, United States



For some seventeen years until his sudden death from a heart attack in 2013, Jim McGrath wrote nearly daily editorials in the Albany, New York, *Times Union*, my hometown newspaper. Going through this posthumous collection of editorials, opinion columns, fellowship applications, reviews, and essays on an array of topics, international to hyper-local, compiled by two people who loved him, is not at all the same reading experience. The immediacy and relevance that give editorials impact are, of course, missing or diluted in editor's notes.

What remains, however, is the sense of place, a sense of the dignity in the routine, the passion, and compassion, and the storytelling craft of an excellent old-school journalist who knows that words have power and so selects them with care. McGrath was a journalist of the sort that sadly we now see losing jobs and passing into history. This makes his book a potentially valuable model for students of literary journalism.

Newspaper editors tell new investigative reporters to "rake the leaves in a pile," that is, to pull together multiple small daily stories already published on your topic and then dig into them to pull out the bigger trend or hidden truth. McGrath's widow along with his old newspaper editor have skillfully done such raking. Seen in its entirety instead of in bits, McGrath's body of work reveals thematic threads, consistent styling, and a fixed set of principles that his faithful daily readers likely would not have focused on or even discerned. That makes his book an instructive text for beginners trying to figure out the tricks of persuasive editorial writing. How McGrath did it comes clear here.

He displayed considerable expertise when it came to the topics he wrote most about—politics in New York, especially in its capital city, Albany; gun control; crime; and mistreatment of the less fortunate. But he did not write like an expert; instead, he eschewed jargon, big words, too many long sentences. He knew his readers, like the neighbors or drinking buddies they were, so he used language and topics that made them feel at ease. His tone is homey and conversational too: "If you were, say, too busy in traffic court or in line dutifully paying your parking fines to read about this, here's a quick recap," he began a background section of an editorial on a ghost ticket

system that allowed favored Albanians to park illegally. "OK, so no jigs just yet. The spirit of the cease-fire and the ongoing peace talks will do for now," he wrote at the end of a happy editorial in late 1997 when British and Irish leaders met to talk about getting past the Troubles in his ancestral homeland (57).

Without writing extended memoir, McGrath drew from his own life, reared in a middle-class Irish family in Boston, his sensibilities honed in public schools and the Catholic church, as he opined on bad luck, injustice, the bond of community, alcoholism, the tensions of family, loss, and emptiness. That's misleading—he doesn't write about issues so much as tells stories about people who have been buffeted by them. He makes you feel their pain, which you can see was more than a little his too.

In a 2001 piece, "A Lesson Taught Too Late," he wrote about "the ruined life of Phil Caiozzo," who died after convulsing in the Albany County Jail. "This is what society wanted from Caiozzo, and still wants from the dozens of other alcoholics on the streets of Albany. To stop drinking, and to behave. It's not easy, not remotely easy. Not for those whose lives have hit the bottom, and not for the fortunate majority living in their midst, getting hit up for spare change and trying to step over them" (88–89).

In " 'No Room for Mercy'," in 2003, McGrath asked, "Why was Christine Wilhel, so horribly and so indisputably mentally ill, ever on trial for the horrific drowning of one of her young sons and the attempted drowning of the other?" then wondered what would happen to a paranoid schizophrenic in prison, and if unthinkable crime justified cruel punishment (92).

McGrath also wrote memorably about the Unabomber, a domestic terrorist finally captured in the late 1990s after years of mailing out death threats when his brother, who lived within the *Times Union*'s subscribership, recognized the writing in a demented manifesto the killer sent to media. McGrath argued strenuously against the death penalty in the case. He kept coming back to mercy (85–86).

McGrath was never a star. His career never went beyond a mid-sized daily in a small city in a profession quickly dying out. Some of the best selections in this book are essays written for fellowships he did not end up getting. His life ended suddenly in 2013, at age fifty-six, when he suffered a heart attack while driving after the ambulance taking his asthmatic wife to the hospital. The irony of that left her heart broken. Indeed, sadness permeates this whole work, epitomized by a 1994 piece, "A Road to New Hampshire," about spending Christmas with siblings, like him, newly orphaned. "We talked a bit, looked at the passing countryside, and listened to some tapes on a tinny-sounding care stereo. Mostly though, we just drove." This, he wrote, "was a good Christmas too: quiet, peaceful, and delightfully uneventful" (142).

