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**READING J.D. SALINGER'S GLASS FAMILY STORIES  
THROUGH THE 1960S COUNTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE**

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Renata Gonçalves Gomes

**READING J.D. SALINGER'S GLASS FAMILY STORIES  
THROUGH A COUNTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE**

Esta tese foi julgada adequada para obtenção do título de “Doutora em Letras Inglês: Estudos Literários e Culturais”, e aprovada em sua forma final pelo Programa de Pós-Graduação em Inglês: Estudos Linguísticos e Literários.

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In the second year of my doctoral course, in 2013, I lost three important people of my life. First, my dear aunt-and-godmother Jane, who was the first woman in the family to go to college and earn a master's degree. Then, I lost one of my biggest references in the academic life, my friend Evandro, who taught me everything he knew about how to enjoy the academic life. And at last, my grandmother Irani, one of the most important people of my life, who also worked as a teacher and who was a woman of rare strength.

I dedicate all my love and this dissertation to the memory of them.



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“I HATED the Salinger story. It took me days to go through it, gingerly, a page at a time, and blushing with embarrassment for him every ridiculous sentence of the way. How can they let him do it? That horrible self-consciousness, every sentence comments on itself and comments on itself commenting on itself, and I think it was actually supposed to be *funny*. And if the poems were so good, why not just give us one or two and shut up, for God’s sake? That Seymour figure doesn’t impress me at all as anything extra – or is that the point and I’ve been missing it? GOD is in any slightly superior, sensitive, intelligent human being or something? or WHAT? and WHY? And is it true that *The New Yorker* can’t change a word he writes? It seems to be the exact opposite of those fine old-fashioned standards of writing Andy White admires so, and yet it isn’t “experimental” or original – it’s just tedious. Now if I am running counter to all the opinions at present, tell me why, because I’d like to know how it can be defended...Perhaps Seymour isn’t supposed to be anything out of the ordinary, nor his poems either, so that all that writhing and reeling is to show the average man trying to express his love for his brother, or brotherly love? Well, Henry James did it much better in one or two long sentences.”

(Elizabeth Bishopto Pearl Kazin,  
September 9, 1959, in *One Art*:  
Letters selected and edited,  
by Robert Giroux)



## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this dissertation is to analyze J.D. Salinger's Glass family stories through a countercultural perspective. The stories analyzed are: "A perfect day for bananafish," "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," "Down at the dinghy," "Franny," "Zooey," "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," "Seymour: an introduction," and "Hapworth 16, 1924." These are stories published in different books and they do not present a linear plot, but on the contrary, they are fragmented parts of the Glass family's biography. In order to discuss such stories through a countercultural perspective, this study also focuses on the conceptualization of counterculture. Studies by scholars such as Manuel Luis Martinez, Theodore Roszak, Alan Watts, Ken Goffman and Dan Joy are used in order to understand counterculture as a non-binary concept. Moreover, to situate the reader historically, this dissertation also presents a historical context of the US of long 1960s. In addition, countercultural issues such as alienation, innocence, and religious experience are presented as the backbone of the analyses of the Glass family stories, in order to read them through a countercultural perspective. However, other aspects of the historical context of the long 1960s (such as race, class, ethnicity, immigration, sex and sexuality, wars, etc.) are also taken into consideration in the analytical chapters. Lastly, these stories raise some considerations about the post-WWII context of the US by showing the displacement of human beings and their search for a less oppressing world.

**Keywords:** Counterculture, J.D. Salinger, Glass family stories, Alienation, Innocence, Religious Experience.

## RESUMO

O principal objetivo dessa tese é analisar as histórias da família Glass, de J.D. Salinger, através de uma perspectiva contracultural. As histórias aqui analisadas são: “A perfect day for bananafish,” “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” “Down at the dinghy,” “Franny,” “Zooey,” “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” “Seymour: an introduction,” e “Hapworth 16, 1924.” Tais histórias foram publicadas em diferentes livros e não apresentam um enredo linear. Pelo contrário, estas são partes fragmentadas da biografia da família Glass. Para que a leitura dessas histórias fosse feita a partir de uma perspectiva contracultural, essa pesquisa também teve o objetivo de conceituar o termo contracultura. Para isso, estudos de autores como Manuel Luis Martinez, Theodore Roszak, Alan Watts, Ken Goffman e Dan Joy são usados para definir o conceito de contracultura não-binária. Além disso, para situar o leitor historicamente, essa tese apresenta um capítulo sobre o contexto histórico dos duradouros anos 1960 nos Estados Unidos. Para as análises das histórias, os conceitos de alienação, inocência e experiência religiosa são trabalhados a partir do conceito de contracultura. Porém, outros aspectos provindos do contexto histórico dos duradouros anos 1960 (como questões referentes à(s): raça, etnias, imigração, sexo e sexualidade, guerras, etc.) também são levados em consideração nos capítulos de análises. Por fim, as histórias da família Glass levantam algumas considerações sobre o contexto do pós-Segunda Guerra Mundial nos Estados Unidos ao mostrar o deslocamento dos seres humanos perante tal contexto e suas buscas por um mundo menos opressor.

**Palavras-chave:** Contracultura, J.D. Salinger, Narrativas da família Glass, Alienação e Inocência, Experiência Religiosa.

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## 1 Introduction

Elizabeth Bishop writes in her letter sent to Pearl Kazin that she hated J.D. Salinger's "Seymour: an Introduction." However, even disliking the story, she seems to be intrigued by the character Salinger created. The contradiction in Bishop's letter and her throwing of emotions in it is, actually, an effect caused by this intriguing character. The same happened to me when I first started working for my doctoral project. The Glass family stories seemed so interesting and at the same time so familiar that I just felt intrigued, but also in love with the stories. I could not only feel the strangeness of the characters and how peculiar they are, but at the same time, I could find on them characteristics of countercultural works that I was familiar with.

I have been working with the counterculture conceptualization since the last year of my undergraduate studies in English. The fact that I started the study in this field with the poetry of Allen Ginsberg is symptomatic. Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac and William Burroughs are symbols of a countercultural canon in the US. That means that it is easier to be in contact with their work and recognize their literature as relevant within the so-called liberal side of the 1960s historical context than any other author of this period. So far, so good, nothing brand new for scholars who work with the US literature of the period, but a lot for a young researcher interested in the field. However, having worked with the concept of counterculture in my master thesis – about the Brazilian poet Chacal and his works – and for this dissertation, I have caught myself questioning everything I thought I knew about the subject. Which is good; I have learned.

Much has been said about the triumvirate of the beats, their contribution to literature regarding the subversion of aesthetics and themes, as well as about their political collaboration as writers and performers against the conservatism concerning sex, drugs, wars and censorship after World War II. After reading some enthusiastic works about the beat generation, and therefore some half-blind analysis, I stopped giving the beats so much attention and started to look around them in attempt to understand what other writers had to say at the same post-WWII context. After that, I started to comprehend counterculture not as a period of time — some call it "a movement" or a "cultural revolution," sometimes with a pejorative tone — but as a perspective. Counterculture became to me a way to look at culture critically, and therefore, to politics as well, since it is hard to separate one thing from the other. The post-WWII in the US does not have a bland cultural and

political history. Instead, the historical happenings are fraught with disparate narratives and voices that can be found not only in online encyclopedias or in museum documents, but also in prose, poetry, music and films that dialogue with the politics of the late 1940s, and of the 1950s and 1960s, i.e., the long 1960s<sup>1</sup>.

Bearing that in mind, being Salinger one of the most pleasurable and intriguing authors I have read in my undergraduate studies, I started to reread his stories in order to write my doctoral project. Differently from what Elizabeth Bishop thought about Salinger's stories, I was impressed about Seymour. However, I was not impressed about the things Buddy wrote about Seymour: I was impressed about the words Seymour did not say. And isn't this the glamour of the modern short story?

In the Glass family stories, I recognized some of the issues I was used to relate to counterculture, such as Zen Buddhism and religious experience, alienation, innocence and, mostly, the discomfort of the characters before the post-WWII moment. These issues made me look for critical works that could relate Salinger's Glass family stories to counterculture, but none was found. This way, I decided to base my study on the gap between Salinger's writings and counterculture, one that I believe to be relevant to discuss the literature of the US and their historical moment after the WWII. At this point, my reference of counterculture was the beat writers, but something became very confusing for me: How can I consider Salinger a countercultural author since he was and wrote so differently from the beats?

However, besides Salinger, I read authors that could also be related to counterculture. These authors' names started to surface for me, reading after reading, and they seemed to be authors who wrote, sang, and/or filmed about shared struggles. Besides Salinger, authors such as N. Scott Momaday, Gary Snyder, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Tomas Rivera, Adrienne Rich, Dorothy Parker, Alice Walker, Angela Davis, Alan Watts, Timothy Leary, Hunter S. Thompson and Herbert Marcuse, Nina Simone, Aretha Franklin, Marvin Gaye, Bob Dylan, Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Santana, and others, let me understand counterculture beyond the countercultural canon. That was the moment when I felt that what I was reading in Salinger's writings was presented not specifically

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<sup>1</sup> The "long 1960s" is a term used by Todd Gitlin in *The Sixties: Years of Hope, days of rage* (1987) to designate the period of time that encompasses the after WWII to the end of the 1960s decade. I will, therefore, borrow this term from Gitlin's book to refer to the post-WWII period in the US.



within a countercultural canon, but within the US literature of the period itself. Outside the stereotypical idea of counterculture, I could start reading Salinger through a countercultural perspective, and possibly, establish a perspective to look at the long 1960s literature written in and about the US.

Because of that, this dissertation presents one main objective, which is to analyze Salinger's Glass family stories from a countercultural perspective, i.e., how the post-WWII socio-political happenings are discussed within the stories, and what, if so, is the critical line about them in these narratives. This is the backbone of this dissertation. However, to do so, I needed to structure this dissertation not only based on Salinger's stories and the critical review about them, but also on countercultural texts and the criticism about them. The demystification of the beat-centered idea of counterculture —and its stereotypical ideas that form an everlasting common sense of it— is a secondary objective of this dissertation. This way, an interrelated objective is to show that not only the beats can be read through a countercultural perspective, but also authors of the post-WWII in the US who raised in their works issues such as: alienation, loss of innocence, religious experience, race, immigration, women's rights, sex and sexuality, freedom, and other possible issues and political agendas of the long 1960s.

The excitement about counterculture (involving their motto of 'peace and love') became outworn because of its nostalgic tone. In a way, the discourse of a 'cultural revolution' went down to a conceptualization based on the title that cultural agents<sup>2</sup> were 'rebels without a cause.' This compromised the socio-political criticism that some of the works mentioned in this dissertation have.

So this dissertation comprehends two different, but interrelated approaches: 1) A discussion of J.D. Salinger as an US mainstream canonical writer, but that can be read as an author of countercultural texts; and 2) A discussion of counterculture, considered as a minor perspective of literature and, therefore, of its authors as well. However, before the beginning of the discussion on these subjects, I will present a section in this introduction entitled "Meet the Glass family." This short section will serve to the reader as a reference to understand the main characters of the Glass family. This section is necessary since the stories are not chronologically written, and the information about the characters

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<sup>2</sup>I will use the term 'cultural agents' in order to refer to: writers, poets, musicians, composers, painters, activists, etc.

is presented sparsely. So, I suggest the reader to use this section as a reference to any doubt on the Glass family characters while reading the analytical chapters afterwards.

In addition to this introduction, in the first part of this dissertation, I attempt to present two chapters. The chapter “The framework: building bridges” focuses on the conceptualization of counterculture, as well as on the reflection of counterculture within the post-WWII context, in order to reflect on the aspects of counterculture as well as to expose my understanding of what counterculture is.

To situate the reader historically, the chapter “Rebels with a cause” presents the post-WWII historical moment in the US in order to show how Salinger and other cultural agents acted politically through their texts and songs. The purpose of this chapter is not only to illustrate how culture and politics worked together especially during the 1950s and 1960s, but also to problematize the commonsense or often easily reproduced ideas related to this historical moment, such as the beat-centered idea of counterculture, the flower power hippie culture or the ‘rebel without a cause’ behaviors.

After that, in the second part of this work, I attempt to analyze Salinger’s Glass family stories within a countercultural perspective, as a way to bridge the gap between Salinger and counterculture. These two analytical chapters are organized by issues such as alienation and innocence, and religious experience. In the chapter “A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through alienation and innocence” I analyze the stories “A perfect day for bananafish,” “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” and “Down at the dinghy,” focusing on the issues of alienation and innocence intersected with countercultural political agendas. In the chapter “A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through religious experience” I analyze the stories “Franny,” “Zoey,” “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” “Seymour: an Introduction,” and “Hapworth 16, 1924” focusing on the religious experience aspect. By doing these analyses I show that counterculture can be understood as a literary perspective and that Salinger can be read within this perspective. The critical review of the corpus of this thesis is presented in the beginning of each analytical chapter. Texts by authors such as Amy Hungerford, Warren French, David Seed, Howard M. Harper Jr. and others are brought into the discussion of issues such as alienation, innocence, and religious experience in Salinger’s works.

At the same time that these issues are recognized in Salinger’s stories, scholars also recognize them in most of the countercultural texts. However, scholars have hardly bridged the gap between Salinger

and counterculture<sup>3</sup>. With that, in the same critical review, I will raise the issues — alienation, innocence, and religious experience— that built the concept of the US 1960s counterculture through texts by authors such as Theodore Roszak, Allan Watts, Manuel Luis Martinez, Ken Goffman and Dan Joy, etc.

Ultimately, what follows the critical review of Salinger’s works and counterculture concept in the last two chapters is the analysis of Salinger’s Glass family stories from the countercultural perspective previously established. In these sub-chapters I analyze Salinger’s stories through the conceptualization of counterculture based on the issues of alienation, innocence, and religious experience within the post-WWII context. The analyses of the stories are based on an extrinsic reading, since the historical, political and social happenings are inseparable from them. Not all the eight stories are extensively analyzed due to their number, their length and the preference for an in-depth analysis.

Moreover, I prepared the appendix of this dissertation with two main objectives in mind: to introduce the US socio-political context in more details, and to suggest some other authors and bibliography that can also contribute for the understanding of counterculture as a critical perspective. So, the first text of the appendix “Social struggles and political decisions toward wars in the US long 1960s” is written for the reader who is interested in a more historical approach to the international commands of the US governments in the post-WWII context. In the second text “From within the university to the margins: dissent and liberal causes” is written for the reader who is interested to know the historical details of counterculture, or who is not so familiar with the national political decisions and the protest of the US in the long 1960s. This two texts of the appendix are a result of the research I have done at UC Berkeley during the time I was an international research student there. In the third text of the appendix “Drugs, sex, rock ‘n roll and the reduction of counterculture to these elements,” I collected some relevant critical material about counterculture in order to problematize and discuss them. This text’s objective is to inform the reader about the

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<sup>3</sup> The thesis *Hippie Caulfield: The Catcher in the Rye’s Influence on 1960s American Counterculture* (2014), by R. Vincent Neffinger, is the only reference I found that connects both subjects in a consistent research. However, Neffinger sees counterculture as a movement and Salinger not as part of it, but as an influence to the countercultural agents. It is a different perspective from the one presented in this dissertation. Nevertheless, it is good to see another work – so recent – that dialogues with this dissertation.

“sex, drugs, and rock ‘n roll” motto of counterculture and suggest other countercultural agents for further research.

So, I cannot ignore the fact that *The catcher in the rye* (1951), the novel that put Salinger in the US canon, is a text known for serving as basis to Salinger’s following generation of intellectuals and youth<sup>4</sup>. It is also possible to argue, and many have been affirming it throughout the years, that *The catcher in the rye* opened the counterculture discourses in literature, afterwards led by the beat writers<sup>5</sup>. To counterargument *Life* magazine’s sentence that the beats were the “only rebellion around” in literature during the 1950s, Ken Goffman and Dan Joy, in *Counterculture Through the Ages* say that they were not the only ones. Therewith, they affirm that “young intellectuals had J.D. Salinger’s rebel against ‘phoniness’ Holden Caulfield to relate to” (2005, 241). The rebellion acted by Holden Caulfield in *The catcher in the rye* is similar to the beats’ one, as it presents a non-conformist posture from a middle class white teenage boy living in the cosmopolitan New York City. Holden, then, can be seen as a great

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<sup>4</sup>The term generation is a very complicated one in terms of literary concepts, since it comprehends a cohesive group, sharing the same thoughts, ideals and literary writing styles and forms. However, this term is commonly inserted when referring to the beat writers (prose and poetry): the beat generation, as stated by Goffman and Joy’s book (2005). It is important, though, to point out that by that, I do not mean in any case to read Salinger as belonging to any generation of writers, and also, not to infer that the writers of the “so-called” beat generation were Salinger’s readers and/or followed his writing styles. The case is, then, to reinforce Theodore Roszak’s affirmative in relation to the long 1960s about Salinger’s novel — that will be developed in the theoretical framework of this dissertation. However, a further problematization of the term will not be part of this doctoral dissertation, when used here, it will be a reference to the mentions of it in specific texts that apply to the discussion of Salinger’s texts.

<sup>5</sup> There is a common sense in literary criticism that J.D. Salinger’s *The catcher in the rye* has *the* (anti) hero of counterculture, which is Holden Caulfield. This is possible to perceive in the following newspaper articles when recuperating Salinger’s career with regard to his death: “Salinger’s Genius,” by Stephen Metcalf (published in *Slate* and posted in January 28<sup>th</sup>, 2010. [http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/the\\_dilettante/2010/01/salingers\\_genius.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/the_dilettante/2010/01/salingers_genius.html)); and “J.D. Salinger, counter-culture creator of the immortal anti-hero, dies at 91,” by David Robinson (published in *Scotsman* and posted also in January 28<sup>th</sup>, 2010. <http://www.scotsman.com/news/celebrity/jd-salinger-counter-culture-creator-of-the-immortal-anti-hero-dies-at-91-1-787794>).

reference for the young generation of the 1950s that challenged the US culture and politics, since the novel was first published in 1945.

Despite not being as well known for the general public as *The catcher in the rye*s, the Glass family stories also present relevant characteristics that discuss the counterculture of the US. The Glass family stories are not published in one single volume, so they are not continuous, i.e., the narratives are very different from each other. The stories are spread out in three books, neither of which are novels<sup>6</sup>, but collections of short stories and novellas; they are *Nine Stories* (1953), which is an anthology of short stories; *Franny and Zooey* (1961), a book that compiles one short story and one novella; and *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters and Seymour: an Introduction* (1963), containing two novellas.

The short story “A perfect day for bananafish” was first published in *The New Yorker* on January 31<sup>st</sup> 1946, and it is the first one to mention a Glass character – in this case, Seymour. Then, Salinger published “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut” on March 20<sup>th</sup> 1948 also in *The New Yorker*. This short story mentions another Glass character, Walt, but it does not make reference to the previous story. On April 1949, in *Harper’s*, Salinger published the short story “Down at the dinghy,” mentioning another Glass character, Boo Boo and her son, but, again, without making references to the two previous stories. These short stories were collected with other ones in the book *Nine Stories*, published in 1953. Even though Salinger wrote about the characters, at any moment he bridges one story to another. At first, they seem to be regular short stories, ones not to be continued. So, the fragmentation of the history of the Glasses is precise, and because of that, the reader begins to chase information, as if we were detectives trying to know more about these family characters.

It is only about two years after “Down at the dinghy” that the novella *Franny*, about Franny Glass, is published on January 29<sup>th</sup> 1955 in *The New Yorker*. In the same year, Salinger publishes the novella “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” on November 11<sup>th</sup>. More than

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<sup>6</sup> However, the study entitled *Salinger’s Glass family as a Composite Novel* (1983), by Eberhard Alsen, attempts to read the Glass family stories as part of one single narrative, i.e., a novel. Despite the very interesting discussion, here in this dissertation, I will only briefly mention the issue of literary genres in Salinger’s texts. Future studies on the Glass family stories regarding literary genres would result in an interesting debate, since there is not any other research that dialogues with Alsen since his book was published, in the 1980s.

publishing one more story about a Glass character, it is in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” that the Glass family is explained as a whole for the first time. In this story, the reader stops chasing for information, and only acquires them through Buddy Glass narration about his brother’s, Seymour, wedding day. After this story, it becomes easier for the reader to understand the family trajectory, since Buddy explains some events that happen in the previous stories. On May 4<sup>th</sup> 1957, Salinger publishes the novella “Zooney,” about Zooney Glass, in *The New Yorker*, collected together later with “Franny” in the book *Franny and Zooney* (1961).

On June 6<sup>th</sup> 1959, *The New Yorker* publishes “Seymour: an Introduction,” the second novella narrated by Buddy Glass about his brother Seymour. This novella was collected with “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” and published as a book entitled *Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters and Seymour: an Introduction* (1963). If the Glass family reader reads the stories chronologically, by the time they read this narration by Buddy it is possible to have a broad understanding of the Glass family characters, even though they are so fragmented. The last Glass family story is “Hapworth 16, 1924,” published in *The New Yorker* and never published as part of a book collection. This is the only story in which Seymour is the narrator. Actually, it is an epistolary story, and Seymour writes this letter to his parents while he is in a camp with his brother Buddy when they were children.

All the Glasses members are mentioned in these stories, but not all of them are always featuring the stories; they sparsely appear and, are, sometimes, only mentioned in the narratives. The family is composed by the parents and seven children; they are: the mother, Bessie Glass; the father, Les Glass; and the grown children, Seymour Glass, Web Gallagher Glass (known as Buddy), Beatrice Glass Tannenbaum<sup>7</sup> (known as Boo Boo), Walter Glass (known as Walt), Waker Glass, Zachary Martin Glass (known as Zooney) and Frances Glass (known as Franny), in order from the oldest to the youngest.

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<sup>7</sup> The thesis *Duas representações de família: Os Glass, de J.D. Salinger, e os Tenenbaum, de Wes Anderson & Owen Wilson*, by André Corrêa Rollo (UFRGS), presents a comparison between the Glass family stories and the Tenenbaum family in the film by Anderson. Even though there is not any relationship between both works – regarding authorship rights as an adaptation from paper to screen – there are elements in both characters and families that enable this study to compare both. Not to forget that Boo Boo Glass has a Tannenbaum (indeed similar) surname.

Even though these characters do not have the weight for being a reference for the young intellectuals of the 1950s, as Holden Caulfield had, their stories raise some issues that dialogue with the interests of the liberal part of the culture and politics of the US. The alienated society, the loss of innocence, and the search of a religious experience within the post-WWII context in the US are the elements that are presented in the stories.

Moreover, with the Glass family stories, Salinger floats among the literary genres such as short story, novella, and poetry – inserted in some of the stories – and novel, as Eberhard Alsen has argued. Moreover, the fragmented narration of the stories reveals that the reader will know the characters not only through their own voices, but mainly through the voices, impressions, memories, and reports from the others. That is the construction Salinger makes of these stories' main character — Seymour. If the reader reads the stories chronologically, they will only listen to Seymour's voice after knowing him through other voices. Because of that, the chapters of this dissertation in which I analyze the stories will be entitled after each story, but will contain other stories references and voices.

In order to analyze the Glass family stories through a countercultural perspective, I had to first identify their similarities. However, scholars have not explored deeply these similarities. So, this dissertation confronts the duality of having critical material that quote Salinger's texts as a relevant reference to counterculture, but do not develop much about it, and the ones that do not even mention his texts in the counterculture field of study at all. There are relevant contemporary approaches to counterculture studies and also to the study of Salinger, but hardly studies interconnecting both. Harold Bloom, for instance, in the introductory text of the book he edited entitled *J.D. Salinger* (2008), tells his experience of rereading Salinger after many years:

Rereading Salinger's thirteen principal stories, after almost half-century, is a mixed experience, at least for me. All of them have their period piece aspect, portraits of a lost New York City, or of New Yorkers elsewhere, in the post-World War II America that vanished forever in the "cultural revolution" (to call it that) of the late 1960s. Holden Caulfield and the Glass siblings charm me now – though sometimes they make me wince – because they are so archaic. Their humane spirituality, free of dogma and of spite, has to be

refreshing as we drift toward the millennium.  
(2008, 2)

In this quotation, when Bloom is about to mention counterculture, he avoids the word and replaces it with the expression “cultural revolution” – in between quotation marks – accompanied with the pejorative parenthesis “to call it *that*.” It seems that, for Bloom, the post-WWII period is separated from counterculture, since it vanished with the 1960s “cultural revolution,” as he affirms. However, counterculture – and its political relevance – started after WWII, as it will be demonstrated in the historical context of this dissertation. It is hard to separate periods of the US history that are so interconnected: the end of the WWII and its consequences to the country, and the boom of counterculture only one decade after the war, in the mid-fifties.

The message given by Bloom in this quotation is that being related to the counterculture, once the author belongs to the US canon, is a shame. Bloom qualifies literature in hierarchy, as he mentions that Salinger does not have an aesthetic as dignified as F. Scott Fitzgerald, to use his own words, and in addition, Bloom implicitly argues that it is not even worthwhile to mention the word “counterculture” (cultural revolution, to call it that, as he writes) in connection to Salinger, or to any US mainstream canonical author, I may suppose.

It is due to this gap in studies of both Salinger and counterculture, that this dissertation seems relevant to me. To understand literature without hierarchical patterns, as well as intersect it with other forms of art, politics, and history. It is possible to understand Salinger, as well as counterculture, by discussing alienation, innocence, and religious experience within the post-WWII context in the US.

So, after this short presentation of the thesis’ backbone and, at the same time, of my path researching Salinger and counterculture, I open to you not only a piece of work, but also part of my academic interests and perspectives.

## 1.1 Meet the Glass family characters

J.D. Salinger created and developed the Glass family characters in eight different stories: “A perfect day for bananafish,” “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” “Down at the dinghy,” “Franny,” “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” “Zooney,” “Seymour: an introduction,” and “Hapworth 16, 1924.” These characters’ lives are narrated while they



are adults, except for the last story “Hapworth 16, 1924.” Throughout the stories, the reader is conducted to know fragmented excerpts of each characters’ lives, but not necessarily in a chronological way. Moreover, some characters are protagonists of the stories, and some are put aside; and not all the Glass characters appear or are mentioned in each story. The elaboration of the characters happens a little by each story, since one story complements the other, and one character tells a little about the other and so on. Because of that, if the stories are not read continuously, one after the other, the reader may forget some information and the link between the stories may be broken.

In light of that, in this section I intend to collect the most relevant information of each Glass character in order to facilitate the understanding of them for the comprehension of the analysis in this dissertation. The elaboration of the main aspects of each Glass character is done based only on the stories written by Salinger, and not on critical studies. Because of that, some of the information presented in one specific story will have the exact reference. This section presents to the reader of this dissertation an introduction to the family; however I will not provide an analytical text here. The analysis of the character as well as of the stories will be presented in the two analytical chapters: “A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through alienation and innocence,” and “A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through religious experience.”

Moreover, the last name of each member of the family is also a point to reflect on. The Glass family stories are sometimes clear glass and sometimes a little frosted glass. At the same time that the reader is invited to know the biography of the family, as if watching the events through a clear glass window, for example, sometimes the reader cannot distinguish the characters’ realities. The metaphor of the glass through the characters’ names infers that even though the reader has access to the Glass’ stories, the reader cannot experience it. There will always be the glass barrier between the experienced events and the story told.

Therefore, below I present the Glass characters in chronological order — the parents, Bessie and Les, and the children — from the oldest to the youngest: Seymour, Buddy, Boo Boo, Walt, Waker, Zooey, and Franny.

### **Bessie Gallagher Glass**

Bessie is the mother of the family, and she is married to Les Glass. She is a retired Pantages Circuit vaudeville entertainer<sup>8</sup> and used to travel all over the country with her shows' presentations. In 1955 she was traveling, extravagantly – according to Buddy (“Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” 6) across the country with Les. During the time that encompasses all the Glass family stories, Bessie lives in New York City and shares the apartment with her husband, and their youngest children Franny and Zooley.

### **Les Glass**

He is the father of the family. He is also a Vaudeville entertainer and shares the show with his wife Bessie. So he also travels across the country, as well as shares the New York City apartment with Bessie, Franny, and Zooley. He is from Australia and, according to Seymour (in “Hapworth 16, 1924” 209) he has a little accent that gives evidence of his hometown origin. According to Seymour (in “Hapworth 16, 1924,” 196) he is not very fond of reading long texts (or letters), but he has humorous patience, and notorious good will.

### **Seymour Glass**

Seymour is the oldest son of Bessie and Les. When he was a child, he was the protagonist of the radio show “It’s a wise child,” in which all of the other Glass children worked for (not necessarily all the siblings together at the same time, due to their difference of ages). Also as a child, when he was seven years old, his closest brother Buddy and him went to a vacation camp in Hapworth, Maine, where he wrote a 24,000 word letter for his family (“Hapworth 16, 1924”). He was considered a prodigious child and a problematic adult. He received his Ph.D. “at an age when most young Americans are just getting out of high school” (“Zooley,” 58-59) He served the Army as a corporal in the Air Corps during the World War II. After that, he had suffered from Post Stress Traumatic Disorder and was admitted in a mental hospital. Before the war, Seymour worked as a teacher (“Raise high the roof beam, carpenters”), but he was also a poet, according his brother Buddy (“Seymour: an introduction”). He has also self-educated himself

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<sup>8</sup> Alexander Pantages was a Greek American vaudevillian who created a great circuit of theatres in Western US and Canada in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On: <http://web.stanford.edu/~ichriss/Pantages.htm>.

regarding religion and literature. He does not belong to any specific religion, but shares the knowledge he has about many different ones with his siblings. He is a reader of canonical authors from across the world since he was younger than 7 (as it is showed in “Hapworth 16, 1924”). Muriel and him planned their wedding to happen in 1942, but on the day he stood her up (“Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters”). However, on the same day they were supposed to get married, they met at their apartment and ran away to marry far from other people. In 1948, Seymour and Muriel road tripped to Florida for vacations, and stayed in a hotel by the beach. In their hotel room Seymour commits suicide by shooting himself with a gun he took from his baggage.

### **Webb Gallagher Glass (Buddy)**

Buddy is second-eldest son of Bessie and Les, two years younger than Seymour. As a child, he was a star of the radio show “It’s a Wise Child.” He is a college professor of literature and a writer. He claims to be the writer of “A perfect day for bananafish,” but there is no textual evidence for that. He is the “writer” and the narrator of three Glass family stories, such as: “Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters,” “Zooney,” and “Seymour: an Introduction.” He also wrote an introductory text to the publication of Seymour’s letter in the story “Hapworth 16, 1924.” He served the Army in the WWII and had a thirteen-weeks’ infantry basic training in Fort Benning Army base, in 1955 in Georgia, where and when he got a pleurisy. He was the only family member to go to Seymour’s wedding, due to a license he earned from the Army to go there. He was the closest brother to Seymour, and he keeps a great admiration for his older brother. Therefore, in his narrations, he attempts to praise his brother’s personality as a genius and as a poet. Similarly to Seymour, he does not belong to any specific religion, but self-educated himself about many different ones.

### **Beatrice Glass Tannenbaum (Boo Boo)**

Boo Boo is one year younger than Buddy. As a child, she was a star of the radio show “It’s a Wise Child.” She is married to Mr. Tannenbaum, who is Jewish, and is the mother of a four-year old boy, Lionel. They live in New York City and spent their vacation of 1948 in a house by a lake. In 1942, probably before she got married, she used Seymour and Buddy’s New York City’s apartment due to her condition

in the Army as sometimes stationed on and sometimes off, at naval base in Brooklyn (“Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” 6).

### **Walter Glass (Walt)**

Walt is the twin brother of Waker and they are one year younger than Boo Boo. As a child, he was a star of the radio show “It’s a Wise Child.” He also served the Army, in a field-artillery unit, as a G.I. In 1942 he was somewhere in the Pacific serving the Army. Buddy says (“Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” 6) that he was not a usual letter writer, so no one in the family ever knew where he was during the war. Before serving the Army, Walt met Eloise – with whom he had an affair. The war separated them, and Walt died in a G.I. accident in late autumn of 1945, in Japan. Walt and another G.I. were putting a Japanese stove in a package, and somehow it exploded. Walt, then, died and the other G.I. lost an eye. This story is told in a not so precisely way by Eloise (“Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” 33), and no other mention is done to the way he died in the other Glass family stories.

### **Waker Glass**

Waker is the twin brother of Walt, as mentioned before. As a child, he was a star of the radio show “It’s a Wise Child.” He refused to serve the Army and, because of that, went to a conscientious objectors’ camp in Maryland during the WWII. As an adult, he became a priest and Zooley describes him as a very emotional person (“Zooley,” 94).

### **Zachary Martin Glass (Zooley)**

Zooley is eight years younger than the twins Walt and Waker. In 1942, when he was thirteen years old, he was in Los Angeles with his parents and his younger sister Franny. Because of that, he could not attend his older brother’s, Seymour, wedding. Franny and him were the last children to be stars in the radio show “It’s a Wise Child.” As an adult, he is an actor. He lives in New York City and shares the apartment with his parents and his sister Franny, who is his closest sibling. He has claimed that Seymour and Buddy used him and Franny as guinea pigs for their religious experiences.

### **Frances Glass (Franny)**

Franny is the youngest of the Glasses; she is five years younger than her brother Zooey. She was also a star of the radio show "It's a Wise Child" with Zooey. She is an English major college student and an actress. However, she quits her acting classes and almost quits college too, because she has a nervous breakdown. She has a boyfriend called Lane Coutell, who is an English major student at Yale University. She spends a weekend with him for a Yale sports event, but she does not feel good and faints. She is also into religious books and is very enthusiastic about the book "A way of a Pilgrim." Her brother Zooey helps her to feel better when she gets back home from the weekend off.

## 2 The framework: building bridges

In broad terms, this dissertation focuses on Salinger's Glass family stories, ones that I will analyze from a countercultural perspective. In order to get to the analysis of the stories, in the following pages I will first attempt to define the use and the meaning of the term 'counterculture.' For that, I will discuss scholars' use of the terms 'counterculture,' 'counter culture' and 'counter-culture.' This discussion will point out that for the study of counterculture it is important to avoid gaps between sides, and rather build bridges to bind ideas together. For each gap that will be presented here, I will try to build bridges and connect similar thoughts of different scholars, rather than leave them apart.

So, which one to use: Counterculture, Counter Culture or Counter-Culture? In literature, the term counterculture has been used in many different forms, raising the question of what, exactly, this concept is. Is there only one, i.e., mainstream, definition for it? What characteristics does a text need to have to be considered countercultural? These are questions that are pursued by those who attempt to work with this concept and its ramifications in literature. These are also questions that have been guiding my study to analyze Salinger's Glass family through a countercultural perspective. Therefore, in this chapter, I intend to conceptualize the term "counterculture" to avoid misunderstandings during the use of it along this dissertation. In order to understand the concept of counterculture, a debate among scholars who have developed studies about it will be exposed here.

Even though there is a notable debate about Salinger's novel, *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), and its relevance to the literary context of the 1950s, there is not much about his other stories. It is the motivation for this research that there are rarely mentions relating the Glass family stories to the countercultural discourses. Yet, consolidated studies about counterculture almost forget the relevance of Salinger and his writings for the field, such as the cases of *The Making of a Counter Culture* (1968), by Theodore Roszak, *Countering the Counterculture* (2003), by Manuel Luis Martinez and *Counterculture Through the Ages* (2005), by Ken Goffman and Dan Joy. These are studies that will be discussed here in order to define counterculture within the context of Salinger's stories. In addition, this section will tend to collect and problematize the critical materials that relate Salinger's texts to counterculture or the absence of this relation. The texts discussed here only mention Salinger's works briefly, or even do not mention them at all.

The US history professor Theodore Roszak, when defining the counterculture of the long 1960s in the US, in his book *The making of a Counter Culture* (1968), associates it to a protest culture from a generation who was derived from technocracy, the “technocracy children”<sup>9</sup>. Roszak shows in this book what motivated the movement against the cultural patterns established by this technocratic society, i.e., one that was organized as if it were a mechanical system in order to achieve modernization, rationalization and planning. Roszak uses throughout his book the concept “counter culture” and not ‘counterculture.’ Since the history professor establishes a binary study in his book, opposing the hegemonic culture to the one against it, it seems more emphatic to oppose also both words instead of working with them together. Then, it seems coherent to me that Roszak presents in his study the term “counter culture” rather than “counterculture.”

It is important to mention, though, that I do not see ‘counterculture’ as an interchangeable concept to ‘counter culture’, since this second reveals a binary opposition study between the hegemonic culture against the counter one, which means that they are two cultures apart from each other, without connections. Counterculture presupposes a study of the clash between the hegemonic culture and the counter one, as unveiling a contact zone<sup>10</sup> between both.

Rozzak and the documentary entitled *Berkeley in the Sixties* (1990) discuss the rebellion of The Free Speech Movement, caused by the University of California, Berkeley’s students, as a fact that impacted the youth rebellion as a whole in the US. Even though being against the hegemonic culture of the US, the FSM<sup>11</sup> was reinforcing it when putting them counter it. Thus, it is difficult to establish a binary opposition between one culture and the other, since they were, inevitably, related to each other – there has always been the attempt from the students to negotiate with the government their ideals.

Therefore, since working with the duality of hegemonic and non-hegemonic cultures will not be the only aspect taken into consideration to define the concept of counterculture in this dissertation, I will not work with Roszak’s use of the term, except when referring to his study. I rather think counterculture as Manuel Luis Martinez does in

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<sup>9</sup> This is the main argument of Roszak’s first chapter.

<sup>10</sup> I borrowed the term contact zone from Mary Louise Pratt, who uses it to discuss imperialism between two cultures in travel writings.

<sup>11</sup> In the appendix of this dissertation, there is a historical context, which contains in details all the happenings of the Free Speech Movement.

*Countering the Counterculture* (2003), that is, looking back and trying to redefine the term not as a binary opposition.

In summary, a simplistic view of 1950s and 1960s America posits a binary opposition between the establishment culture and a dissenting counterculture. I suggest that this period saw the creation of a variety of social strategies, notably involving uses and appropriations of what I call the “migrant function” as a form of self-marginalization. These strategies have often been held up as a dissenting practice to right wing reactionary culture most frequently enumerated in studies of corporatism, consumer society, McCarthyism, conformism, and the military-industrial complex. (2003, 7)

Moreover, Martinez understands that texts by other authors, out of the beat clan, can be read as countercultural. He analyzes the triumvirate of the beats through a postcolonial perspective, mentioning the ideal of freedom that the beats projected, but without recognizing clearly in their writings their privileged positions as white middle-class men. This is to get to Tomás Rivera, a Mexican American writer from Texas, who Martinez considers a writer of resistance of the long 1960s, and therefore, a countercultural author.

Differently from how Martinez reads counterculture, Roszak considers that the term counter culture is only a symptom of the technocratic society that used to live under a totalitarian regime. Roszak does not intersect with other politics of resistance, except the ones against the governmental choices. For Roszak, totalitarianism, at first, was developed in the US without political resistance. However, even though the totalitarian regime had been politically supported, there was a movement against the overpowering “machinery” in the US that tried to distance the “social engineering” implanted all over the country by looking for spirituality, experience and thinking.

The opposition to the “social engineering” was led, as Roszak mentions, initially, by some of UCB’s students, as well as by some countercultural icons such as Allen Ginsberg.<sup>12</sup> The position of Roszak

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<sup>12</sup> In *Berkeley in the Sixties*, there is a scene where Allen Ginsberg is participating in one of the manifestations. In this scene, a reporter asks him to react and Ginsberg says, “React to what?” The reporter continues: “React to the



in relation to the students' manifestations in Berkeley is interesting because, even though he does not have much time detachment from the episodes, he already sees it as an illustration of the students capacity of expansion (1968, 30) and of the diversity of the FSM.

When one first casts an eye over the varieties of youthful dissent, it may seem that there is considerably less coherence to this counter culture than I have suggested. To one side, there is the mind-blown bohemianism of the beats and hippies; to the other, the hard-headed political activism of the student New Left. Are these not in reality two separate and antithetical developments: the one (tracing back to Ginsberg, Kerouac, & Co.) seeking to "cop out" of American society, the other (tracing back to C. Wright Mills and remnants of the old socialist left) seeking to penetrate and revolutionize our political life? (1968, 43)

Roszak, when mentioning the diversity of counter culture, mentions the paradoxical duality of the movement representatives. The scholar develops his argument opposing two sides of the same dissent turning the diversity into duality. In addition, Roszak compares the beats with the hippies, emphasizing their behaviors as bohemians and considering the Dionysian writers the ones who belong to counter culture. On the other hand, he does not mention Apollonian writers and/or behaviors as countercultural ones. Roszak, then, establishes a definition about who belongs to counter culture based on the binary comparison between bohemian hippies and not bohemian cultural agents. Salinger, then, would be out of this group of the long 1960s counter culture, since he was neither a bohemian type nor a political activist. Buddy Glass, one of Salinger's main characters, actually criticizes the bohemian poets in "Seymour: an introduction."<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, Roszak at the same time he mentions Salinger's *The catcher in the rye* in relation to the beat generation, he excludes it, as

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greatness of the march on the day. Are you happy with that?" In response to that, Ginsberg answers singing a mantra and playing two drum's cymbals. (1990:50)

<sup>13</sup> This statement will be better developed in the analytical chapter referred to this novella.

well as the other stories from the counterculture of the long 1960s. For him, then, *The Catcher in the Rye* is only a referential book for dissent: “This was a generation raised on *MAD* magazine and [*sic*] *Catcher in the Rye*. They had been taught that their parents’ way of life was laughingstock” (1968, 7). Here it is important to position how Salinger is thought in isolation to the developments of the counterculture of the long 1960s, even though he was still publishing at the time<sup>14</sup>.

Back to the conceptualization of the term, Alan Watts, in *The Culture of Counter-Culture* (1998), considers religion as Culture, specifically Zen Buddhism, whereas Counter-Culture, for him, is the movement of the long 1960s. It is interesting to be aware of how differently scholars use the concept and the term “counterculture.” Watts makes use of the hyphen to separate the term into two words. Differently from Roszak, Watts produces a bridge, an interconnection between the words “counter” and “culture.” Fred Wah, Canadian poet and critic, theorizes the idea of the hyphen in the poetics of resistance discourse in the contemporary panorama<sup>15</sup>.

In the essay entitled “Half-Bred Poetics,” from the book *Faking it* (2000), Fred Wah elaborates, in a hybrid text mixing poems and discursive text, about multi-cultural ethnics in Canada – based on his own experience. Wah also develops his theory on the concept of the “hyphen,” which he defines as “a crucial location for working at hybridity’s implicit ambivalence” (2000, 73). With the concept of the hyphen, Wah bridges his experience as a descendent of immigrants to other ones. He explains it through theory: “the hyphen is the silence and the transparency, representing the dislocation and disturbance by the people who have more than one ancestry, the ‘mixed blood’” (2000, 74), as he writes. It is interesting, then, to think about how the hyphen theory may represent not only Wah’s environment of the poetics of resistance, but also the previous environment of Watts’ theory on one of the aspects of counterculture, which is, religion and mysticism. The hyphen in Watts may represent the distance – and at the same time the bridge for it – from Western and Eastern cultures.

Thus, counterculture may be understood beyond the subversion against an established and conventional culture — the hegemonic one

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<sup>14</sup> Salinger stopped publishing in 1961.

<sup>15</sup> Although it would be very rich to make a parallel between Wah’s poetics of resistance in the contemporary panorama and Salinger’s counterculture, it is not the focus of this text. For further information about the poetics of resistance, it is interesting to read Wah’s development on the concept throughout his work.

— because it is not only based on one culture against the other, but also on the logic that, as Calvino points out, politics, art, music, literature and religion found means to oppose the inert humanity from the consumerism and the production that did not search for a revolution. Italo Calvino, in his text "A antítese operária" (1964), opens the debate about the concept of counterculture, underpinned in the beat generation writings and way of life, in relation to its need of having a socio-historical environment for reacting against it in order to exist (1964, 124). Then, the idea of antithesis in counterculture is opened by Roszak in the 1960s and reaffirmed by Calvino in the contemporary panorama. However, having this time detachment that Roszak's writings do not have, Calvino, in his text "Os beatniks e o 'sistema'" (2009), argues that the countercultural presuppositions did not constitute actual solutions for what they were claiming for, that they did not resolve the socio-political issues (2009, 95).

However, it is possible to argue that Manuel Luis Martinez, in his book *Countering the Counterculture* (2003), disagrees with Roszak and Calvino's considerations on counterculture, since he does not see it as a concept based on binary ideals. Martinez, on the other hand, considers counterculture and the military-industrial complex as similar responses to the changes of the US social and cultural panoramas.