Disappointment turned into a tool in the editorialist's hands. It led him to tell of the wonder of small things like tulips blooming in downtown Albany's Washington Park at the end of an upstate New York winter or "good coffee, and something stronger, too, to be had on just about every block" of downtown Albany's Lark Street (6), about watching the hipsters and barflies and workaday pedestrians on Madison Avenue. It propelled McGrath to stand up for and speak up for what he thought was right, to demand and seek and advocate for solutions. He made his readers empathize—and thus persuaded them.

Mission Statement
Literary Journalism Studies

Literary Journalism Studies is an international, interdisciplinary blind-reviewed journal that invites scholarly examinations of literary journalism—a genre also known by different names around the world, such as literary reportage, narrative journalism, the New Journalism, *nuevo periodismo*, reportage literature, literary nonfiction, narrative nonfiction, and creative nonfiction—focusing on cultural revelation. Published in English but directed at an international audience, the journal welcomes contributions from different cultural, disciplinary, and critical perspectives. To help establish comparative studies of the genre, the journal is especially interested in examinations of the works of authors and traditions from different national literatures not generally known outside their countries.

There is no single definition of the genre, but the following descriptions help to establish a meeting ground for its critical study:

• "The art and craft of reportage—journalism marked by vivid description, a novelist's eye to form, and eyewitness reporting that reveals hidden truths about people and events that have shaped the world we know." —*Granta*

• "Reportage Literature is an engagement with reality with a novelist's eye but with a journalist's discipline." —Pedro Rosa Mendes, Portugal

• "I think one of the first things for literary reportage should be to go into the field and to try to get the other side of the story." —Anne Nivat, France

• "A good reportage must not necessarily be linked with topical or political events which are taking place around us. I think the miracle of things lies not in showing the extraordinary but in showing ordinary things in which the extraordinary is hidden." —Nirmal Verma, India

• Literary journalism is a "journalism that would read like a novel . . . or short story." —Tom Wolfe, United States

Such definitions are not comprehensive and may at times conflict, but they should help to establish an understanding of this fundamentally narrative genre, which is located at the intersection of literature and journalism.

At the critical center of the genre lies cultural revelation in narrative form. Implicit to the enterprise are two precepts: (a) that there is an external reality apart from human consciousness, whatever the inherent problems of language and ideology that may exist in comprehending that reality; and (b) that there are consequences in the phenomenal world, whether triggered by human or natural agency, that result in the need to tell journalistically-based narratives empowered by literary technique and aesthetic sensibility. Ultimately, the emphasis is on the aesthetics of experience.

International Association for Literary Journalism Studies

The International Association for Literary Journalism Studies is a multidisciplinary learned society whose essential purpose is the encouragement and improvement of scholarly research and education in literary journalism (or literary reportage). For the purposes of scholarly delineation, our definition of literary journalism is "journalism as literature" rather than "journalism about literature." Moreover, the association is explicitly inclusive and warmly supportive of a wide variety of approaches to the study and teaching of literary journalism throughout the world. The association's web address is http://www.ialjs.org.

IALJS Officers

Thomas B. Connery
President
University of St. Thomas
Department of Communication and Journalism
2115 Summit Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55105, United States
+01-651-962-5265
fax +01-651-962-6360
tbconnery@stthomas.edu

Rob Alexander
First Vice President
Brock University
Department of English Languages and Literature
St. Catharines, Ontario L2S 3A1
CANADA
w/+905-688-5550 x3886
ralexander@brocku.ca

Tobias Eberwein
Second Vice President
Austrian Academy of Sciences
Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies
A-1010 Vienna
Austria
+43-(0)1 51 581-3110, -3113
tobiaseberwein@oeaw.ac.at

Jacqueline Marino, Secretary
Kent State University
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
Kent, OH 44242, U.S.A.
+01-330-468-7931
jmarino7@kent.edu

John S. Bak, founding president, 2006–2008