This site of antagonism, Beats vs. Military/Cold War/Puritanical/Bourgeois bloc, ignores the role of other major social factors such as the emergence of a civil rights movement, a broadening participation of women in the workforce, encroaching suburbanization, and a significant influx of Mexican workers. The so-called puritanical impulses in American society, the rise of the military-industrial complex, and the formation of the Beat Generation may have been not opposed, but rather similar responses to the rapidly changing social and cultural landscape. (2003, 24-25)

Hence, it is possible to affirm that Martinez sees the 1960s counterculture with more amplitude than basing it on the duality between the US left and right wings. Martinez understands counterculture and its ideals similarly to the argument presented in the documentary *Berkeley in the Sixties*, as being not only a fight against the military-industrial complex, but also one based on women's rights, civil

rights, the hipster culture<sup>16</sup> and the opposition against the Vietnam war attempting to intersect these many political protests.

Similarly to Martinez's conceptualization of counterculture, Ken Goffman and Dan Joy's book, *Counterculture Through the Ages* (2004) develop the concept of counterculture as a historical phenomenon. For Goffman and Joy, the individuals who actively participated of counterculture did not accept the pre-established conventions of any kind, neither from the hegemonic culture, nor from the non-hegemonic one, but they used to create their own paths.

Our defining vision asserts that the essence of counterculture as a perennial historical phenomenon is characterized by the affirmation of the individual's power to create his own life rather than accepting the dictates of surrounding social authorities and conventions, be they mainstream or subcultural. (2004, 27)

This is not only about a form of authority's denial or life in community. There was, indeed, the common relationship among individuals, groups, however, it is not these communities that define — or not — what is or is not counterculture, but an addition of factors: the technocratic society, the political and historical context, the mysticism and the approach with the religious culture of the East, especially the Zen Buddhism, the drugs, the denial of the consumerism and the established institutions, the experience with the human nature and, therefore, with the community. The domain of one's body and mind is a privilege as well as the possibility to choose whether to live a mainstream or a sub-cultural life. This individualistic position towards an ideal of freedom is raised in Goffman and Joy's book, but it is not problematized as an elitist, classist and racist ideal. The question is: During the long 1960s, who could choose to live their lives exactly as they wished?

Bearing that in mind, it is interesting, then, to differentiate the countercultural figure from the countercultural texts or characters. For example, even though Salinger does not share the characteristics of the

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<sup>16</sup> "Hipster" and "hippie" are terms both used to define the individuals of the generation of the long 1960s that is commonly related to counterculture's motto of peace and love. The terms can be used interchangeably, and depending on the reference used — and therefore, the reference's choice — I will use both terms interchangeably throughout this dissertation.

beat generation authors, he does share some of their writings characteristics.<sup>17</sup> The centralization on the author is, probably, one of the reasons for the absence of Salinger's name in the great counterculture anthologies — literary and critical ones —, since many of them work with a hegemonic counterculture, a canonical one, that develop a conceptualization rooted in the relationship author-texts, that is, how the discourse of the texts works in relationship to the author's expression of their countercultural way of life, which is not the case of Salinger.

Goffman and Joy define that the beat writers were like heroes to the US socio-political context, since they were reacting to the conservative bourgeois culture, presenting a cultural movement towards freedom that widened the consciousness of the people. This is an argument that is counter argued by Manuel Luis Martinez when he mentions a similar approach presented by Barry Miles<sup>18</sup>.

What Martinez tries to present against this hegemonic and heroic idea of counterculture — too rooted in the beat writers — is a new perspective that attempts to understand the phantasmagoric context of the US in the long 1960s. This is a time that suffered the consequences of the post-WWII and, because of that, the development of the Cold War and its adjacent expectations of a binary world. The diversity of political agendas raised by the protests of the long 1960s and by countercultural expressions were crucial factors for the social and cultural panorama in the US.

In Martinez's book, he begins his argument about the beat writer Jack Kerouac and gets to Tomás Rivera to emphasize such diversity of expressions that literature had regarding countercultural discourses in the US in the 1960s. In between these two significant writers for the study of counterculture, Salinger is a name that does not appear in Martinez's book. Even though the scholar claims for a new

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<sup>17</sup> This will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation and in the analytical chapters, specially, with more details. There, glimpses of studies about the relationship between Salinger and the beat generation, especially Jack Kerouac, will be added in order to understand this important debate that contributes a lot in the study of Salinger and of counterculture.

<sup>18</sup> He is the biographer of a series of books about the beat writers, including Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs and Jack Kerouac. Some of the titles signed by Miles are: *Allen Ginsberg: Beat Poet* (1989), *William Burroughs: El Hombre Invisible* (1992), *Jack Kerouac: King of the Beats* (1998) and *The Beat Hotel: Ginsberg, Burroughs & Corso in Paris, 1957-1963* (2000).

reading of the counterculture concept, the study has its own gaps that allow the reader to problematize the corpus that he works with. It is interesting that Martínez keeps counterculture and politics very close to each other on the one hand, but on the other, he does not develop consistently the issues that this relationship brings to the literary accounts. Although Salinger may be considered a post-WWII writer and a countercultural reference to literary texts of the long 1960s he is not taken into consideration in Martínez's book. This gap in the counterculture studies is maintained from the theoretical texts of the 1960s, as in Roszak, to the contemporary ones, as in Goffman and Joy's and in Martínez's.

Then, it would be possible to question: Can these studies' questions and issues be related to Salinger's writings? If considering that some elements raised by counterculture are alienation, innocence, and religious experience, and that counterculture is a relevant part of the socio-political events of the long 1960s, I would infer that the hypothesis for this question is positive. Although these books do not — or rarely — mention Salinger's writings, especially the Glass family stories, it is possible to consider that they do bring questions that can be related to Salinger's texts through a countercultural perspective.

For this, it is necessary to establish that the term I will use in this dissertation will be "counterculture." The aim is not to work with counterculture as if it was created from a binary opposition between one culture vs. the other — "counter culture" or "counter-culture." Otherwise, the aim is to understand counterculture as a political and cultural perspective that coexists with the binary oppositions of the long 1960s in the US.

As mentioned before, in *Countering the Counterculture: Rereading Postwar American Dissent from Jack Kerouac to Tomás Rivera* (2003), Manuel Luis Martínez deconstructs the idea of counterculture established by the critics until then, one that has been centered on the so-called heroic authors of the long 1960s, the beat generation<sup>19</sup>. The aim of Martínez's thesis is clearly stated on page 25,

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<sup>19</sup> Although there are many authors that are considered beatniks, Martínez does not use all of them in his analysis. Instead, his choice is to work with the "central triumvirate of beat writers, Kerouac, Burroughs, and Ginsberg." (24) However, Martínez does not explain why in his analysis he chose to work only with these three authors, if because of their literatures, biographies, level of influence within the beat generation group or whatever. It is also problematic the fact that, although working with only these three authors, he also mentions

when he challenges the until-then idea of counterculture, “conceived as the culture of the 1950s” (2003, 25), as totally opposed to the established culture. By that, Martinez argues that the superposition of events, in a socio-cultural matter, is never simply dichotomous.

The belief of the inexistence of a “true” counterculture comes from the failure of the beats’ discourses in relation to the political happenings of the 1950s, in Martinez point of view. At the same time that the beats were “offering” to the US society a liberal discourse in relation to its nation’s socio-political moorings, they were also reinforcing a hegemonic (white, middle-class and male) cultural behavior. Salinger shares with the beat writers the aspect of being a white man from the middle class. The issue of class will appear in Salinger’s stories, since the main characters are also middle class people, and their relationship with workers are to be problematized.

Martinez, however, does not mention Salinger in comparison to the beats or to counterculture at any point in his book. Martinez’s text has a radical discourse in relation to the way literature has, or has not, affected deliberately politics and society in the US, as a mean to modify its context – as if it were messianic. However, for reading Salinger through a countercultural perspective, I will borrow some arguments from Martinez’s thesis that destabilize counterculture by decentralizing it from the beat writers. Moreover, Martinez problematizes issues such as liberalism and individualism in relation to the optimistic and, maybe, hypocritical, ideal of freedom developed by the beats in the 1950s; these aspects can also be related to Salinger’s Glass family stories, especially if read through a countercultural perspective.

What is interesting in working with the concepts related to liberalism and individualism in the context of the long 1960s is that speakers of the counterculture have rejected the idea of machinery and capitalism as a way to reject war and inequality in social structures. However, these speakers have, by many times, endorsed the idea of freedom as a way to escape reality but, then, consequently, have enjoyed the pleasures of a middle class economic status to achieve such an idealized space. This is a paradox explored by Martinez in the beat generation discourses through their literatures, letters and biographies.

The ideal of freedom the beats incorporated in their literatures was the one, which, mostly, represented the so-called nonconformity of that generation of writers. The freedom idealized by the beats was

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Ken Kesey sometimes and frequently refers, in specific analysis of one writer, to the beat generation authors, as if analyzing all of them.

theone based on the individual's ability to move, i.e., one needs to move from a place to another without not so much rooting in order to achieve a complete domain of one's body and mind. However, the movement done by the beat writers has not compromised their privileged status as middle class white males. The problem of this sort of movement is that the beats have not legitimated in their lives and literatures what they demanded in their outspoken discourses. These attitudes can be seen as hypocritical socio-political manifestations, and Martinez demonstrates, for instance, why counterculture has failed, since it asks for changes, but possibly one that does not interfere in the social status of its speaker. However, I will argue that it is not a matter of whether counterculture has failed or not, but how the literary works, in this case Salinger's Glass family stories, developed critical arguments in relation to it.

The ideal of freedom is also problematized by Martinez regarding the search of experiments. Martinez criticizes Burroughs' ideal of freedom because of his migration to South America for finding yage here:

*The Yage Letters* – written by Burroughs to Ginsberg in 1953 and then continued by Ginsberg in 1960 during his own search for yage in South America – idealize transethnic migration. The search for a liminality that can be provided artificially will allow for that temporary “freedom” without threatening permanent change to the taker's actual privileged status and class. (2003, 64)

Not only a critique of Burroughs' ideal of freedom — which is artificially given to him through the yage<sup>20</sup> use—, Martinez also criticizes the way Burroughs agencies his movement to reach freedom without experiencing the other, i.e., maintaining his privileged position as a white middle-class US man, in this particular case, holding an imperial position in South America. What Martinez intentionally does throughout his book is to show how the beat generation has not achieved its social change goals because of their fear to lose their major status and class in the US. That they were not so much out of the hegemony is what Martinez attempts to prove with success, giving some

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<sup>20</sup> Yage, or Ayahuasca, is a brew composed with some South America local plants. Yage was, initially, consumed by Indigenous people from Amazonian river headsprings, and it allows people to have a spiritual and psychedelic experience once ingested.



examples of how these writers never really went out of the spotlight. Therefore, counterculture as a binary opposition to the established culture has never existed, especially if related to the beat writers, who were not so different from the cultural hegemony, i.e., from the canonical art and literature.

Then, Martinez affirms that it is due to individualism that the broad conceptualization of counterculture has failed. However, because of all the relevant cultural production of the 1960s that contains critical discourses about the socio-political happenings in the US, I think that arguing that counterculture has failed is too radical a discourse. Counterculture is not about the social changes it has provoked, but how did counterculture shake the normative and right wing socio-political structures of the US. It cannot be reduced to whether it succeeded or not in their purposes or changes, but of what the effect of these pursued in arts and in the country were.

Martinez decentralizes counterculture from the hegemony of the beats, and reads the Americano literature in order to equalize the importance of the distinct approaches for the US literature of the long 1960s. Social struggles such as imperialism, ethnic rights (mainly Indian Americans, and Mexican Americans), civil rights, students, and wars are mostly heard through the beatnik voices. So, how can counterculture be considered out of the hegemony when its voices are only given by white men who belong to the upper class? It is not the case of erasing or diminishing the relevance of the beat writers for the countercultural perspective, but rather to democratize counterculture in order to hear the voices that were also part of it. Martinez chose Tomás Rivera to study, and I will demonstrate a similar thought, but through Salinger's Glass family stories.

The liberalist perspective that the beats incorporated in their literatures was co-opted by the capitalist hegemony established in the US after the WWII (2003, 8). Because of that, Martinez writes that egalitarianism was "appropriated and rendered inoperative by a liberal-conservative agenda" (2003, 8), where he includes the beats and criticizes them for that. For many, egalitarianism would interfere in the individuals' liberty. Because of that, Martinez works with the historical tension between liberty and equality, and argues that egalitarianism was discredited in the twentieth century because of the logic of market competition, when the space of the individual and its subjectivity began to be primordial for society, as well as for the beats. Egalitarianism may be seen, thus, either as the right-wing claim for results from a lack of competition, or as a communal cooperation claimed by the Left. The

conflict of dualities, either from liberty vs. equality or from right vs. left, does not solve the social needs and problems, but only emphasizes the social and political reality of the long 1960s, since this polarity can be understood as a reflection of the wars' contexts.

This way, according to Martinez, the conflict between liberty and equality constructed a national consensus of the dual notion of "liberals and conservatives." For Martinez, the beats were concerned with the perpetuation of a central illusion of movement (2003, 29) that reproduced a hierarchy of Anglo capitalist power. By that, Martinez attempts to show that they naturalized the *laissez-faire*<sup>21</sup> individualism that wanted to create a better society for all (2003, 29). With that, Martinez argues that the beats used in their literatures and discourses (interviews, letters, biographies) the common language used by liberalism, right the opposite of what their claims tried to represent through their theological and political convictions.

(...) The Beats, in constructing a consciously individualistic aesthetic and politics, a non-bourgeois ethic, created a libertarianism that precluded any meaningful communal effort, thus weakening any politically organized effort at society-wide change. The result is an endorsement of an atomistic individualism that must conform because its recourse against systemic forces is inadequate. The conscious decision to champion the "negative" libertarian aspect of a "free society" in fact played into the hands of reactionary politics in the same way the democratic theories and views of the individual that Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman popularized were used to justify westward expansion and reckless laissez-faire capitalism, and much later, to argue against the so-called welfare state and its "liberal" politics (2002, 49).

The individualistic literatures and discourses of the beats, regarding the libertarianism in relation to society, resulted in a conformist action because of its own recourse to oppose themselves to the systemic forces. For Martinez, this is how reactionary politics used

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<sup>21</sup> Expression from the economic liberalism that means that the market has to work freely with only restricted interferences to protect the rights on properties.

to use the works of Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, the latter being specially the mentor of some of the beat writers. What Martinez argues, in other words, is that for Kerouac and Burroughs, as white, middle-class males, the communal threatened their privileged space. For Martinez, then, the beats “endorsed their rebellion against the bourgeoisie and conformism through competition, as if it were the best option for social organization, excluding democratic participation and coalition, as if it were unnecessary” (2003, 50).

Therefore, Martinez’s argumentation can be understood along the following lines: because of the beats individualistic way of life they could not reach the democratic argumentation that they, as counterculture speakers, claimed. Instead, they developed an individualistic form of movement rooted in the self’s need of freedom. Therefore, they have endorsed a liberal discourse with the illusion of movement. This way, the actions of change or subversion given by the beats were mere appearances, because they actually reproduced the *laissez-faire* individualism from liberalism, the opposite of what they have argued for. The individualism of the beats is criticized by Buddy Glass, Seymour’s brother and narrator, in “Seymour: an introduction.”<sup>22</sup>

Due to the concepts related to liberalism that counterculture has, when read through the beats literature, the concept of individualism becomes relevant within this context. Although speakers of the counterculture have claimed for a more egalitarian society, at the same time, many of these have centered their discourses and actions in the self, similarly to what Walt Whitman, and some of the authors of the romanticism, have done in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Then, it is possible to see the beats as owners of a radical individualism.

By arguing that the beats subverted conformity in an individualistic way, Martinez argues that while fearing the communal—as the fear of communism by the right wing in the long 1960s—they created an ideal of freedom that has weakened the politically organized efforts for social changes.

The relevance of Martinez’s thesis for this dissertation is the decentralization of counterculture from the beats and the perspective of the individualistic ideal of freedom that endorsed liberalism in their literatures and discourses, as a way to problematize the inability of social changes brought by part of the literature of the long 1960s in the US. In some of Salinger’s Glass family stories, it is possible to see the

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<sup>22</sup> This criticism made by Buddy Glass upon the beat writers will be demonstrated and discussed in the analytical chapters of this dissertation.

opposite view of the beats: while some of the beats are optimistic and try to find an ideal land, socially and politically, Salinger's narratives in which Seymour is the protagonist show that the idealized freedom out of the systemic forces is no longer possible in that context<sup>23</sup>.

Even though sometimes Martinez seems to be a little too radical, he develops an interesting description in relation to how the beat-centered counterculture is; argument that I endorse here and that I will follow in order to also attempt to challenge such centralization. However, I will not depart from a minority literature perspective, such as Martinez's, even when problematizing polarities such as whites and non-whites, upper and low classes, male and female. On the contrary, I intend to look firstly to counterculture from the US literature canon, i.e., using the perspective of a canonical author such as Salinger to redefine the idea of central and peripheral in counterculture literature. I will depart from the assumption that Salinger is a white, middle class man canonized in the US literature, but who is not considered within the counterculture canon, that is, the beats. The intention is to show that Salinger's stories can be read from a counterculture perspective and that, even being a white, middle-class man, he does not pact, necessarily, with the beats' idea of liberalism. Other authors from the same context will also be mentioned briefly as countercultural in next chapter defined as historical context, and in the appendix, as a way to show that counterculture can be a read as a perspective that would apply to different authors rather than be read as a moment or a movement.

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<sup>23</sup> However, in the stories "Down at the dinghy" and "Zooey," Salinger presents more optimistic views about it, as I will argue later.

### 3 Rebels with a cause

*How can you be an artist and not reflect the times?*  
Nina Simone<sup>24</sup>

Counterculture is often dated to after the attack on Hiroshima, in 1945<sup>25</sup>. The post-WWII moment is a historical and political departure for understanding what counterculture is. For Salinger, especially, it is a transition period in which he leaves the Army, and tries to recover a post-traumatic stress disorder to, then, publish *The catcher in the rye*. So, to understand the post-WWII historical context is also to understand Salinger and his texts, as well as counterculture. Therefore, this chapter attempts to develop a discussion motivated by Nina Simone's rhetoric question in order to argue that for counterculture – and its agents – it was impossible not to reflect the times in their works.

The most recent biographies of Salinger argue that the WWII was a turning point for him. Salinger served the Army as a sergeant in Europe. In Kenneth Slawenski's *J.D. Salinger: A life* (2010), he affirms that it is difficult to measure the impact of the war in Salinger's life, because he arrived in Utah beach, France, on the D-Day for the combat.<sup>26</sup>

Tuesday, June 6, 1944, was the turning point of Salinger's life. It is difficult to overstate the impact of D-Day and the eleven months of continuous combat that followed. The war, its horrors, agonies, and lessons, would brand itself upon every aspect of Salinger's personality and reverberate through his writings. Salinger frequently mentioned his landing at Normandy, but he never spoke of details. (2010, 90)

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<sup>24</sup> This is a sentence said by Nina Simone in an interview showed in the documentary *What happened, Miss Simone?* (2015), directed by Liz Garbus.

<sup>25</sup> According to Todd Gitlin (1987), the idea that after 1945 the US became an "economic lord" (Ebook, position 526) deeply affected the cultural manifestations afterwards in the 1960s. Therefore, counterculture would probably not have existed without such a fertile territory for the economy, politics, and culture after the end of the World War II.

<sup>26</sup> In the most recent biography, *Salinger* (2013), by David Shields and Shane Salerno, there are some testimonies by soldiers who were also with Salinger on the D-Day, who tell in details what happened on those days. It is, actually, the first biography of Salinger to contain details of Salinger in the Army.

Salinger's experience in the war and his post-traumatic stress disorder after he went back from it made him a little apathetic before the political happenings that followed the WWII in the US. This justifies the historical gap within the biographies regarding the McCarthyism period.

On the decade that followed the war, a conservative political approach during Dwight D. Eisenhower's presidential years controlled the technological and powerful US. Wisconsin's senator Joseph R. McCarthy reinforced it by the repression on any subversive act in the US government and society. McCarthyism attempted to investigate in many levels the subversive people within the government as well as within the artistic industry (Hollywood, periodicals, publishing houses, music, etc.). The result of the repression practices toward any suspicious behavior against the conservative government is known as the Second Red Scare<sup>27</sup>, which was a massive fear of Communism. Therefore, because of McCarthyism in the 1950s, conformity became an expected social behavior in the country. The reprisal on leftist and rebellious people either on their personal or professional lives were generally to silence, ban, or, sometimes, to even deport them as a consequence for any commitment to communism.

So, at the same level that the youth protests during the 1960s attempted to change the post-WWII political and social panorama in the US, part of the 1950s cultural agents had already attempted to respond to the same struggles, however, they suffered reprisal from the governmental institutions. In 1957, Lawrence Ferlinghetti's bookshop and publishing house in San Francisco, City Lights Books, for example, was on trial for the publication of the second edition of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems*. In a letter of April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1957, from Morocco, to his friend Lucien, Ginsberg explains the situation about his book being seized, by customs inspector Chester MacPhee, at the San Francisco Post Office:

Oh, yes, listen of all things, a customs inspector name of Chester MacPhee at SF Post Office seized 500 copies of new Carr-less edition of Howl as obscene 2 weeks ago, so City Lights tells

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<sup>27</sup> The First Red Scare happened between 1918 and 1920 in the US, during Thomas Woodrow Wilson's presidential years (1913-1921), fearing Bolshevism, anarchism and the Russian Revolution's (1917) implications in the country.

me. He sent me a clipping from Page 2 of SF Chronicle about then. Big furor apparently [*sic*] locally, Rexroth denouncing Customs over radio, American Civil Liberties Union lawyers going to court. I suppose it will get in Life too; all in all perhaps a good deal, except that there's back orders for 500 copies already piled up & I'd rather they got filled. (...) I really didn't expect that to actually happen, though [*sic*] we had wisely consulted ACLU a year ago for legal OK & advice & got optimistic prognosis from them then - that's why they handle it rapidly now. (in *The Beats, a literary reference*, 2001,244-245)

*Howl* was being seized because, according to MacPhee, "The words and the sense of the writing [was] obscene. You wouldn't want your children to come across it"<sup>28</sup> (in *The Beats, a Literary Reference*, 2001, 245). However, before publishing the second edition of the book, Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg had asked the *American Civil Liberties Union* (ACLU)<sup>29</sup> advice to make sure the poems would be publishable without any trouble regarding federal laws and social behaviors. Even though the ACLU had given the green light for both, the book got caught by a federal employee, which shows that the US were conducting a deep social and cultural repression not only from the government offices, but in many diverse federal institutions.

Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg were pursued for their subversive expressions, understood as communist by the government, but not only them. Dorothy Parker and Arthur Miller, for example, have also suffered retaliations from governmental institutions and officers concerning their political positions<sup>30</sup>. In Dorothy Parker's case, her

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<sup>28</sup> This is an excerpt of one interview published in *The San Francisco Chronicle* on March 25, 1957.

<sup>29</sup> The ACLU is a organization that aims at "defend[ing] and preserv[ing] the individual rights and liberties guaranteed to every person in this country by the constitution and the laws of the United States of America" (in [https://www.aclu.org/faqs#1\\_1](https://www.aclu.org/faqs#1_1))

<sup>30</sup> In the book *Counterculture through the ages* (2004:231-232), by Ken Goffman and Dan Joy, some other artists are included in the list of those who suffered political repression during McCarthyism, such as Charlie Chaplin, Richard Wright, Clifford Odets, Lillian Hellman, Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, Bertold Brecht, Dashiell Hammett, Orson Welles, Pete Seeger and Paul Robeson.

political filiation with the left jeopardized her and her husband's, Allan Campbell, fortunes earned as screenwriters of Hollywood<sup>31</sup>. During the 1960s, after the political retaliation and her husband's suicide, Parker returned to New York and lived poorly in a hotel room until her death. In Arthur Miller's case, after 1945, and after the publication of *Situation Normal* (1944) and of *Focus* (1945), which focus on issues of the WWII such as anti-Semitism and military workforce, he became involved with left organizations and liberal causes. Because of that, in 1956, he was ordered to go before the House Un-American Committee (HUAC) in order to respond to the inquiry on his commitment with the left. Miller admitted his associations with communist organizations in the past, but he did not name any person from the left, as he cited the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and to remain silent<sup>32</sup>. His refusal to collaborate with the HUAC inquiries to identify other communists caused him a guilty sentence, a \$500 dollars fine and a denied passport<sup>33</sup>.

Many other artists had similar problems with the HUAC during the 1960s. The cases of Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg, Dorothy Parker and Arthur Miller, all of them writers, show that the repression was not only

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<sup>31</sup> Some examples of screenplays written by Dorothy Parker are: *A star is born* (1937), *Trade Winds* (1938), *The little foxes* (1941) among others.

<sup>32</sup> The First Amendment to the United States of America's Constitution was adopted on December 1791. It protects the right of freedom of religion and freedom of expression, assembly and press. In relation to the freedom of expression, the Amendment refers that "The most basic component of freedom of expression is the right of freedom of speech. The right to freedom of speech allows individuals to express themselves without interference or constraint by the government. The Supreme Court requires the government to provide substantial justification for the interference with the right of free speech where it attempts to regulate the content of the speech. A less stringent test is applied for content-neutral legislation. The Supreme Court has also recognized that the government may prohibit some speech that may cause a breach of the peace or cause violence." (On [http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/first\\_amendment](http://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/first_amendment)). However, in the Amendment there is a possibility of questioning the actual speeches with presuppositions of possible consequences that are not causing, but *may cause* violation of peace or violence. This enables the government to prohibit any political speech that may frighten it, or may highly oppose to it, especially if within an organization. McCarthyism may have used from this gap in the Amendment to serve its own objectives.

<sup>33</sup> According to the webpage <http://www.politico.com/story/2013/06/this-day-in-politics-93127.html>.



on those who had a hipster ‘way of life’ or for those who had profane writings with explicit language. McCarthyism threatened most of the cultural agents who had any commitment with the left wing and/or had any public expression about it, even if through their works. Salinger did not have any prosecutor after him or his writings, though. By the time McCarthyism was threatening the leftist cultural agents, Salinger was facing a totally different situation: his first – and only – novel *The catcher in the rye* was ranked in the bestseller list of the *New York Times*. Salinger was, then, far from any kind of political activism or of literature of resistance.

However, other cultural agents and political activists are frequently called “rebels,” sometimes “without a cause,” as a reference to the 1955 homonymous film starred by James Dean. This happens, mostly, because of their political commitment both in life and art, to the long 1960s leftist political agendas. Rebel, according to the *Thesaurus Dictionary*, is a Middle English word from the Latin *rebellis*, from -re (“again”) and -bellis (“I wage war”), i.e., “a person who rises in opposition or armed resistance against an established government or ruler; a person who resists authority, control, or convention.”<sup>34</sup> It is, though, not coherent to connect the concept of rebel with “without a cause” in the case of countercultural agents, since once one decides to rise oneself in opposition to a repressive government, it is due to the person’s political beliefs to resist it. If considering about the long 1960s political context, it was hardly possible for a person to have relations to leftist organizations and being “without a cause.” The consequences of McCarthyism could bring them down in many aspects of their lives; it would be a risk with no political purpose, with no belief. Because of that, I do not consider a rebellion without a cause in the cases, for example, of Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg, Parker, Miller and Salinger.

The term “rebel without a cause” is problematic, as well as the fact that only the rebel authors are considered countercultural. If, as I argue, countercultural agents’ rebellions are political, why, then, is there a distinction between authors considered countercultural and others that are not, even when they have similar views as the opposition to the conservative government at the time? Why, for example, Ferlinghetti and Ginsberg are within the counterculture canon whereas Dorothy Parker, Arthur Miller and J.D. Salinger, who had similar political views, are not? Or: Why are authors of minorities groups not usually seen

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<sup>34</sup> On <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/rebel>.

as representatives of counterculture when there are many of them who were also resistant to conservative politics at the time? Many other authors, who can be read within a countercultural context, are not seen as countercultural, maybe because of the existing — and cast — concept of counterculture of the 1960s, which pays way more attention to issues such as bohemia, drugs, the hipster culture, rock music and sexual liberation. Even though these are very relevant aspects of counterculture, it is important to take into consideration other issues just as relevant as these for the study of counterculture.

The backbone of the long 1960s counterculture in the US was definitely the political and counter-government acts that happened in the country. Therefore, the political situation in the US cannot be separated from the culture produced at the time and vice versa. In addition, the turnaround of the culture in the US 1960s is politically related to the governmental actions of the nation. In order to understand the culture of this period, not as a binary opposition between the US hegemonic culture versus counterculture, I will demonstrate in this chapter how cultural agents can be read as countercultural due to their political criticism and aesthetical techniques developed in their works. For that, I intend to demystify countercultural agents from the limiting title of ‘rebels without a cause.’ Moreover, in this chapter, I will refer to counterculture not as a ‘moment’ or a ‘revolution’, but rather as a perspective. Bearing that in mind, I will show that it is possible to analyze works by post-WWII cultural agents through a countercultural perspective, even if they are not considered ‘rebels’, also known as countercultural, by the scholars who work with the concept.

Commonly, counterculture is associated with youth and its rebellion within culture, mainly, in music, literature and arts. This view is not causeless at all; it is based on the, until then, new deliberate behaviors in relation to women’s and queer sexual liberation and the new psychedelic experiments in search of widening the consciousness as a way to liberate one’s mind and body: all culminating in a hipster “flower power” stereotyping. However, this sort of signification about counterculture, in a common sense, generally stops in these aspects, reducing the concept that embraces political, philosophical and cultural perspectives to a mere individualistic behavior change, as it was discussed in the previous chapter.

In the book *Counterculture through the Ages* (2004), the authors Ken Goffman and Dan Joy discuss some political references to the protests that happened in the 1960s US such as the Free Speech Movement (FSM), the civil rights movement, the Port Huron manifest,

McCarthyism, the Vietnam War and Cold War among others. Regarding the cultural references that Goffman and Joy consider relevant for the 1960s US counterculture, they mention the contributions of the beat generation, the rock music, the release of *Playboy*—as part of the sexual liberation revolution— and *MAD* magazine. The authors also consider relevant for the long 1960s generation the commercialization of albums of the bohemian jazz musicians of the 1920s that, according to Goffman and Joy, “separated the hipsters from the squares” (2004, 231).

The other side of the exhilaration caused by the technological US of the post-WWII was the nihilism wave. Joy and Goffman discuss nihilism in contraposition to the exhilaration due to the technological industry of the country (2004, 227). The authors understand that nihilism aftermath of the bomb was part of the paradoxical reactions to the political actions in the US. This sustains the idea that “intellectual discourse and popular mythology focused on mass annihilation. Nihilism was sure to follow.” (2004, 226). Bearing that in mind, it is possible to argue that Salinger’s Glass family characters reinforce the nihilist thoughts during the post-WWII period, especially Seymour and Buddy. Therefore, if following Joy and Goffman’s argument on nihilism, Salinger’s Glass family stories can be understood as part of the counterculture.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, Joy and Goffman relate the rebellion of the countercultural agents of the 1960s to two main aspects: 1) The youth alienation, characterized by them as similar to the ones represented in the films *The wild one* (1953) and *Rebel without a cause* (1955); and 2) Rock and roll as an anti-authoritarianism act. With that, the authors give a naivety tone to the rebellion of the 1960s youth; as if they did not know exactly what they were protesting for.

Alienation, though, is not conceptualized or theoretically explained in the book, so it departs from a supposed definition from the two movies. According to Ray Carr, when writing about *Rebel without a cause* in the book *The A List: The National Society of Film Critics’ 100 Essential Films* he writes that “The film’s real message is that the instincts of alienated teens are right, and that if they are to live lives worth living, they must break away from the adult world trying to steamroll, desensitize, and compromise them and create their own

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<sup>35</sup> This argument will be developed in the analytical chapters with textual evidence from the stories.

world” (PDF version, no pages)<sup>36</sup>. The same alienated behavior happens to Marlon Brando’s Johnny Strabler, in *The wild one*, who also creates a new world for him and his motorcycle gang out of the adult patterns of the time.

Both films can also be compared to J.D. Salinger’s novel *The catcher in the rye*<sup>37</sup> (1951), which presents Holden Caulfield as the main character, a teenager who believes that adulthood makes the world a phony place and, because of that, tries to escape from it. *The catcher in the rye* is a novel that is usually cited as precursor to counterculture, one that has raised some of the most relevant aspects for its following generation. There is a story that the two most recent biographies<sup>38</sup> about Salinger inform about his process of writing *The catcher in the rye*. The story is that Salinger’s writing process of *The catcher in the rye* did not stop when he went to war. In fact, David Shields affirms in *Salinger* that the author actually took six chapters of *The catcher in the rye* with him on the D-Day, when he arrived at the Utah Beach with the other soldiers. For Salinger, according to Shields, those pages he carried with him served not only as an amulet for helping him to survive, but also the reason for him to survive. This biographical fact, together with the affirmative that *The catcher in the rye* was a precursor to counterculture, shows that this is a novel that bridges the WWII to the post-WWII period and, consequently, affects its generation.

The second main aspect of counterculture’s rebellion raised by Joy and Goffman, after alienation, is rock and roll. It is relevant to mention that in the beginnings of the rock music there was a tone of naïve rebellion, similarly to Holden Caulfield’s rebellion against his parents, school, friends, and the “phony” world<sup>39</sup>. However, rock,

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<sup>36</sup> The PDF version of this single article was taken from the Library of Congress website, accessible on: <https://www.loc.gov/programs/static/national-film-preservation-board/documents/rebel.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> A portion of *The catcher in the rye* was first published in *The New Yorker* as a story entitled “Slight Rebellion off Madison” (1941). Since the title of the fragment of the novel, it is possible to see the relevance of rebellion for the story.

<sup>38</sup> Kenneth Slawenski’s *J.D. Salinger: A life* (2010) and David Shields and Shane Salerno’s *Salinger* (2013).

<sup>39</sup> In the article “How J.D. Salinger created the original rock star,” in the online version of the English newspaper *The Guardian* Luke Lewis argues that Salinger, with the creation of the character Holden Caulfield, created the modern version of the rock star. He says: “It’s often said that the character of Holden Caulfield invented the teenager. I’d argue that, in some sense, Caulfield

specifically, is not a genre deeply mentioned in any of the Glass family stories<sup>40</sup>. Maybe the strongest reference of music in Salinger's stories is in "Blue Melody" (1948). This is not a Glass family story, but one about jazz and segregation, both that can also be related to counterculture.<sup>41</sup>

The political context of the US had a major effect not only on music, but also on the literature produced after the WWII to the 1960s. The beat generation is probably the most recognized group of authors related to counterculture. One comes to the conclusion that the beat generation is recognized as *the* writers of counterculture after reading studies such as *Counterculture through the ages*, *The Beats: A literary reference*, and *The Sixties: Years of hope days of rage*. This is due to, especially, the beats' anti-war and pro-peace discourses, their queer and Zen thematic in their writings, for the way they used to dress, their use of the mass culture through the media, and for their liberal discourses. However, even the beats cannot be understood as a homogeneous group, as they were novelists, poets — musicians and filmmakers as a minor part of their craft — that shared ideals, thoughts and hopes for their generation, but that found different paths in art to expose it all.

The different kinds of political activism that happened during the long 1960s, such as the ones led by American Indians, Asian Americans, African Americans, and the LGBTQ community were

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also set the mould for our modern notion of the rock star – damaged, hypersensitive, infinitely cool, creative, hungry for sensation, an authentic voice in a world of phonies. Kurt Cobain, Nebraska-era Bruce Springsteen, Richey Manic, Gerard Way are all Holden Caulfields in their own way. Even Thom Yorke, with his "lost child" shtick, on songs such as Street Spirit (Fade Out) – the thin-skinned loner wandering the streets at night, adrift in a sea of heartless modernity." Available on: <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jan/29/jd-salinger-rock-star>.

<sup>40</sup> It is subtly mentioned in "Seymour: An Introduction" when Buddy is ironic when referring to the beat writers and the long 1960s youth, as I will demonstrate in the analytical chapters.

<sup>41</sup> This story follows the career of a gifted singer, who suffers a burst appendix at a party. In the story, because of racial segregation, no hospital treats her and she dies in the car on her way to a hospital. Kenneth Slawenski, in *J.D. Salinger: A life* (2010), says: "The story is Salinger's tribute to the blues singer Bessie Smith. When Smith bled to death in 1937 of injuries suffered in an automobile accident, it was reported that she had been denied admittance to the nearest hospital because she was black." (2010, 165)

present within the beats' writings somehow<sup>42</sup>. These different approaches made the beat generation not a singular group, but one that had similar liberal perspectives, but that focused not specifically on the same activism. At the same time that the literary critics agree that the beats were aware and problematized such issues within the US socio-political context, they do not recognize the writers from these specific groups as countercultural. So, I attempt to show that if the beats are considered countercultural due to their criticism toward issues such as sexual, religious, and environmental causes, why not read other authors who also developed a similar criticism in their works through a countercultural perspective?

As before mentioned, sexual liberation was one of the major aspects within some of the beats literary texts. Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, Jack Kerouac, and Diane Di Prima are some of the beat writers who emphasize sexual liberation in their writings. Sexual liberation was commonly seen in the 1960s as an act of rebellion itself, since it attempted to break up with the conservative patterns of the US society.

In the 1960s, Queer theory had not been coined yet. The word "queer" was commonly used by the beat writers to refer to themselves and others as not-heterosexuals<sup>43</sup>. As if they were following Walt Whitman's explicit homosexual scenes described in his poems such as "Song of Myself" and "Live Oak with the Moss"<sup>44</sup>, the beats also

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<sup>42</sup> For a broad analysis of the beat generation, as well as of other authors that can be read through a countercultural perspective, read the Appendix section 8.3.

<sup>43</sup> Teresa de Lauretis is known to be the first scholar to coin the term Queer theory, in a conference at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 1990, that was later published as "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities, An Introduction," included in the publication *Differences*. However, before Lauretis had written about queer as a theory, Gloria Anzaldúa had written about it in her book *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987). For further problematization on the etymology of queer, read Marcelo Spitzner's, dissertation project "Não Existe Pecado ao Sul do Equador - corpos/corporalidades/sexualidades: por uma teoria queer/quir/cuir do Sul," advised by Claudia Junqueira de Lima Costa, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina.

<sup>44</sup> In "Song of Myself," from *Leaves of Grass* (1855), Whitman describes explicit homosexual affair scenes, such as: "Breast that presses against other breasts it shall be you!/ My brain it shall be your occult convolutions!/ Root of wash'd sweet-flag! timorous pond-snipe! nest of/ guarded duplicate eggs! it

developed writings with explicit scenes during the 1950s. Salinger, on the other hand, does not explicitly mention sexual liberation in his Glass family stories. However, there are subtle references about it in the short story “A perfect day for bananafish” (1948).<sup>45</sup> As mentioned before in the case of *Howl and other poems*, literary works containing explicit scenes of sex – especially of homosexual sex – could have some complications to publish, though, due to McCarthyism and its censorship.

That is what also happened to William Burroughs’s novel *Queer*. It was written between 1951 and 1953, but only found a publisher interested in it in 1985. Goffman and Joy describe the repressive environment of the 1950s that created a ‘censorship before being censured’ for Burroughs’s *Queer*.

The book couldn’t find a publisher. Heroin was one thing, but the absolute last thing heterosexuals in the 50s wanted to do was to read explicit descriptions of gay sex, and the last thing homosexuals wanted was to be seen with a book titled *Queer*. (2004, 236)

In this quotation, Joy and Goffman do not problematize the prejudicial patterns of the heteronormative society in the US 1950s when mentioning the repulsion of heterosexuals to be in contact to queer literature and, otherwise, reinforce it as if it were an acceptable attitude. The title could have been the reason for Burroughs’s inability to publish his novel, but the content was hardly the only reason for its banishment, if compared to Whitman’s poems published a century before. It is not reasonable to argue that the book was not accepted for publishing houses because of its public, its future reception. Sex has always been a taboo in literature, but literature has never avoided the content of sex in it. It is the institutionalized patterns of each society, i.e., their political representations, which create a censorship in culture and not the readers (or the reader that there will be). In the 1960s, the US was divided into conservative and liberals and if one side of the country would not accept

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shall be you!/ Mix’d tussled hay of head, beard, brawn, it shall be you!/ Trickling sap of maple, fiber of manly wheat, it shall be you!” (1921, 59)

<sup>45</sup> Sexual liberation in Salinger’s “A perfect day for bananafish” will be better developed in the analytical chapter.

such a reading, the other would probably be interested, even if it were a minority, because the left wing was indeed a minority.

Although the 1960s is nowadays seen as the “sexual liberation decade,” it is important to emphasize that authors whomentioned it explicitly in their works faced a tough repressive censorship for publication. Less explicit authors such as Salinger, for example, did not have problems for publishing their stories. However, in a certain way, Salinger was focused on publishing in *The New Yorker* magazine, which is known for publishing more “refined” literature.<sup>46</sup> There is a relevant difference between the beat authors and Salinger regarding how they worked with the issue of sexuality in their works, and consequently, how their receptions were during the US long 1960s.

However, the sexual liberation was not the only historical theme with which the beats and Salinger commonly worked. The pursue of religious experience through Eastern religions, especially Zen Buddhism is present in the Glass family stories, as well as in Ginsberg, Kerouac, and Gary Snyder’s works. Buddhism is the religion that Snyder, Ginsberg and Kerouac used as a way to escape their Western reality and that is commonly present in their oeuvre. Some of their texts deepened the relationship between Western and Eastern cultures, especially through religion.

Jack Kerouac, for example, became interested in Buddhism in 1953<sup>47</sup> and by the same time some of his beat friends were taking courses on Eastern cultures as undergraduate students. Gary Snyder was an undergraduate student of Asian culture and languages, at the University of California, Berkeley; Gregory Corso deepened his studies on Japanese culture and language, and Allen Ginsberg spread the word of Zen Buddhism in the US 1950s and 1960s along with Alan Watts. Outside the beat generation, Salinger’s Glass family stories constantly mention Eastern cultures, especially religion and literature. According to Slawenski (2010, 153), Salinger started studying Zen Buddhism, and mystical Catholicism, by late 1946.

Rather than being shaped by them, he embraced these religious philosophies because they reinforced positions he already held. Zen was

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<sup>46</sup> To publish in *The New Yorker* was, for Salinger, a way of self-affirming himself as a good writer, according to Slawenski (2010, 41-42).

<sup>47</sup> According to David Stanford (1997, IX) in the introduction of the book *Some of the Dharma*, a posthumous publication.



especially attractive due to its emphasis on connection and balance, subjects that his writings often covered anyway. The study of these faiths created in Salinger a feeling of duty to offer spiritual enlightenment through his work. (2010, 153)

For Salinger, as Slawenski later refers in his book (2010, 190), art was connected to spirituality. Salinger, then, found in Zen Buddhism a belief in which he identified himself with. Moreover, the Zen helped Salinger to recover from the Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) he had after the war. Bearing that in mind, the religious experience through Zen Buddhism is an important issue for the composition of the Glass family discourses.<sup>48</sup>

So, the religious experience through Zen Buddhism is as relevant for the beats' works as for Salinger's ones. Then, if writers such as Snyder, Ginsberg, and Kerouac, who studied and worked with the religious experience through Zen Buddhism, are considered the canon of the counterculture, why cannot Salinger, who also works with the same theme in similar ways, be also read through a countercultural perspective?

In a letter sent to Gary Snyder in 1957, published on the book *Selected Letters* (1999), Kerouac questions the use of Buddhism in life, when writing that what only matters is the mind.

I saw him [Phil Whalen] so quiet and peaceful sitting with George Bernard Shaw wearing the Buddhist brown robes you sent him, I quiet like slipt away to let him enjoy his quiet Saturday evening...He loaned me Lankavatara and I dig that line THERE'S NOTHING IN THE WORLD BUT THE MIND ITSELF, which gave me a shuddering sight of reality, not shuddering, but I SAW IT. So maybe you might ask what's Kerouac gripping about? Well, now you tell me, what the hell's the earthly use of Buddhism to me or anybody else? Since there's nothing in the world but the mind itself...(1999, 45)

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<sup>48</sup> The religious experience through Zen Buddhism in the Glass family stories will be better developed in the second analytical chapter.

By questioning the use of Buddhism, Kerouac lets the collective thought — religion — aside and infers that individualism is what matters in fact. The idea of individualism is part of Kerouac's literature and reflects the privileged social class Kerouac had come from in the 1960s. In the letter, Kerouac continues writing about individualistic experiences rather than religious.

I mean why on earth (outside sickness and hangovers) aren't people CONTINUALLY DRUNK? Gary, I want ecstasy of mind, nothing else...why drink, drugs, etc. salt pork and dope as you said...I want ecstasy of the mind all the time...if I can't have that shit...and I only have it when I write or when I'm hi or when I'm drunk or when I'm coming. (1999, 46)

It is in the individual experience that Kerouac finds his freedom of mind, which for him, is the connection with the true religious experience. Kerouac follows and studies the principles of Buddhism and its Dharma, however he finds in the personal experiences his ideal of freedom, rather than in the collective one – by not wearing Buddhist robes and not meditating in a Saturday evening with friends beside him and, by not participating of cults, for example. On the other hand, Kerouac finds his freedom of mind with profane and individual experiences, as he mentions to Snyder in the letter. This also reflects in his literature through Kerouac's *Some of the Dharma*; the book has many texts in which Kerouac make connections with Buddhism, its dharma and Buddha.

Amy Hungerford, in *Postmodern Belief: American Literature and Religion since 1960* (2010), writes about religion and religious experience in the 1960s. Hungerford mentions Allen Ginsberg's return from India and how his trip had influenced his poetics afterwards. Mantra and chants became part of Ginsberg's readings and performances and a strong theme for his poems. One example is the spoken word album of Ginsberg's participation on the Festival of the Two Worlds in Spoleto, Italy, on July 1967<sup>49</sup>. There, Ginsberg mixed in

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<sup>49</sup> The spoken word album, *Ginsberg Thing*, was released in long-play format in 2004, and was made in Italy. Because of his reading in Italy, Ginsberg was charged with accusations of violating the Italian penal code. In the album, there are ten tracks in which are included "Zen Buddhist Chant 'High Perfect

his performance some of his poems, chants and mantras and translations of Giuseppe Ungaretti's poetry<sup>50</sup>. Moreover, in the chapter "Sixties Religious Formalism," Hungerford states that although Ginsberg's poetry, after his arrival from India, would never achieve the same literary respect as his previous works, these were the poems that "fueled his fame" as a countercultural icon (2010, 51). Beyond that, some of the writers of the 1960s found in the religious experience and practice a way to escape the Western reality through, specifically, Eastern religions and cultures.

Hungerford also mentions Salinger in her book and dedicates a chapter for the study of the religious experience in the book *Franny and Zooey*. The questions Franny elaborates about religious experience throughout the narrative is, for Hungerford, the ritualized religious language through the Jesus Prayer (2010, 9). Later, in the analytical chapter, I will demonstrate how Salinger articulates religious concerns (through religious knowledge and religious experience) within the US's long 1960s context.<sup>51</sup>

In conclusion, this chapter was developed with the intention of considering counterculture as a perspective that works with the problematization of the political moment after the WWII. Some cultural agents that are not necessarily considered countercultural are exposed here in order to show that canons are often marginalizing authors. In this case, the counterculture canon is the beat writers that served here as a center point in order to establish brief comparisons to other possible

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Wisdom'," "Message II," "First Party at Ken Kesey's (with Hell's Angels)," "Small Spoleto Mantra" among others.

<sup>50</sup> Giuseppe Ungaretti was an Italian poet born in Egypt. He was the leader and exponent of the Hermetic Movement, which was a poetic modern movement in Italy in the early twentieth century.

<sup>51</sup> It is important to say that even though the beats and Salinger used in their writings Eastern cultures and religion as a way to escape the Western reality, there were Asian American writers who were more concerned in resisting to racism and marginalization within the US. Among them the Asian Americans activists and authors Janice Mirikitani and Merli Woo are relevant for the study of counterculture within the US context. According to George Uba's text "Versions of identity in post-activist Asian American Poetry" (1992, 33-48), from the book *Rereading the Literatures of Asian Americans*, the poetry of these authors bring up not only issues of racism, political freedom and resistance, but also problematize them through their syntax. Poems such as "We, the Dangerous," by Mirikitani, and "Yellow Woman Speaks," by Woo, are representatives of the Asian American literature of resistance.

countercultural authors. Moreover, it is relevant to consider counterculture not from a 'way of life' perspective, as if countercultural agents were rebels without a cause. On the contrary, the idea is to reflect and problematize the political implications of the countercultural works and how they dialogue with the political activism of the time<sup>52</sup>. By doing that, it is possible to conclude that authors from different perspectives (either for personal or social or political reasons) have been relevant and important for the cultural and political articulations in the long 1960s.

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<sup>52</sup> For a broader historical context of the political activism and governmental decisions in the long 1960s US, read the appendix sections 8.1 and 8.2.

#### 4 A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through alienation and innocence

This chapter aims at narrowing down the analysis of the Glass family stories in relation to alienation and innocence as the main issues of the three stories analyzed here. For that, I will focus on the following stories: “A perfect day for bananafish,” “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” and “Down at the dinghy,” all of them published in the short story collection *Nine Stories* (1953). Moreover, in this chapter, I will present the previous discussions scholars have had about Salinger’s stories and about counterculture studies that relate to the issues of alienation and innocence.

Therefore, one possibility of looking at these stories through a countercultural perspective is to analyze them in relation to the issues of alienation and innocence, but also in relation to other aspects that also inform the context of the stories. Some of these other aspects are taken into consideration in the analyses to follow, such as race, immigration, class, women’s rights, drugs, all within the post-WWII context, i.e., the long 1960s. These are issues that in some sense intersect with either the themes of alienation or innocence. Scholars who research counterculture usually analyze the issues mentioned so far, but these studies do not necessarily use Salinger’s stories in the analysis. Because of that, I attempt to bridge Salinger’s stories to the main counterculture studies in order to point out their similarities through the critical review and, later, through my analysis of the stories.

In *The Making of a counterculture*, for example, Theodore Roszak mentions Salinger’s *The catcher in the rye* in relation to the beat generation, but he excludes Salinger’s stories from the “active” moment of counterculture in the long 1960s. Roszak puts Salinger’s novel as if it were only a referential book for dissent: “This was a generation raised on MAD magazine and *Catcher in the Rye*. They had been taught that their parents’ way of life was laughingstock” (1968, 7)<sup>53</sup>. For Roszak, then, Salinger is in isolation to the developments of counterculture in the long 1960s, even though he was still publishing at the time. In Roszak’s text, it seems that *The catcher in*

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<sup>53</sup> This quotation has already been used before in this dissertation. However, I chose to quote it again here, since it is also relevant for the discussion of this chapter.

*the rye* is a book that gave voice for a new upcoming generation, one that thought rebellion as a way to change the established culture. This idea about Salinger's texts is also found in Grace Elizabeth Hale's *A Nation of Outsiders* (2011), where she sees Holden Caulfield – *The catcher in the rye*'s main character – as an apolitical rebel:

What Holden offered readers, with his slangy language and his not-exactly-going-anywhere life, was a way for them – for everyone – to be an artist. Rebellion here is not an act. It is not political, in an ideological sense. It is an expression of the inner life. It is a feeling. For Holden, self-expression is enough, and self-expression, the democratization of the modern idea of what it means to be an artist, is the flip side of the problem of mass culture. (2011, 34)

For Hale, Holden is an apolitical character, one that is seen as an outsider rebel. It is common to see in the texts about counterculture the use of the term “rebel without a cause,” as if countercultural agents were alienated from political issues. Hale understands Holden's rebellion not as a political act, but an individualistic expression — and, therefore, alienated from the outside world.

However, neither Roszak nor Hale keep track of Salinger's works in accordance to the generation that came after *The catcher in the rye*. On the one hand, Holden Caulfield, according to the scholars, left opened the possibility for rebellion when disagreeing with the patterns of culture. But on the other, they simplify Holden's position as a mere rebel without a cause behavior. Alienation then, in these texts, becomes not a form of criticism to the US socio-political status, but a form of rebellion without causes or consequences. As previously discussed in chapter two, the term “rebel without a cause” may not be applied to countercultural texts, since they provide political discussions that dialogue with the ones of the long 1960s context.

In *The representation of J.D. Salinger's views on changes in American society in the 1940s in The catcher in the rye* (2011)<sup>54</sup>, Jessadaporn Achariyopas compares Holden Caulfield's alienation to the one represented in the film *Rebel without a cause*, arguing that Holden's

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<sup>54</sup> Available on:

[http://www.teacher.ssru.ac.th/jessadaporn\\_ac/pluginfile.php/96/block\\_html/content/Research%201.pdf](http://www.teacher.ssru.ac.th/jessadaporn_ac/pluginfile.php/96/block_html/content/Research%201.pdf).

alienation could be seen as the “new alienation” of that context in the US.

Like the adolescent of Nicholas Ray’s film, *Rebel without a cause* (1954), played by screen idol James Dean, Holden epitomizes “what the psychiatrist Kenneth Keniston called the ‘new alienation’, a feeling of estrangement which ‘characteristically takes the form of rebellion without a cause, of rejection without a program, of refusal of what is without a vision of what should be’. The alienation of Holden Caulfield illustrates a phenomenon of the 1950s. His preference for innocence, spirituality and pacifism suggests that he is a forerunner of the ‘flower children’ of the 1960s but, unlike them, Holden has nothing to drop into when he drops out of society. He can find no subculture with which he can identify. (2011, 9-10)

Acharyopas approaches Holden Caulfield similarly to how I will analyze the members of the Glass family. The lack of political agenda of the characters makes them alienated from their own culture and it isolates them in an individualized world. The author compares Holden’s attitudes in the book with the flower power generation, safeguarded the differences between a fictional character and real people, arguing that despite Holden’s dissatisfaction in relation to his reality, he does not have a political agenda to solve it. Similarly to Seymour (one of the main Glass characters), Holden chooses innocence and spirituality to find his place in the world. However, both characters do not find such place; Holden tells the story from a mental hospital where he is getting a treatment, and Seymour commits suicide.

The power of individualism is, for Ken Goffman and Dan Joy (2004), the essence of counterculture. They work with the concept of individualism as the ability of creating one’s individual political and social attitudes:

Our defining vision asserts that the essence of counterculture as a perennial historical phenomenon is characterized by the affirmation of the individual’s power to create his own life rather than accepting the dictates of surrounding social authorities and conventions, be they mainstream or subcultural. (2004, 27)

The authors affirm that the individualization is more important for countercultural agents than social conventions. However, as Manuel Luis Martinez writes, in *Countering the counterculture* (2003), the individualization is also a social convention, departing from the idea that counterculture was a social and political phenomenon. Martinez calls the idealization of individualism of the 1960s as a “decadent individualism” (2003, 9). Another relevant aspect to problematize in Joy and Goffman’s text is the fact that not everyone had “the power” to create their own lives. Counterculture, despite some individualistic forms of expressions, had as a main objective to shake the hierarchic powers of the US society at the time. So it is problematic to, instead, praise individualistic forms as being the “essence” of counterculture. I argue that, if there is any “essence” of counterculture, that would rather be the collective ideal of freedom from the liberal society, manifested by individuals, communities, and groups or else in many different forms, such as in protests, occupations, arts, etc. If it succeeded or not, then it is another issue to discuss.

Alienation is, then, related to the outsiders, the ones who did not fit in society, the “rebels.” However, when seen as “rebels without a cause,” countercultural agents are seen as individualistic, or as neo-individualistic (2003, 8), if following Martinez’s term. This reflects on how the long 1960s counterculture of the US did not create a sense of community, most of the times expressing an ideal of freedom that only privileged people who already had access to it. Martinez argues that the beat writers, especially the triumvirate Kerouac-Ginsberg-Burroughs, were part of this group of privileged people, i.e., middle-class white men. In this sense, the study of Martinez in relation to counterculture regarding alienation — or neo-individualism, as he calls — contributes to the field of study, because it destabilizes the hegemonic beat-centered counterculture.

I focus my critique on the “counterculture,” defined broadly, not because it “failed” or was hypocritical, but because its effects have come under attack even though its strategies did not produce a long-lasting cohesive *communitas* or communal instinct. A central reason for bringing the Chicano narrative and the American narrative together is to uncover the underlying ideologies that crippled the counterculture, creating not a radical *communitas* or radical collective alternatives, but instead a consensus model that



ultimately seems to have been co-opted by the capitalist hegemony established after World War II. In short, much of the counterculture's activity was self-subverting subversion. (2003, 8)

On the other hand, countercultural agents are also seen as combatants against the 1950s conformity, which presents a paradox between to be or not to be alienated. According to Roszak, the youth of the 1960s contested the technocratic society of the post-WWII, which caused the conformity behavior of the middle-class (1968, 34) that, in exchange for security, did not question the political decisions of governmental institutions of the country.

Within the US 1960s socio-political context, alienation plays an important role, and many literary texts that can be read through a countercultural perspective develop a critical argument about it, such as Salinger's stories. Moreover, it is in between the paradox of alienation that most of the critical texts about counterculture rely on, as well as texts about Salinger's stories.

In *Alienation* (2009), a book edited by Harold Bloom, for example, several scholars aim at analyzing canonical authors through the lenses of the theme alienation. Originally, according to Bloom, alienation in literature meant "estrangement;" however, a modern conceptualization was developed after Kafka with the meaning of "existential dread." It is from the existential dread alienation that Bloom opens the discussion about the subject.

One of the articles of Bloom's book is about Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* in relation to the themes of alienation, materialism and religion. In this article, Robert C. Evans argues that the fact that being Holden a teenage outsider from his family, teachers and colleagues transpire the theme of alienation in the novel (2009, 41). Not only that, but alienation for Evans comes also from the fact that Holden is always presented as a frustrated and unhappy boy, with the constant thought that the world around him is phony. Holden does not feel he belongs to the society he lives in, and neither he tries to fit in. According to Evans,

In his restlessness, discontent, and alienation, Holden is the archetype of the disaffected teenager, the surly, rebellious youth (usually male) who rejects the values and pretensions of "adult" society without having formed any coherent or articulated set of superior values or a

more successful plan for a satisfying life. (2009, 42)

Differently from Seymour — or the other Glass brothers, Holden is not an adult and is usually seen as a rebel without a cause since he rejects adulthood “without having any coherent or articulated set of superior values.” However both characters are alienated from the world in which they dwell. Holden, according to Evans, is alienated because of his rejection of people and values; or according to Kenneth Slawenski, “[h]e defends his alienation with scorn for adult society and a refusal to compromise with it” (2010, 208). Holden rejects people and values in a hostile way, the same way as characters of the Glass family saga do, such as Eloise, from “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” and Seymour. These three characters, for example, reject the phony world they criticize, but at the same time do not come to the conclusion of how good the world is. In order not to live in the phony world, they become alienated from it – they disbelieve in life. Warren French, when writing about “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” in *J.D. Salinger* (1966), argues that since Eloise does not have the presence of Walt Glass anymore — and neither the moments she lived in the past with him — she disbelieves in the life and in the family she has, and therefore, alienates herself from the phoniness around her (1966, 36).

In relation to the beat writers, Slawenski also affirmed that Salinger had great impact on the beats, especially regarding the themes of alienation and displacement. For him, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, William Burroughs continued Salinger’s discussion on the theme of alienation, questioning the “mankind’s place in the world in a way particularly close to Salinger’s heart” (2010, 309). Such affirmative given by Slawenski shows that Salinger worked with the aspects also presented by the countercultural canon. Alienation is for Slawenski the closest Salinger can get to the beats; however, I would rather argue that innocence and religion are also part of this approach, and that Salinger can get even closer to the beats if closely analyzed through a countercultural perspective.

Alienation, then, is a theme frequently worked by scholars when analyzing Salinger’s texts. It is relevant that Salinger’s stories regarding the theme of alienation are also compared to the beat texts —but not necessarily understood as countercultural. Before the beats, in 1945 with *The catcher in the rye*, Salinger had already begun the discussion on this subject, continuing it with the Glass family stories at the same time that the beats were also publishing on alienation. Even though Slawenski’s is

the only work that brings up the connection about them — and even if there is still not very much developed in it — the theme of alienation is one that interconnects Salinger's critical *oeuvre* and critical studies about counterculture.

Another issue that interconnects Salinger's critical *oeuvre* to counterculture critical studies is innocence. As mentioned before, this will also be the focus on this chapter when analyzing the three short stories from the book *Nine Stories*. Innocence is, actually, an aspect often present in all the three stories by characters such as: Sybil in "A perfect day for bananafish," Ramona in "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," and Lionel in "Down at the dinghy."<sup>55</sup>

The representation of the maturity of children into adult life is present throughout the Glass family stories. Not only that, but innocence plays a very relevant role in Salinger's *oeuvre*. *The catcher in the rye* is probably Salinger's most analyzed work in relation to the issue of innocence because of its metaphor of Holden willing to keep children in the field from falling over the cliff – turning him into a catcher in the rye. However, Salinger's Glass family stories were also read in relationship to the issue of innocence, as it will be shown in the following paragraphs.

The seventh chapter of French's book *J.D. Salinger* (1966), for example, is dedicated to the issue of innocence in Salinger's stories. From the Glass family stories, French selects "Down at the dinghy" to elucidate how the issue of innocence works within the family. In this story, Lionel, Boo Boo's son, runs away because of what he hears his maid say about his father. Lionel is sad throughout the story because of what he hears, but he does not say what exactly is making him feel sad. By the end of the story, Lionel finally says to his mother what made him run away: the words "big, sloppy, kike" that Sandra used to refer to his dad. According to French, what threatened Lionel in Sandra's words was not exactly the meaning of the words, because he did not know what a kike was. However, Lionel faces the strange adult world, with unknown words and hostility, which makes him want to escape from it (1966, 94). Lionel, according to French, is a victim of the phoniness of adulthood, whose language he does not comprehend (1966, 98).

Innocence becomes the center of the analysis of Seymour's suicide in Robert Hipkiss' *Jack Kerouac: Prophet of the New Romanticism* (1976). When comparing the countercultural writings of

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<sup>55</sup> The aspect of innocence in the Glass family stories will also be related to the aspect of the search for religious experience, in the second analytical chapter.

Kerouac to Salinger's stories, Hipkiss considers innocence a connector between both. For the scholar, Seymour, in "A perfect day for bananafish," chooses suicide because he cannot put up with the meaningless of adult life: "from dreams of purity and innocence to sophistication and carnal release, from carefree fantasy to day-to-day domestic life, he chooses suicide" (1976, 102). As commonly happens in the modern short stories of the US, the reason why the events happen are not explained.<sup>56</sup> So, it is difficult to establish why exactly has Seymour committed suicide. However, Hipkiss' statement makes sense since it connects the issues raised in "A perfect day for bananafish" in order to explain his act. The loss of innocence, then, is probably one of the most relevant issues in the story, which culminates in Seymour's suicide.<sup>57</sup>

Hypersensitivity is one of the features of the Glasses who do not comprehend the phoniness of the adult life, according to French (1966, 95) and Hipkiss (1976, 102). The latter finds in it the convergence in the works of Salinger and Kerouac:

Hypersensitivity to life is the curse of the sensitive child-innocent in both Kerouac and Salinger. In Kerouac the lack of discrimination is a fault made into the virtue of acceptance and potential knowledge of the All. In Salinger it is treated as a virtue insofar as it permits a wide-eyed view of the way things are, disclosing the "phoniness" of the adult world. (1976, 102)

Both Lionel, from "Down at the dinghy," and Seymour, from "A perfect day for bananafish," are hypersensitive characters who do not know how to deal with their harsh feelings about the phony world they live in — regarding to how adulthood shows them a world full of lies and hostility. So they escape — either by running away or by committing suicide.

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<sup>56</sup> Ricardo Piglia explains the theory of the short story in his book *Formas Breves* (2000), in which he writes that the first statement (or thesis) that explains the genre is that: the modern short story always tells two stories in it, in which one is told explicitly with words – the main one – and another that is hidden (2000, 89).

<sup>57</sup> This will be better developed later on in this chapter.

Both stories are presented in *Nine Stories* (1953). In the book review “Threads of Innocence”<sup>58</sup> (1953), published on the book *If you really want to hear about it* (2006), Eudora Welty had already emphasized the theme of innocence in Salinger’s stories through the children characters (2006, 91). Welty also relates the issue of innocence with the absence of love. Actually, the absence of love to which she refers is the cruel and phony world of adult life, mentioned by French and Hipkiss:

They [the stories] all pertain to the lack of something in the world, and it might be said that what Mr. Salinger has written about so far is the absence of love. Owing to that absence comes the spoliation of innocence, or else the triumph in death of innocence over the outrage and corruption that lie in wait for it. (2006, 92)

The destruction of innocence in contrast with the inability to keep it from childhood is what French, Hipkiss and Welty emphasize in their readings of the Glass stories. However, another look at innocence has been made during the 1960s by Carl Strauch, in “Salinger: The Romantic Background”<sup>59</sup>. In this article, Strauch presents a critical review about Salinger and criticizes some of the scholars who attacked the stories based on sociological and psychoanalytical backgrounds. It is especially relevant in this article the review Strauch makes regarding the sociological perspective, because it goes in direct opposition to the argument that will be presented in this dissertation in the analysis of Salinger’s stories:

The attack on Salinger for not being sociological and on his characters for hating society is obviously related to the fundamental indictment of his children’s world. (...) Isa Kapp makes the breezy assertion that “you cannot find out much about society from Salinger,” as though to say, “I told you so,” to whole sections of sophomores who had tried and, of course, failed. In the same way Leitch says that Salinger’s characters “fear,

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<sup>58</sup> This book review is published in the book *If you really want to hear about it: Writers on J.D. Salinger and his work*, edited by Catherine Crawford, 2006.

<sup>59</sup> This article was published in the journal *Wisconsin Studies in Contemporary Literature*, (1963).

dislike and despise the adult world; their response to it is as rapid withdrawal into fantasies of childhood,” and observation that, (...) gets us no farther than we were. Salinger writes, evidently, for whimsical rebels who, like Holden Caulfield, exist in a world of dreams and “regard society from a safe distance.” (1963, 32)

The long quotation shows that some of the reviewers of Salinger’s stories during the 1960s did not believe that his characters’ quests about the meaning of life – through innocence, for example – had to do with social concerns. Innocence in Salinger’s stories is only fantasy and dream, as a nostalgic desire. It contrasts with the other studies mentioned here that think that innocence plays an important role in Salinger’s stories, since conformism was being criticized through the lenses of a lost innocence.

So, these authors, from different perspectives and decades, the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, or the long 1960s, all deal with the issue of innocence within Salinger’s stories. However, not only the early studies on Salinger’s writings have recognized the relevance of innocence in his works, but also enabled other studies to deepen the subject. Unfortunately, the studies on innocence regarding the stories of the Glass family did not develop much since the 1970s, but most of the recent studies that work with the subject within Salinger’s *oeuvre* deal with *The catcher in the rye*. This is one more reason to deepen the study on the Glass family, especially regarding the theme of innocence through a countercultural perspective.

If countercultural agents, such as Salinger, are the youth of the long 1960s, and if they are mostly seen as rebels without a cause, the issue of innocence within this context becomes relevant. The political context of the long 1960s presented the duality of conservatives and liberals. However, such political dichotomy was also expressed through the duality of youth vs. adults, or better, children vs. parents, commonly seen as rebellion vs. phoniness, respectively. It is also possible to argue that countercultural agents might have lost their innocence due to the WWII context they faced as teenagers or young adults.

In the 1950s, the “teen rebellion” (2004, 245), as Joy and Goffman argue, was rock and roll. Elvis, Chuck Berry and others would display rebel – but not so much – attitudes and sing songs of innocent

love<sup>60</sup>. Then, The Beatles in England during the 1960s followed the innocent themes for teenagers and youngsters to listen to, as Gitlin has pointed out “the exuberant innocence and joie de vivre of the Beatles’ early harmonies: ‘Love Me Do’, ‘From Me To You,’ ‘She Loves You,’ ‘I Want to Hold your Hand,’ ‘All My Loving’ (4656). However, the transition from innocence to a political engagement became more frequent among the countercultural agents. John Lennon is one of the greatest examples in music; from innocent love songs to politically engaged ones, such as “Give peace a chance.”

The issue of innocence regarding countercultural agents can be understood in two different levels. First, there is the recognition of the reality, and the disgust in relation to it. And second, the expression of this lost innocence on the streets and universities’ protests or in literature and music. The loss of innocence is one of the issues that R. Vincent Neffinger works with in the thesis *Hippie Caulfield: The Catcher in the Rye’s Influence on 1960s American Counterculture* (2014) in order to relate *The catcher in the rye* and counterculture. Neffinger sees counterculture as a movement, and not as a perspective.

The similarities between *Catcher* and the countercultural movement can be seen in both Holden’s personal life as well as his social life. In both aspects, Holden’s influence on youth can be defined by his idea of a childlike innocence and an adult encroachment upon this innocence. During the countercultural era—a time marked by war, global instability, and major technological advances in warfare—many youth viewed the world as an incredibly hostile place, an attitude that caused many to both question the purpose of society as well as remove themselves from that society all together. (2014, 4)

The lost innocence for the 1960s countercultural youth is, as Neffinger argues, related to the socio-political context of the post-WWII US. Moreover, the rejection of adult authority — or better, of technocratic society led by conservative politicians —, from a behavior

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<sup>60</sup> It is not my intention to reduce the songs of Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry and others to the theme of innocent love. Instead, this is a contextualization for the understanding of the issue of innocence within the countercultural context.

of rebellion that was caused because of the loss of innocence, was co-opted by the technocratic and capitalistic system and became a product.

The counterculture's relationship with the novel and their connection to Holden's disparaging loss of innocence, unreliable narration, and rejection of adult authority provides solid historical context for the novel's postmodern themes. Holden's identity crisis coincided with youth counterculture as young people quickly became synonymous with stereotypes of angst, rebellion, and hedonism, and this growing perception of the "rebellious teenager" became a product of the onset of postmodern America. (2014, 8)

This quote from Neffinger's thesis shows that the loss of innocence presented in Salinger's stories, and in other 1960s countercultural agents' works, was related to the historical context of the US. Holden was a rebellious figure with whom the youth of the 1950s identified with. Not only that, but this character represents part of the generation that was about to come — the 1960s one — who produced a non-conformist discourse that attempted to destabilize the conservatism of the technocratic US. Beyond that, Salinger works with similar issues in the Glass family stories; however, he does not depart from the teenage voice, but from, mostly, frustrated adult characters — the Glasses. Neffinger, then, exposes probably the first academic research relating Salinger's works, in this case specifically *The catcher in the rye*, with counterculture. And in the relationship between Salinger's work and counterculture lies the issue of lost innocence, since it is directly concerned with the post-WWII socio-political context of the US and how the youth was facing it.

Moreover, it is possible to understand the concept of innocence through D.T. Suzuki's text "Knowledge and Innocence"<sup>61</sup>. Suzuki is one of the most respected diffuser of Zen Buddhism in western societies in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this text, he explains that one has either Knowledge or Ignorance after their loss of innocence (2016, 207). The conceptualization of knowledge, connected to the loss of innocence notion, will be relevant for the analysis of the Glass family stories in

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<sup>61</sup> This text is a transcription of a lecture D.T. Suzuki gave for a Western audience, as he mentions. This text is part of the book *Selected works of D.T. Suzuki, volume 3: Comparative Religion* (2016).



relation to the religious experience of the characters. As it will be possible to understand later, Salinger develops in the Glass family stories some of the concepts that Suzuki defines as being Zen Buddhists, such as innocence, knowledge, no knowledge, and religious experience. Then, I will develop Suzuki's conceptions in relationship to Salinger's stories more closely in the second analytical chapter.

Therefore, this brief review of the literature bridging Salinger's stories to studies on counterculture through the issues of alienation and innocence aimed at introducing the issues as well as the stories to be analyzed in this chapter. In the following sections, I will analyze the stories individually, taking into consideration the previous studies mentioned in this review.

#### 4.1 “A perfect day for bananafish” (1946)

This is a short story that tells the day in which Seymour Glass, the first-born child of the Glasses, commits suicide. He has arrived in Florida with his recently married spouse Muriel, to spend some days in a hotel on the beach. The narrative is divided into three parts, as if it were three acts of a play<sup>62</sup>.

The first part of the story focuses on the telephone chat between Muriel and her mother. They talk about Seymour, and also about Muriel’s parents’ preoccupation about a possible psychological pathology he would probably have.<sup>63</sup> Muriel is resistant to the constant questions her mother asks in relation to how Seymour has been behaving during the road trip they had done to arrive in Florida, as well as in relation to how he has been treating Muriel in Florida. Muriel keeps trying to calm down her mother saying that Seymour is behaving perfectly well, and that there is nothing for her parents to worry about. The chat goes on and Muriel mentions a psychiatrist that is also hosted in the same hotel where they are, but she says that she had not had the

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<sup>62</sup> The family Glass stories are commonly related to drama because of their similarities regarding the elements of fiction and drama. The stories are rich in details, specially regarding the gestures of the characters, as if they were actors in a play. There is not only the recognition of some of Salinger’s stories as containing very similar characteristics to the drama elements, but also the one of Salinger’s ambition to become a playwright in some moment of his career, as Slawenski mentions: “(...) Salinger grew anxious and spoke again of becoming a playwright. He talked about rewriting “The Young Folks” for the theater and taking the lead role himself.” (2010, 34) “The Young Folks” was a short story published in 1940, so before “A perfect day for bananafish.” Salinger never concluded this idea of rewriting the short story into a play, but it is possible to say that he had started to incorporate theater in his works. Another biographical information is that Salinger and Oona O’Neil, daughter of the playwright Eugene O’Neil, had a relationship from 1941 until 1942, when she went to Los Angeles to become an actress and then, met and married Charles Chaplin. These are only some biographical information that show how Salinger was involved with the theatre. However, this is also possible to notice with textual evidence, as French (1966, 78) and Hungerford (University of Yale class online) affirm.

<sup>63</sup> In “A perfect day for bananafish,” Muriel’s parents are presented as parents, mother and father, and the reader does not have access to their names or last names. However, in the story “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” they are mentioned by the wedding’s matron of honor, who refers to Muriel’s parents as Mr. Fedder and Mrs. Fedder.

time to talk with him about Seymour. It is also implied in the story that Seymour had had a car accident with Muriel's parents' car recently, and that this is one of the reasons why her parents worry about his sanity. The call ends with Muriel saying to her mother that Seymour is on the beach and that she is not afraid of him. However, her mother makes her promise that she will call her if he does anything *funny*.

Then, there is a break of one paragraph and the second part begins. This one focuses on Seymour at the beach. Seymour is lying down when Sybil, a girl of about five years old, who is staying at the same hotel with her mother, Mrs. Carpenter, arrives to talk to "See more glass," as she says (1991, 10). They talk a little about Sharon Lipschultz, a three-year-old girl who sat on Seymour's lap while he was playing piano at the hotel the day before, and Sybil seems to be jealous. They also talk about the book "Little Black Sambo." Then, Seymour and Sybil go into the water when he says that they will try to catch in the ocean some bananafishes, saying that that was a perfect day for finding them. When Sybil says she does not see any, he says it is understandable, since the bananafishes lead a tragic life: they swim into a hole where they behave like pigs, eating as much bananas as they can. After that, they are too fat to fit in the hole to get out of it, so they die there. After Sybil learns the story about the bananafish, she says she saw one of them in the ocean eating six bananas. Sybil, who was over a float in the ocean, has her arch kissed by Seymour. After that, the girl goes back to the hotel. And this is the end of the second part of the story.

The third part, the shortest one, starts after a blank paragraph dividing the two sections of the short story. The third person narrative voice follows Seymour into the hotel room. While Seymour is in the elevator, he argues with an unknown woman because he thinks she is looking at his feet. She interrupts her way and asks the operator to stop the elevator in a random floor due to the embarrassment caused by Seymour's unpleasantness with her. After she leaves the elevator, Seymour continues complaining about her looking at his feet. Seymour then arrives in his room, sees Muriel taking a nap on one of the twin beds; then he gets a gun out of the luggage and shoots himself in the right temple.

This story was the first to feature a Glass. The story does not give enough or precise textual evidence for readers to find out the reason why Seymour committed suicide exactly. Because of that, the stories "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," "Seymour: an introduction," "Franny," "Zooey," and "Hapworth 16, 1924" present unfolding stories about Seymour's suicide, since they present not only

his personal characteristics, but also information about how his family deals with his suicide. So, since one story complements the other, it is hard not to mention other stories in this analysis.

The story has a third person narrator that is not omniscient. This narrator sees everything, all the body movements the characters make, and every word they speak; however, it does not present their thoughts. This technique has a strong effect in the story: no one will ever know exactly why Seymour committed suicide. The reader may infer, and scholars have given many different explanations and many analyses of the story are done. However, the doubt will always persist due to the choice of the narration's point of view. This is what Ernest Hemingway's iceberg theory refers to: only a tip of the short story is told, and most of it is hidden.<sup>64</sup>

"A perfect day for bananafish" is relevant for the understanding of the Glass family in general, since it tells the day in which the most respectable member of the family<sup>65</sup> – Seymour – commits suicide. This is a fact that affects Seymour's siblings, and how they deal with life since then. So, it is possible to understand "A perfect day for bananafish" as an opening story for all the Glass family ones, not only because of its publication date, but also because it contains a fact that will be unfolded in other narratives.

Regarding the issue of alienation, "A perfect day for bananafish" presents two sides of it in relation to its main character: Seymour's criticism of individualism in life, and his alienation as being an outsider. Seymour is an outsider character and he presents an introspective personality, which silences him throughout the story, since he does not express much of what he thinks. It is easier to know Seymour better by reading the other Glass family stories that mention him and his thoughts from his brothers and sister's perspectives than from his own. Except for his letters and journals' excerpts that are shown in some of the stories.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Ernest Hemingway's iceberg theory is explained by Ricardo Piglia, in *Formas Breves* (2000), as one of the main characteristics of the modern short story.

<sup>65</sup> This respect is told by Franny and, especially Buddy in other stories of the Glass, such as "Seymour: an introduction," and "Franny."

<sup>66</sup> I will bring further information about this matter in the analyses of "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," "Seymour: an introduction," and "Hapworth 16, 1964."

If the reason why Seymour has committed suicide is not mentioned, the bananafish metaphor, in connection to the elements of this specific short story, give the reader some clues. Because of that, “A perfect day for bananafish” is perhaps the Glass story in which Salinger worked the form in its techniques as following Hemingway’s iceberg theory. With that, Salinger created in the first Glass family story a mystery or an anguish feeling that he could later develop on the thread of stories.

The idea that the white middle-class men of the US long 1960s, like Seymour, led a “perfect” life, can take the bananafish metaphor to a connection with individualism. The individual who could enjoy “as a pig” the pleasures of life shows to have a behavior only concerned with the self. The bananafish will eat as much food as it can without worrying about the consequences of it. This leads the bananafish to its own death, if considering the case of a real person, it can be seen as a metaphorical death, the one in which the individual’s social consciousness does not exist. The alienation of the individual, noticing his own individualistic life, makes Seymour believe that there is no way out of society other than this.

Differently from the beat writers — or even the protests and social movements from the 1960s that were mainly progressive— Seymour is not optimistic about life and does not see exit for the individualistic and alienated society that he is inserted in. Because of that, after he talks to Sybil and tells her the bananafish tale, there is a moment of rupture in the conversation. This rupture is shown in the story through the abrupt farewell Seymour gives to Sybil, saying they should immediately come in at the hotel. This shows Seymour’s discomfort after he notices that Sybil understood and saw the bananafishes.

“Saw what, my love?”

“A bananafish.”

“My Gog, no!” said the young man. “Did he have any bananas in his mouth?”

“Yes,” said Sybil. “Six.”

The young man suddenly picked up one of Sybil’s wet feet, which were drooping over the end of the float, and kissed the arch.

“Hey!” said the owner of the foot, turning around.

“Hey, yourself! We’re going in now. You had enough?”

“No!”

“Sorry,” he said, and pushed the float toward shore until Sybil got off it. He carried it the rest of the way.

“Goodbye,” said Sybil, and ran without regret in the direction of the hotel. (1991, 16-17)

When Sybil says she does not see any bananafish in the sea, Seymour says that it was a perfect day for seeing them and the fact that she does not see any is understandable, since their habits are peculiar.

“Their habits are *very* peculiar.” He kept pushing the float. The water was not quite up to his chest. “They lead a very tragic life,” he said. “You know what they do, Sybil?” She shook her head. “Well, they swim into a hole where there’s a lot of bananas. They’re very ordinary-looking fish when they swim *in*. But once they get in, they behave like pigs. Why, I’ve known some bananafish to swim into a bananahole and eat as many as seventy-eight bananas.” He edged the float and its passenger a foot closer to the horizon. “Naturally, after that they’re so fat they can’t get out of the hole again. Can’t fit through the door.” “Not too far out,” Sybil said. “What happens to them?” “What happens to who?” “The bananafish.” “Oh, you mean after they eat so many bananas they can’t get out of the bananahole?” “Yes,” said Sybil. “Well, I hate to tell you, Sybil. They die.” “Why?” asked Sybil. “Well, they get banana fever. It’s a terrible disease.” (1991, 15-16)

There are some evidence in the story Seymour tells Sybil that the bananafish can be related to alienated men of the 1950s and the technocratic society. They are ordinary-looking fish, or, if one considers Franz Kafka’s usual characters or Herman Melville’s *Bartleby*, these fishes can be related to the ordinary men<sup>67</sup>. Once these ordinary men

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<sup>67</sup> Kafka and Melville’s works are also analyzed in the book, before mentioned, *Alienation*, edited by Harold Bloom, and are famous examples for presenting alienated characters in modern fiction. The articles included in the anthology are: Robert T. Tally Jr.’s “Reading the original: Alienation, Writing, and Labor in ‘Bartleby, the Scrivener,’” and Erich Heller’s “The Trial, by Franz Kafka.”

“swim in” the ordinary life – following other ordinary men – they get in trouble. The name of the fish is banana, a reference to a wimpy or insane person. Once this wimpy adolescent comes to the adult life, they become conformed to the individualistic life of the technocratic society in which a more humane society is systemically left behind in favor of the regime of technology and corporate expertise. Because of that, alienation became a common status in the post-WWII US society. The bananafish, or the ordinary men, once in this technocratic system, conforms to it, enjoys the privileges of it, and they cannot get out anymore. Metaphorically, this is death for Seymour, and after he notices that Sybil understands it, his mood changes completely.

The issue of innocence is also present in the story not only because Seymour deals with Sybil for the most part of the story, but also because the metaphor of the bananafish implies the transition of age. The innocence lost by the bananafish in Seymour’s story is, at the same time, Sybil’s loss of innocence. Seymour tells her the story of the loss of innocence and by hearing a story that ends with death, Sybil gets a little nervous: “Here comes a *wave*,” Sybil said nervously. “We’ll ignore it. We’ll snub it,” said the young man. “Two snobs.” (1991, 16) The wave represents a threat to Sybil, her metaphor to death, but Seymour tranquilizes her by saying that it is possible for them to ignore the wave, or death. After that, Sybil says she sees some of the bananafish, and then, she goes off and says goodbye to Seymour.

At this moment, Sybil is aware of life and death. Seymour made her observe life knowing that death was close when asking her to find bananafishes in the sea. It is a prediction to what was about to happen to Seymour. Sybil, then, to a certain extent, lost her innocence at that moment. After that, Seymour goes into the hotel not fearing death, as he said to Sybil. However, Seymour tells Sybil a false story as if it were true. Lying is also part of the phony world in which he feels displaced<sup>68</sup>.

So in Seymour’s way to his room he has an argument with a lady in the elevator. He complains to her that she is looking at his feet, and he clearly does not feel comfortable with that “‘I see you’re looking at my feet,’ he said to her when the car was in motion” (1991, 17). It is clear that Seymour is not comfortable when noticing that the lady was

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Moreover, Franz Kafka is quoted as an epigraph to the novella “Seymour: an introduction,” followed by some development of it within the narrative.

<sup>68</sup> As I will later argue with Renato Alessandro dos Santos’ dissertation about US literature.

looking at his feet, but what indeed makes him mad is the fact that she denies it:

“I beg you pardon?” said the woman.

“I said I see you’re looking at my feet.”

“I *beg* your pardon. I happened to be looking at the floor,” said the woman, and faced the doors of the car.

“If you want to look at my feet, say so,” said the young man. “But don’t be a God-damned sneak about it.” (1991, 17)

This dialogue shows that what makes Seymour angry is the fact that the woman did not affirm that she was indeed looking at his feet. Seymour thinks that she is lying about it. The story does not bring evidence for the reader to know if the woman was indeed looking or not at his feet, but that does not matter. What matters in this dialogue is the fact that Seymour cannot deal with lies — or, at least, with what he thinks are lies. However, at the same time, he has told Sybil a metaphor about the bananafishes, which may seem as a lie to a child. That puts Seymour in the same position of the woman in the elevator, the one that he does not identify with, when disagreeing with her. After the woman goes out of the elevator, he says to the elevator operator, “I have two normal feet and I can’t see the slightest God-damned reason why anybody should stare at them,” which shows that he indeed thought the woman was lying to him. This paradox of being in a position he hates — adults who lie or are false — cause him stress.

Taking into consideration that Seymour was probably having a Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) due to the tone of Muriel and her mother about Seymour’s behaviors, and for the fact that he had just arrived from serving the US in the WWII, what could have been a small stressful conversation could lead him to death. And that is what happens. After he arrives in his floor, enters his room, he goes directly to his luggage and gets the gun without hesitation.

Seymour’s service to the Army was probably the cause of the mental illness mentioned by Muriel’s parents. Later, in the story “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” Seymour and Muriel’s wedding matron of honor will argue about Seymour’s possible illness. It is difficult to argue whether Seymour has a mental illness or not by reading the stories. I will later argue, in the following chapter, that Seymour is constructed by two paradoxical discourses: the one that sees him as mental disabled (presented by Muriel’s parents and by the



matron of honor), and the one that sees him as a mentor, an example to be followed (by Seymour's siblings).<sup>69</sup>

A comparison can be made between Seymour's possible Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder to Salinger's one, since he also served the Army and was diagnosed with PTSD, in the previous years of the publication of "A perfect day." The other Glass family stories do not focus specifically on Seymour's post-war moment, but before that. So, the only evidence that makes the reader believe that Seymour was suffering from PTSD is the conversation Muriel has with her mother, and the fact that Seymour committed suicide. Muriel's mother also mentions a car accident and "funny" things that he was used to do, "funny," in this case, has a negative connotation.

There is in "A perfect day for bananafish" the intersection between the issues of innocence and race. This happens during a short chat Seymour and Sybil have on the beach about the children's book *Little Black Sambo* (1899), by Helen Bannerman. So, in "A perfect day for bananafish," Salinger brings the issue of race from a literary perspective.

The story of *Little Black Sambo* is about a boy who had won from his father, Black Jumbo, some clothes from a bazaar. He, then, went for a walk and every time he goes a little further he encounters a tiger that wants to eat him up. Afraid, Little Black Sambo offers his clothes to each of them and ends up with no clothes and no umbrella at all after meeting the four different tigers. After that, he listens to the tigers roaring and starts being afraid of them, but when he looks at them, they are fighting each other to know which one is the finest tiger of the jungle. Little Black Sambo, then, gets his clothes and umbrella back – they were then all torn up – and goes home. This story was very much criticized by its depiction of a black boy as being a "picaninny caricature." Even though the text of *Little Black Sambo* does not physically characterize the black characters, the original drawings of the first edition — and the following ones—, created by the author of the book, depict the main character as a picaninny, i.e., with bulging eyes, wide and, when colored, red mouth, and shaggy hair. The picaninny characters were usually tasty morsels, just as Little Black Sambo was in the story. Langston Hughes, in 1932, affirmed that this was a book that

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<sup>69</sup> Then, in the following chapter, I will relate these paradoxical discourses to the concept of religious experience given by William James (1902). Therefore, it will be necessary to resume this supposition raised by Muriel's parents in the analytical sections of the chapter concerning the issue of religious experience.

carried serious racial caricature that amuse white children but that mock black ones<sup>70</sup>. About a decade after Hughes criticism on the book, Salinger mentions it in “A perfect day.”

The dialogue between Sybil and Seymour about the book shows that she, as a white child, has a different perspective of it than him.

Sybil released her foot. “Did you read ‘Little Black Sambo?’” she said. “It’s very funny you asked me that,” he said. “It so happens I just finished reading it last night.” He reached down and took back Sybil’s hand. “What did you think of it?” he asked her. “Did the tigers run all around that tree?” “I thought they’d never stop. I never saw so many tigers.” “There were only six,” Sybil said. “*Only* six!” said the young man. “Do you call that *only*?” “Do you like wax?” Sybil asked. “Do you like what?” asked the young man. “Wax.” (1991, 14)

Seymour, a reader of the story, asks Sybil her ideas about what she had read. While she is concerned with the tigers — and their non-stop fight around the palm tree — Seymour is more concerned about the number of tigers that were in the story. The problem with the dialogue is that it focuses on the tigers and not on the Little Black Sambo. Even though Seymour’s idea that there were too many tigers in the story imply that he may be concerned with the tigers’ chase after Little Black Sambo, he does not include any comment on the debate — which had already happened at the time Salinger wrote the short story — of racism and the picaninny depiction.

It is, though, a reference to the loss of innocence, since Little Black Sambo is naïve in the sense that he does not know the ‘real’ world the jungle represents until he faces the tigers and loses his possessions to them. However, the intersection between the issue of innocence and race through this specific book is not problematized. It is though a reference to the innocence that Sybil is about to lose. Both of the stories that lead to a loss of innocence present metaphors of animals. The jungle (in Little Black Sambo’s story), as well as the deep ocean (as in the bananafish story), is a representation of the obscure, the darkness. These dark places, the unknown, are in a way ameliorated by the ludic

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<sup>70</sup> According to Jim Crow Museum’s website. Available on: <http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/picaninny/>.

presence of the animals, as a reference to fables. However, to use *Little Black Sambo* during the 1940s as a literary reference to children's book and the issue of innocence without mentioning the debate of race and the — until then — very common representation of a picaninny is problematic. The issue of race through a countercultural perspective would give attention to racism and inequality as major facts to be problematized. Not all the countercultural texts, especially the ones written by white people, problematized these facts of the US society of the time, though. At that time, authors such as Alice Walker, Langston Hughes and James Baldwin were problematizing the US social structure that excluded the black men and women. Protests and movements such as the civil rights and the free speech movements were also questioning racism and inequality. Most of the beats, on the other hand, did not deeply develop in their texts words for racial activism. And we can also say that Salinger did not deeply problematize these subjects in his Glass family stories, although he slightly mentions the black community through individualistic apparitions, the subjectivity of the characters are not developed and they are always in an under-privileged position as subalterns.

Another relevant aspect concerning the political activism of the long 1960s and to be taken into consideration when analyzing “A perfect day for bananafish” is the role of women in society. Seymour is the main character of this story, which also features Muriel and her mother, Sybil and her mother, a stranger woman in the elevator, among others.

“A perfect day for bananafish” begins with a description of “a perfect 1950s wife's” stereotypical environment: the confined woman, feminine, communicative and worried about appearance and family. Seymour and Muriel have just married, and they are in Florida for vacations. Since the beginning of the story, Seymour and Muriel are separated, doing different things in different places. The only moment the couple shares together is when Muriel is sleeping and Seymour arrives in the room to commit suicide. Also, when Sybil asks Seymour where the woman is— referring to Muriel — he tries to change the subject, showing no interest to talk about his wife. The story, then, presents some evidence that the couple is not quite connected.

The theme of sex is brought up through the title of the article of a pocket magazine Muriel was reading before she starts talking to her mother, called “Sex is Fun — or Hell.” The theme about sex anticipates the discussion within the magazines written for women, implying that

Muriel would be liberal, if considering that the time of the story is the 1940s.

Right in the first paragraph of the story, the narrator tells that Muriel was waiting for the ninety-seven businessmen to finish their long-distance calls in the hotel, in order to call her mother. Since the narrator informs that the businessmen were “monopolizing” the telephone for two hours, the reader may infer that they had priority to use the telephone, and that, while they were working on the telephone, Muriel awaits doing expected chores for women of the post-WWII to do.

There were ninety-seven New York advertising men in the hotel, and, the way they were monopolizing the long-distance lines, the girl in the 507 had to wait from noon to almost two-thirty to get her call through. She used the time, though. She read an article in a women’s pocket-size magazine, called “Sex is Fun – or Hell.” She washed her comb and brush. She took the spot out of the skirt of her beige suit. She moved the button on her Saks blouse. She tweezed out two freshly surfaced hairs in her mole. When the operator finally rang her room, she was sitting on the window seat and had almost finished putting lacquer on the nails of her left hand. (1991, 3)

This is the first paragraph of the story, and right in the beginning the differences of gender between men and women are exposed. While the men are working on the telephone, Muriel — a young and recently married woman of the post-WWII — is taking care of her appearance in a confined space waiting to chat with her mother on the telephone. The contrast between the businessmen and Muriel made by the narrator depicts the context of women in the 1950s: a polarity between the housewives and the feminists.

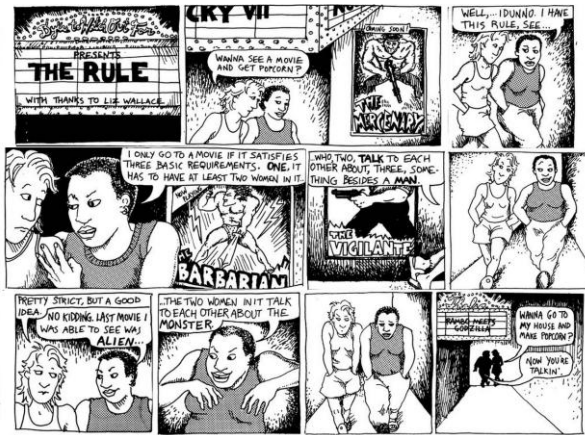
It is also possible to relate Muriel to alienation. Muriel is alienated from the rest of the world, inside the hotel room, enclosed by what is “expected” from her as a woman in the post-WWII social context. She is taking care of her appearance and reading a girlish magazine, which shows that she is concerned with her own self and nothing else. Moreover, she does not seem to be worried about Seymour, when talking to her mother on the telephone. Through Mrs. Fedder’s talk on the telephone, it is possible to see her preoccupation about Seymour — which infers to the reader that he may have already showed

that something was not going well with him. However, Muriel is too alienated in her own world to notice Seymour's feelings or hints about his struggles. Mrs. Fedder, on the other hand, notices that Seymour may not been feeling well, but her only concern is about her daughter — if Seymour does anything *funny* with her. Moreover, Mrs. Fedder sees pathology in Seymour, and does not see him as a person who is struggling.

It is also possible to understand Muriel and Mrs. Fedder's telephone call from a feminist point of view: the only subjects they talk about on the phone call are about Muriel in relationship to men. In this first part of the story, Muriel's mother asks insistently about how Seymour is behaving in Florida, and if he has done anything funny to Muriel. They also talk about Seymour's mental health while referring to men doctors who could give a medical report of it. The fact that two women are talking to each other, but only talking about men is questioned through a gender perspective in "The Bechdel's test." Alison Bechdel, cartoonist and writer, has created a "formula" in one of her strips entitled "The Rule," in *Dykes to Watch Out for* (1985), which has Ginger presenting her argument for not watching a film. The main idea of the rule is that a fiction product has to have at least two women in the story, who talk to each other about subjects other than men.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> These requirements are today known as the Bechdel's Test. However, Alison Bechdel credits Liz Wallace as the inspiration for the rules. Non-academic readers of Bechdel's comic strip credited both as creators of this feminist (pre-queer) theory and it has been used to analyze all kinds of fictions in order to problematize the role of women in society.



(2008, 22)

If analyzing “A perfect day for bananafish” through the Bechdel’s Test, it is possible to argue that the two main women characters that talk to each other are Muriel and her mother on the telephone. However, they do not talk about any subject that does not involve men. They are either talking about Seymour — and the concerns about Muriel’s safety because of his awkward behavior — or about the book he has lent to Muriel, or about the concerns of Muriel’s father about her. Another possible two women dialogue in the story is between Sybil and her mother, Mrs. Carpenter. Even though Sybil is just a child, by being a girl, it is possible to analyze her dialogue with her mother through the Bechdel’s Test. This is a much shorter dialogue and even though they are not talking about men, the only words that Sybil says to her mother are “see more glass,” which is clearly a reference to Seymour Glass.

The Bechdel’s Test, when applied to “A perfect day for bananafish,” shows that even though Salinger gives voice to female characters he limits their subjectivities in relation to men.<sup>72</sup> As mentioned in the chapter about the historical context of the long 1960s, women’s rights was one of the main movements from the 1960s due to the conformity from the 1950s context regarding the limits of the position of women in society. Countercultural texts, not rarely, deal with

<sup>72</sup> The Bechdel’s test can also be applied in the analysis of the story “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” which has as main characters two adult women who are friends since college times.

the ramifications of women's rights. However, at the same time, there are many countercultural texts that are seen as being misogynist and patriarchal, as Jack Kerouac's *On the Road*, for example<sup>73</sup>. Salinger's stories are in no way misogynist, but they are man-centered, patriarchal, as it is possible to see throughout the Glass family stories if applying the Bechdel's Test. On the other hand, the women characters in Salinger's Glass family, as showed here through "A perfect day for bananafish," enunciate the problematic role of women within the 1950s context. However, they are not stories that can be read as being womanist<sup>74</sup> or even ones that present female characters as having the same subjectivity it is given to male ones. In some of the stories, they are concerned with men, such as Muriel and her mother and, as it will be possible to see later on, Eloise in the narrative "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut." Even though being a man, Salinger presents women characters as protagonists of some of his stories. However, it is important to notice that their subjectivities as women are not much developed in the narratives, but on the contrary, they are generally centering their attention in one of the Glasses men, except for the story "Franny."

To sum up, the first story published about the Glass family presents a key fact for the developments of the following published Glass family stories. It is possible to argue that its form, such as the non-omniscient third person point of view, leaves an interrogation about the reason why Seymour committed suicide. Moreover, the issue of alienation is a feature presented in the main characters of the narrative: Seymour and Muriel. The loss of innocence also plays an important role in the story, and it can be read through the conversation between Seymour and Sybil. Issues such as sex, women's rights, and race, are also present in the story, and also enable a reading of the narrative through a countercultural perspective. It is in "A perfect day for bananafish" that the binary discourse about Seymour is first raised, an issue that will be better developed in the analytical chapter concerning the religious experience in the Glass family stories.

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<sup>73</sup> This idea is developed, for example, in Manuel Luis Martinez's *Countering the Counterculture* (2002: 84-92).

<sup>74</sup> As from Alice Walker's introductory text, which is the conceptualization of the term "Womanist," in *In Search of our Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose by Alice Walker* (1984).

#### 4.2 “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut” (1948)

“Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut” is a short story by Salinger released in *The New Yorker* on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 1948, and later collected in the book *Nine Stories* (1953)<sup>75</sup>. One of the reasons for studying this story in this dissertation is because Walt, one of the Glass’ sons, is one of the characters presented in it. Besides the presence of a Glass in the story – even though phantasmagoric, because Walt died while he was serving the Army during WWII and he is only mentioned by his girlfriend at that time, Eloise—the issues problematized in the narrative can be related to the socio-political context of the long 1960s in the US. This analysis of the story is based on a countercultural perspective, especially concerning the issues of alienation and innocence within the long 1960s socio-political context as well as the liberal agenda of the time.

The story explores the suburban life of a Connecticut young woman, Eloise, who presents thoughts that may be problematized in relation to counterculture issues, exposed in the story by the way she positions herself in her past and present lives and in relation to the US socio-political context. The plot of "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" is based on the reunion of Eloise and Mary Jane after several years without seeing each other. They were friends in college, and after both had dropped out of it, they stopped seeing each other for a while. Mary Jane, then, in a very snowy afternoon, goes visiting her old friend Eloise at her house in Connecticut after leaving some letters to her ill boss at his house. Eloise offers drinks to Mary Jane and they start chatting, as if they had not been apart for a long time. Among many drinks and cigarettes, Eloise and Mary Jane talk, mainly about remembrances of their college period of time. During their conversation, Ramona, Eloise's daughter, goes outside with her imaginary beau, Jimmy Jimmereeno, and Mary Jane sees her, now much grown. Eloise treats her daughter as rudely as her husband Lew, who calls her asking for a ride, but she mocks him and does not go pick him up. Eloise and Mary Jane continue

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<sup>75</sup> This short story was the only one that Salinger sold the rights for a film adaptation. Salinger, who was a cinephile, hated the MGM film adaptation entitled *My foolish heart* (1949), and decided not selling the rights of his stories for the cinema industry anymore. For more information about it, read: “Space-temporal thinking in Salinger’s *Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut* and its film adaptation *My foolish heart*,” by Renata Gonçalves Gomes. Available on: <http://periodicos.uesc.br/index.php/litterata/article/viewFile/622/621>.



talking mainly about remembrances from college time and Eloise especially remembers how Walt Glass, her boyfriend at that time, who had died during the WWII, was so great, the only man who has made her really laugh in her entire life; she also remembers that he once said to her, when she twisted her ankle, "Poor uncle Wiggily," and how funny and witty he used to be. When Ramona is back from outside, Eloise notices she is a bit feverish and without her invisible friend who, Ramona says, has died being ran over. At that time, the two friends are a bit high from the many drinks and cigarettes they had and Eloise feels concerned about Ramona. Meanwhile, Eloise's live-in maid, Grace, after taking Ramona to her bed, asks Eloise if her husband, who is in the kitchen and was visiting her, could sleep over night there, since the weather was getting worse outside. But Eloise gives a rude answer to her request, rebuffing it with the sentence "I'm not running a hotel here" (1991, 36). Eloise then goes to Ramona's bedroom to see if she is better; she sits beside her daughter and says "Poor uncle Wiggily." After that, she goes downstairs to the living room, where Mary Jane is taking a nap on the couch, and asks her "I was a nice girl, wasn't I?" (1991, 38).

Although Walt is not physically present in the story, because he had passed away, he is the center of Eloise's feelings about her life and family. The Glass' son in this story plays a similar role to Seymour in Buddy's narrations of "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters" and "Seymour: an introduction": both Eloise and Buddy deify Walt and Seymour, respectively. It is because of Walt and Seymour's deaths that some of the other characters, including Eloise, cannot enlighten their lives – or at least this is how the characters think. Eloise regrets Walt's death in the war while she talks to Mary Jane and says, in between the lines that he, instead of Lew, her husband, was the man she wanted to be with. Eloise says that the only man that have ever made her laugh was Walt, however, what she is really saying is that the only man she could ever love was him. "I mean you didn't really *know* Walt," said Eloise at a quarter of five, lying on her back on the floor, a drink balanced upright on her small-breasted chest. "He was the only boy I ever knew that could make me laugh. I mean *really* laugh" (1991, 28). This affirmative about Walt shows how Eloise is not satisfied with her present life rejecting it in order to, subjectively, live her much-more-happier past. After Eloise says that Walt was the funniest, the wittiest and the smartest boy she has ever known and that Lew was an unintelligent person, Mary Jane asks her friend why, then, she got married with him, and she says:

“Oh God! I don’t know. He told me he loved Jane Austen. He told me her books meant a great deal to him. That’s exactly what he said. I found out after we were married that he hadn’t even read *one* of her books. You know who his favorite author is?” Mary Jane shook her head. “L. Manning Vines. Ever hear of him?” “Uh-uh.” “Neither did I. Neither anybody else. He wrote a book about four men that starved to death in Alaska. Lew doesn’t remember the name of it, but it’s the most beautifully *written* book he’s ever read. *Christ!* He isn’t even honest enough to come right out and say he liked it because it was about four guys that starved to death in an igloo or something. He has to say it was beautifully *written*.” (1991, 32)

Eloise is clearly in an unhappy relationship with her husband, who she does not seem to love. For Eloise, Lew has a phony discourse when saying that he had read Jane Austen’s books. Her disappointment with Lew is probably related to the Glass world, since they are characterized in the narratives as beyond average intelligent kids – they starred, when they were children, the radio show called “The Wise Child.” Besides, Eloise is very concerned throughout the story with cultural references and discourses, such as when she refers to her maid reading *The Robe*. This is a historical bestseller novel by Lloyd C. Douglas (1877-1951)<sup>76</sup>, and by the tone of Eloise’s sentence, it indicates her negative view and difference of class by the popularity of a piece of art. “She’s sitting on her big, black butt reading ‘The Robe,’” (1991, 22) says Eloise to Mary Jane about Grace. This sentence shows the disrespect of Eloise, a white middle-class young woman, regarding her maid, a black woman. This disrespect also positions Eloise as an elitist person regarding literature, showing her view about a polarity between the popular/mass culture versus the high culture<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> The novel was adapted into film in 1953 with the same title, *The Robe*, directed by Henry Koster, in a 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox production.

<sup>77</sup> Roland Barthes develops the idea of mass culture in the book *Mythologies*, written between 1954 and 1956. Since it is not the main purpose of this dissertation, a further reading about this subject will not be developed. However, this subject may be seen as an irony in relation to Salinger’s works, since his novel *The catcher in the rye* is also a bestseller throughout the world.

The paradox between Lew's discourse in relation to his cultural knowledge and his actual taste in literature is seen by Eloise as mediocre, and it is one of the motives which Eloise feels disgusted by the suburban, the common, the average, life in the US. Eloise, as well as the Glass children, does not tolerate the phoniness<sup>78</sup> of adulthood and keeps alienating herself from this world by denying her present life, her marriage and child. The fact that Mary Jane comes into Eloise's house, Ramona goes outside it and Lew cannot come in because Eloise does not want to give him a ride, suggests that Eloise rejects her present and that she prefers to bring back her past stories and memories. Eloise permits the entrance of her old friend — also a way of permitting her remembrances of the past to come up again — and lets Ramona go outside the house to play — as a way to keep her present life distant from her during that afternoon. The weather is also part of this, as Mary Jane enters in the warm house — she is taken into a cozy environment — while Ramona is allowed to go outside to play during the snow storm, when nobody in the narrative wants to be there, such as Grace's husband, who wants to stay in Connecticut instead of going back to New York during the storm. Also, when Mary Jane arrives in her friend's house, Eloise is not waiting for her inside, but in the driveway, even with the awful weather outdoors.

It was almost three o'clock when Mary Jane finally found Eloise's house. She explained to Eloise, who had come out the driveway to meet her, that everything had been absolutely *perfect*, that she had remembered the way *exactly*, until she had turned off the Merrick Parkway. (1991, 19)

Eloise's anxiety while waiting for her friend to arrive, going outside her house, in the driveway, shows that she is more inclined to accept her past reference – Mary Jane – and deny as much as possible her present life inside her home, which means, her family. About "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," Howard Hasper Jr., in his book *Desperate Faith* (1972, 49), argues that the entry of Eloise in the Glass world was denied and because of that she married Lew and had their child Ramona. It is not that the Glass family rejected Eloise, but, because of

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<sup>78</sup> This is a term frequently used in Salinger's stories and even though colloquial it is going to be mentioned as a reference to these narratives.

the war, she did not become part of it. It may be because of not entering the Glass world that Eloise keeps rejecting people from her present life to enter her house, her life. She probably feels too attached to her past deception, Walt's death in the war, to open herself to new comers.

In "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," there are some opposed situations that may be seen as a reflection of the socio-political environment that Salinger was inserted in. The Cold War started in 1947, probably the year when Salinger was writing the story, since it was first published in 1948 in *The New Yorker*. The Cold War can be understood as a battle between the Western (dominated by the US) and the Eastern (dominated by the Sovietic Union) blocs that fought against each other for political and military power. Salinger even brings continually, throughout the story, the reference of a Russian actor, Akim Tamiroff (1899-1972), who acts in the movie *For whom the bell tolls* (1943), an adaption of Ernest Hemingway's novel that happens during the Spanish Civil War. In the book *Russians in Hollywood, Hollywood's Russians: Biography of an Image*, written by Harlow Robinson, there is a comment about the reference of Tamiroff in Salinger's story. Robinson mentions the name of Tamiroff in Salinger's narrative as the appearance in the intellectual arena of the post-WWII literature. He makes reference to Eloise's first mention to Tamiroff in the story, where she says to Mary Jane "Akim Tamiroff. He's in the movies. He always says, 'You make beeg joke – hah?' I love him...." (1991, 23). About this reference, Robinson writes:

Here, the reference to Tamiroff and his un-American accent seems to symbolize Eloise's longing for a more adventurous existence than the outwardly prosperous but inwardly desperate life she leads in the suburbs with a dull husband and a bratty, annoying daughter. This story was published during the Korean War, at a time when anything with Russian associations was considered dangerous, tantalizing, and risqué (2007, 72-73)

Robinson is mistaken about the years of publication of "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," which was first published in 1948 and only three years later published in *Nine Stories*. The Korean War occurred between the years of 1950 and 1953 and was a battle between the Republic of Korea (South Korea), supported by the United Nations, that includes the US, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North

Korea), supported by the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, so it was not possible that the story was published during this war. However, even though the story was not published *during* the Korean War, but two years before, it was published during the Cold War and because of that it is also possible to mention that to mention a Russian name, such as Tamiroff, throughout the story was a subtle positioning against the polarization of these nations. This can be read as a discourse inferring that the insertion of one culture —or language, or accent — in the other one is inevitable. In the story, the cultural encounter between Western and Eastern creates a contact zone that enables ongoing relations in a temporal and spatial basis, ones that were once separated geographically or historically speaking. Mary Louise Pratt, in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and Transculturation* (2003), defines the concept of “contact zone” as a space of colonial encounters where are usually involved “conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (2003, 6). And she also expands it to the issue of language in the contact zone, where the term refers to “improvised languages that develop among speakers of different native languages who need to communicate with each other consistently, usually in context of trade” (2003, 6). This way, it is possible to problematize the appearance of Akim Tamiroff in the short story not only as a character that represents Salinger's daring discourse as a reference to war issues in the US, but also as a concern to issues relating to immigrants in the US during the war time and how they were — or were not — supported by the government and the US society. At the same time Eloise says she loves Tamiroff, she mentions him as an unreliable person. In another moment, when Eloise is about to tell Mary Jane the story of Walt's death, Eloise says: “You'd tell Akim Tamiroff.” And Mary Jane, understanding the message, replies: “No, I wouldn't! I wouldn't tell any-” (1991, 33). It is interesting that Eloise does not let her friend finish her sentence with the word “anyone/body,” since what really matters for her is that Mary Jane would not tell Walt's death story to Akim Tamiroff, i.e., to an unreliable person. This episode, together with the mention of Tamiroff that came before in the story, can be understood as a reference to immigrants since what calls Eloise's attention to the actor is his exotic English accent. Also, this means that, at the same time the immigrant is good for the nation, they can also represent a threat for the conservative population.

In the US' 1940s, there were policies in favor of immigration in the country because of WWII<sup>79</sup>. Since the war absorbed many of the US workers in industries, farmers saw themselves without countryside workers, so they needed immigrants, i.e., low-cost labor, to work for them. Because of that, the US government took action and, in 1942, it created the *bracero*, a labor program that encouraged immigrants – especially from Mexico – to go to the US to live and work legally. However, this program did not give basic human rights conditions for the immigrants and, after the war, most of them were deported to their birthplace, even the ones who were born in the US, but had immigrant kinship. Even though in Salinger's story the mention of the immigrant Akim Tamiroff is not related to the *bracero* program, it can be related to it because of the conservatism of the US government regarding difference in providing the human rights conditions for immigrant or US citizens. This differentiation is established by Eloise and from the way she behaves in relation to Tamiroff. The young woman loves to be entertained by the actor and his accent peculiarity, but feels invaded when imagining him aware of her private life. This paradoxical relation Eloise establishes with Tamiroff can be connected to colonialism, in which power and imperialism are relevant issues.

Another point that can be related to colonial and/or immigration issues in Salinger's story is the character Grace and her relationship with Eloise. Even though throughout the story it is possible to read a very colloquial English in the characters' dialogues, Grace's voice differs from the others in relation to Standard English grammar. Salinger writes the dialogues of the story exactly as the characters speak them, i.e., in a colloquial form, sometimes putting the words all together to exemplify the way the words are spoken. Eloise's voice is written in a colloquial form: "Do me a favor. Go out in the kitchen and tell whosis to give her her dinner early. Willya?" (1991, 33), it is never a grammatical issue, but phonetically; and her dialogues, written this way, legitimate the character as a "real" person and approximate it to the reader. On the other hand, when writing the dialogues of Grace, Salinger marks it as a non-standard English in relation to grammar:

"The lady go?" she said.

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<sup>79</sup> According to the text in the website:  
<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/mexican8.html>

“She’s resting.”

“Oh,” said Grace. “Miz Wengler, I wondered if it’d be all right if my husband passed the evenin’ here. I go plenty a room in my room, and he don’t have to be back in New York till tomorrow mornin’, and it’s so *bad* out.” (1991, 35-36)

It is difficult to affirm, with only a few sentences said, that Grace is from this or that ethnic culture. However, it is possible to affirm that as a worker and in a non-privileged position, as subaltern, and being in the US’ socio-political context of the 1940s, Grace may represent either an African American<sup>80</sup> or an immigrant person, also due to her English accent. If considering like that, the criticism Salinger does in the story may be valid for the counterculture dissent of the time. While Eloise rejects her life and family, i.e., the world she is living in, she keeps being as rudely as possible to her maid, making this a parallel to Tamiroff’s character in the story: At the same time that Grace is nice in her life routine, she takes care of her house and child, she is not seen entirely as a positive presence there. Like Tamiroff, Grace does represent a threat to Eloise, even though being a US citizen. However, Grace is a displaced character in the story, from a lower class, seen by Eloise as an inconvenience.

Eloise came forward with the drinks. She placed Mary Jane’s insecurely in its coaster but kept her own in hand. She stretched out on the couch again. “Wuddaya think she’s doing out there?” she said. “She’s sitting on her big, black butt reading ‘The Robe.’ I dropped the ice trays taking them out. She actually looked up annoyed” (1991, 22)

More than an inconvenience, Eloise feels threatened by her maid’s eyes on her. As if she was, as Tamiroff, an unreliable person. Even though Grace lives in Eloise’s house, she cannot establish a more friendly relationship with her maid. The relationship Eloise establishes with her maid, an African American woman, evidences elements of the unsolved slavery that the civil rights during the long 1960s in the US attempted to finish. It also shows how Eloise,

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<sup>80</sup> Howard M. Hasper Jr., in, *Desperate Faith*, says that Grace is a mulatto woman, however without justifying it (1972, 49).

a white US citizen, does not have empathy for the others and lives a completely individualistic life.

The African American and the immigrants, in Salinger's story represented by Grace and Tamiroff, were part of the motives for the counterculture dissent. As it is reported in the documentary *Berkeley in the Sixties* (1990), in San Francisco, African American people were not able to work in any place where they could be seen, because they would represent a threat to white people. These situations were part of the reason why the long 1960s dissent protested in favor of the civil rights, as previously discussed in the historical context chapter.

In the dialogue below, Eloise shows her indifference to the difficulty Grace's husband will face to go back home. His problem is also Eloise's problem, but she is not even a bit concerned with it.

“Your husband? Where is he?”

“Well, right now,” Grace said, “he’s in the kitchen.”

“Well, I’m afraid he can’t spend the night here, Grace.”

“Ma’am?”

“I say I’m afraid he can’t spend the night here. I’m not running a hotel.”

Grace stood for a moment, then said, “Yes, Ma’am,” and went out to the kitchen. (1991, 36)

The movement Salinger does in this story with Eloise's choices about who can come inside her house and who cannot — or who can leave it — is remarkable for the study of “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut.” As a displaced person in the environment, Grace, neither a visitor nor part of the family, needs Eloise's approval for her husband to enter in her world – Eloise's home. Her world here may not be only Eloise's, but also the young middle-class suburban woman of Connecticut. The relationship that Eloise establishes with Grace can be read as the one experienced in the contact zone, in conditions of coercion, and inequality, for example. This way, it is possible to consider that Grace is a conjecture of the US' social differences of the 1940s, especially regarding the dichotomy between the black and white communities. Therefore, by reflecting the reality context of the US in the story, Salinger opens the discussion of the civil rights (Grace) and the immigrants (Tamiroff) in relation to class and ethnic inequalities. Therefore, Salinger exposes the social relations caused by immigration as well as by different ethnic peoples and how separatist these



relationships can be. By using the Modernist technique of the epiphany, Salinger shows that Eloise, at the end of the story, realizes her bad attitudes toward the people around her, and tries to feel less regretful about her present life by saying “I was a nice girl, wasn’t I?” (1991, 38).

The beat writers, especially Kerouac and Burroughs, are sometimes criticized for their omission about ethnic issues in their literatures, which does not happen with Ginsberg. In Salinger’s story, it is possible to notice a depiction of the socio-political context of the US regarding ethnic issues. The alienation the main character, Eloise, feels regarding legitimate institutions such as family and marriage is to the detriment of Walt’s death in the war. Eloise does not reject the institutions, but rejects her present life. Because of that, she drinks too much in order not to face reality. This is another similar aspect linked to alienation in counterculture. Even though she does not do non-legal drugs of the 1960s, her friend’s name, Mary Jane, may allude to marijuana. Alcohol, for Eloise, is a way to liberate her from reality, as well as the use of non-legal drugs were for the beat writers.

If considering the ideal of freedom in Salinger’s story, it is possible to argue that the imagined and consensual liberty — the ability to move — which Eloise wishes, interferes in the way she positions herself in her suburban life. She is not satisfied with her mediocre life, thus she desires freedom, but she can only move herself individually and subjectively, from her present to her past. Thus, it is possible to argue that Salinger’s short story problematizes the suburban middle class society in the US’ 1940s regarding motherhood, marriage and their relationship with the individual’s ability to move from this situation to another within that context.

The beats search for literary references is different from the one done by Salinger: they have different Libraries<sup>81</sup>. Salinger does not search, necessarily, for reactionary politics that would base his discourse

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<sup>81</sup> The capital letter for the word “library” is a reference to Jorge Luis Borges’ text “A Biblioteca de Babel” (1941), in *Ficções*, where he develops the idea of the infinity of the Library that each person searches throughout their life: “Como todos os homens da Biblioteca, viajei na minha juventude; peregrinei em busca de um livro, talvez o catálogo de catálogos; agora que meus olhos quase não podem decifrar o que escrevo, preparo-me para morrer, a poucas léguas do hexágono em que nasci. Morto, mãos piedosas não faltarão que me tirem pela varanda afora; minha sepultura será o ar insondável: meu corpo se fundirá dilatadamente e se corromperá e dissolverá no vento originado pela queda que é infinita. Afirmando que a Biblioteca é interminável” (1972, 85).

on views of the individual, as it appears in the beat-influenced countercultures of the 1950s and 1960s. Differently from the beat writers, Salinger criticizes the individualized character, such as Eloise, presenting the decadence of this way of life. In Salinger's stories, there are some references to canonical authors who are seen to be more concerned with the criticism of the failure of the daily life experience of individuals in society, such as Franz Kafka and Katherine Mansfield, than with individualistic behavior toward freedom such as in the beat works. Mansfield's story "A suburban fairy tale" (1919),<sup>82</sup> for example, can be related to "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut."

One of the issues that may be raised in Salinger's short story is criticism of the ordinary lives in the US' suburb, and according to Richard Rees, in "The Salinger Situation" (1965). The similarity regarding the theme, criticism of it and the way Salinger works with it, may be understood as a reference to Mansfield's story, as Rees writes.

(...) when he does wobble he [Salinger] does it in rather the same way as that other exquisite short story writer Katherine Mansfield: "Eloise shook Mary Jane's arm. 'I was a nice girl' she pleaded, wasn't I?" (An alcoholic young matron remembering the past in "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" a story whose title, too, recalls Katherine Mansfield not at her best.) (1965, 103-104)

As a fairy tale, Mansfield's story is full of magic and enchanted situations and it has a blend between animals and humans, as one of the characters, Little B., is sometimes a Boy and sometimes a Bird. The animals of the story are on the lawn of an ordinary family that is composed by a father, Mr. B, a mother, Mrs. B, and the son Little B., treating each other only by their names' initials. The parents are very non-affective and ungracious with their son. They do not listen to him and do not feed him when he asks for food during breakfast. The kid starts seeing many hungry sparrows at their lawn and calls his parents' attention on the famine of the birds. The short story, or the fairy tale, continues in a nonsense way when the sparrows become boys and then, turning into sparrows again, they fly. If we think about the construction

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<sup>82</sup> This short story is available online by *The Katherine Mansfield Society's* website: <http://www.katherinemansfieldsociety.org/assets/KM-Stories/A-SUBURBAN-FAIRY-TALE1919.pdf>

of this family and Eloise's family, there are similarities between both, especially regarding the way the parents treat the kids in both stories, and how occupied the parents are with their own lives and disappointments. The parents in Mansfield's story can turn into reality everything they desire, making things to pop-up in the air, such as cheese during breakfast. This relationship of desire they establish with themselves make them so occupied that they do not pay attention to their son, such as Eloise's remembrances of her past with Walt do not let her see the needs of Ramona. The perceptive difference between both stories is that, in Salinger's narrative, the legitimate couple is not the married one, but is constructed by Eloise and Walt. Also, Mansfield's short story is entitled a tale and Salinger's title mentions one, since Uncle Wiggily is a famous book character from children's literature. This character appears in many stories entitled "Uncle Wiggily in...", for instance "Uncle Wiggily in Wonderland" (1921), by Howard R. Garis. This little bunny, Uncle Wiggily, is always getting himself in trouble for being too naive; in these situations, the narrator, or sometimes the characters of the narrative, refers to him as "Poor Uncle Wiggily" or "Poor little bunny," such as in this example from the book *Uncle Wiggily in Wonderland*:

The rats in the locked room were very busy, getting out their cheese knives and plates, and poor Uncle Wiggily hardly knew what to do with this most unpleasant adventure happening to him, when, all of a sudden, right in the middle of the room, there appeared a big, smiling mouth, with a cheerful grin spread all over it. (1921, 28)

Thus, it is possible to reflect that in "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," Salinger dialogues with Katherine Mansfield's "A suburban fairy tale," with a similar problematization of the family. It is not that Mansfield was a mentor for Salinger, as Whitman and Thoreau were for the beat writers, for example. It is difficult to affirm that Salinger has mentors, or that at least he repeats references of the same author in many of his stories. However, he recuperates issues raised by canonical authors from different times and dislocates them into his present time. The problematization of the family through a tale perspective — which may bring erroneously an idea of naivety on subjects and issues and/or literature for children, but that brings the issue of innocence behind it— could have been borrowed from Mansfield, but Salinger adapted to his current time and in his socio-

political context. At the moment when Eloise loses her boyfriend, Walt, in the war, she also loses her innocence — and her faith to have a happy ending as in a fairy tale. Due to her loss, of innocence and of Walt, Eloise faces reality with an individualistic ideal of freedom, willing to move from her actual condition in life to another from the past.

Even though Salinger's "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" was published before the counterculture dissent of the 1960s, it is possible to argue that his story left opened the possibility to problematize the socio-political environment in the US that was dragged from the 1940s — with the end of the WWII in 1945 — until the 1960s with the Cold War (1947-1991), the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1956-1975). "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" problematizes issues such as ethnicity, immigration, war, innocence and alienation in relation to the established patterns of society in the suburban life, especially if considering the family as a legitimate institution by the nation.

To sum up, "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" is a narrative that presents many countercultural elements, such as alienation, loss of innocence, race, drugs, immigration and wars (WWII, Cold War, and Korean War). Although some scholars consider this a marginal story within the Glass family stories, I rather think that "Uncle Wiggily" contains many of the elements presented in the other Glass family stories. Alienation plays an important role when analyzing Eloise. However, innocence is also very relevant to understand this complex character, since when she loses her innocence, she loses her passion for life. Therefore, "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut" is a relevant narrative within the Glass family stories when analyzed through a countercultural perspective.

#### 4.3 "Down at the dinghy" (1949)

"Down at the dinghy" was first published on April 1949, in *Harper's* magazine. This is the first story to present Seymour and Walt's sister Boo Boo Glass Tannenbaum and her four-year old son Lionel. In this narrative, two Glass siblings are briefly mentioned, Seymour and Webb. If reading chronologically, the reader will not know that Webb Glass will be later presented as Buddy, his nickname in the family, who is the narrator of some Glass stories.

The analysis presented in this section aims at discussing "Down at the dinghy" in relation to the issues of alienation and innocence,

mainly. Moreover, other aspects that can be related to counterculture will also be discussed, e.g., social inequality and race. As a connection between this analytical chapter and the following one, I will present the discussion on religion that “Down at the dinghy” raises. Therefore, such issues presented in this story will be constantly discussed in parallel with the previous Glass family stories analyzed in this chapter, as well as advancing the next chapter’s discussion on religion.

“Down at the dinghy” can be compared to both “A perfect day for bananafish” and to “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut.” Similarly to “Uncle Wiggily,” “Down at the dinghy” can be considered a peripheral story in relation to the other Glass narratives.<sup>83</sup> This is mostly because in “Uncle Wiggily,” Walt, the Glass character who is mentioned, is not physically present in the story, and because “Down at the dinghy” presents Boo Boo Glass, one of the Glass children who is not one of the major characters of the family<sup>84</sup>. However, both stories are significant in order to show different perspectives of the family, as it will be shown later. “Down at the dinghy” can also be compared and contrasted to “A perfect day for bananafish” in relation to their dialogues’ structures and their narrative form, as I will show later in this section.

In “Down at the dinghy,” the fifth story of the book *Nine Stories*, Salinger presents Boo Boo Tannenbaum Glass and her son Lionel. As in “A perfect day for bananafish,” “Down at the dinghy” is divided into sections. In the first part of the story, a dialogue is established between the living-in maid, Sandra, and Mrs. Snell, the temporary maid from the countryside, where the Tannenbaum Glass family is spending the month of October. The dialogue between both women is mostly based on Sandra’s fear in relation to Lionel: he has listened to her saying something about his father and, because of the content of what he heard, he ran away from the house. Sandra sometimes says to Mrs. Snell that she will not worry about it, but sometimes she shows that she actually does. Sandra’s dialogue with Mrs. Snell shows her insecurity about losing her job. Mrs. Snell, who

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<sup>83</sup> Howard M. Harsper Jr. affirms this in his book *Desperate Faith* (1972, 50-51).

<sup>84</sup> Boo Boo will later appear in the story “Raise high the roof beam, Caperters” through a letter she sent to her brother Buddy. In the last Glass narrative, “Hapworth 16, 1924,” Seymour sometimes addresses Boo Boo in his letter. These are the only appearances of Boo Boo in the Glass family stories. Lionel, on the other hand, does not appear or is mentioned in any of the other Glass stories besides “Down at the dinghy.”

seems to be quite relaxed, is having her tea and smoking her cigarette before leaving the house. About Sandra's worries, Mrs. Snell says that she does not need to worry about anything. After that, Boo Boo enters in the kitchen and talks to both women asking for pickles. The maids mention the fact that Lionel ran away and Boo Boo says that this is a common fact. Boo Boo tells other stories from the past to illustrate Lionel's usual getaways.

In the second part of the story, Boo Boo goes after her son Lionel down at the lake's shore, near the deck where the family's dinghy is anchored. The mother, then, starts chatting with the boy in order to know what made him run away. First, Boo Boo tries to get closer to Lionel by saying she is the Vice Admiral Tannenbaum, which Lionel abruptly rejects by saying "You aren't an admiral. You're a lady" (1991, 80)<sup>85</sup>. The chat goes on about the issue of Boo Boo being an admiral or not, and Lionel being reluctant most of the time. Lionel, then, goes to the dinghy and says no one can come in with him. By the deck of the boat, there was a pair of goggles. Lionel caught them with his toes and threw them overboard. Boo Boo replied to the action by saying "'That's nice. That's constructive' (...) 'Those belong to your Uncle Webb. (...) They once belong to your Uncle Seymour'"<sup>86</sup> (1991, 84). Lionel says that he does not care about it. Afterwards, Boo Boo gets a package out of her pocket saying that there is a key chain inside it. Lionel recognizes as his, and asks his mother to throw it on the lake, because it would be fair. Boo Boo replies saying that she does not care, and contrary to what Lionel had done to the goggles, delivers the key chain to the boy. After that, Boo Boo gets in the dinghy and comforts Lionel tenderly while he cries sitting on her lap. Then, Lionel says that he had run away because Sandra said to Mrs. Snell that his father was a "big sloppy kike." (1991, 86) Boo Boo asks if he knows what a kike means and Lionel replies saying it is "one of those things that go up in the air" (1991, 86), confusing it with a kite. After their conversation, they go back to the house betting a race, one that Lionel wins.

The structure of the narrative of "Down at the dinghy" is similar to the one of "A perfect day." First, both stories are divided into

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<sup>85</sup> Later in "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters" the reader will know that Boo Boo was telling the truth for Lionel, since she was an admiral serving the WWII.

<sup>86</sup> As before mentioned, uncles Webb and Seymour are the only references to other Glass siblings in this story. Boo Boo refers to her older brothers Buddy Glass (Webb) and Seymour Glass.

sections. Second, the same pattern is followed in the sections of each story. In the first section of “A perfect day for bananafish,” as well as in “Down at the dinghy,” there are two women talking about one character that is struggling: Seymour and Lionel. In both stories, one of the two women is arguing against the main character — Muriel’s mother against Seymour and Sandra against Lionel — and the other is trying to appease the situation — Muriel and Mrs. Snell. In “A perfect day for bananafish,” Muriel and her mother talk about Seymour and his supposed psychological “problems,” whereas in “Down at the dinghy,” Sandra and Mrs. Snell talk about Lionel’s “difficult” behavior of sneaking around and running away.

In the second sections, the narratives present a Glass — Seymour and Boo Boo — talking to a child — Sybil and Lionel, respectively — apart from the rest of the characters of the stories. Both stories also have a similar pattern in the end, when the adults go back to their origin places: the hotel and the house by the lake. These similarities show that when composing short stories about the Glass family, Salinger concentrates them in a specific pattern, which gives the stories a sense of unit, even though they do not figure the same characters and do not tell the same story. This also tells that, even though some of the stories do not feature the main characters of the Glass family, there are no specific peripheral stories. All of them connect to each other by their form, characters, issues, struggles, socio-political context, etc.

By analyzing both stories in comparison, it becomes evident that Seymour and Lionel are struggling in their lives. However, the affectionate way Boo Boo treats Lionel reverts his struggle into comfort, which makes him feel less disoriented in life than Seymour. For Lionel, adulthood may represent disrespect and threat – as he listens to Sandra calling Mr. Tannenbaum a kike. Even though he does not know the meaning of the word, Lionel understands the tone of Sandra’s talk. However, Lionel ends the story with a different perspective of adulthood, the one given by Boo Boo, his mother. The affectionate, patient and understanding way she treats him makes him forget about the dark side of adulthood. The story “A perfect day for bananafish,” on the other hand, presents Seymour as a character who cannot see the bright side of adulthood. It is clear that he does not have a good relationship with Muriel’s parents, as well as he has a terrible conversation with the woman at the elevator. The story shows that he does not have good adult-to-adult relationships. Maybe Muriel is the one who could give him comfort, such as Boo Boo to Lionel, but she is

sleeping when he gets in the room to commit suicide, and therefore, cannot comfort him in that moment of struggle.

When comparing the characters of “Down at the dinghy” with the ones presented in “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut” it is possible to distinguish Boo Boo and Eloise, as well as Lionel and Ramona. Instead of feeling comfortable in the position of a mother, like Boo Boo, Eloise does not feel part of the family she lives with – she rejects her daughter, as well as her husband Lew. Eloise cannot comfort Ramona when she is struggling, because she is struggling too. Ramona “loses” her imaginary friend and gets feverish, but when she goes upstairs to her room she goes with Grace, the maid. Her proximity with Grace is exactly the opposite of Lionel with Sandra, because Ramona cannot count on Eloise’s affection, but Lionel can with his mother’s. When opposing these characters from different stories, it is possible to understand that Eloise thinks that her life would be better if she were a Glass, if she had married Walt Glass. She lives her present life in denial, and chooses to dream of her past. By doing that, Eloise struggles and permits everyone of her present life around her struggle too. Because of that, Eloise, as a character, is more similar to Seymour than to Boo Boo.

Most of Salinger’s Glass family stories present a character who is an outsider, a person who does not fit in the world. In the previous stories analyzed, Seymour and Eloise may be considered outsiders, because they do not fit in the lives they live. Because of that, they alienate themselves from their present life: Seymour commits suicide, and Eloise rejects her family. In “Down at the dinghy,” the outsider is a child, and because of that, the comparison between Lionel to Seymour and Eloise cannot be fully done. Boo Boo’s son is also a person who lets his emotions command his choices, similarly to Seymour and Eloise. However, Lionel is just a child, and it is not the case here to say that he alienates himself when he runs away. Lionel is a very sensitive character who responds to the reality he faces. On the other hand, it is possible to say that Boo Boo is not an alienated character. Differently from Seymour and Eloise, from the other short stories, Boo Boo does not avoid her reality. She is aware of the son’s constant behavior and constantly attempts to comfort him.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Later, in the story “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters” this argument will be confirmed, since Boo Boo is the one who sends a letter to Buddy to tell him that Seymour was going to marry Muriel and that no one of the family would be able to be present. So she request Buddy to go to Seymour’s wedding in order to give support to him. Seymour’s wedding, and consequently this letter,



The act of running away that Lionel constantly does represents a premature rebellion. It is not possible to say if Lionel is going to perpetuate this behavior through his adult life, however, it is clear that this is not the first time he had run away.

“I hear Lionel’s supposeta be runnin’ away.” She gave a short laugh. “Certainly looks that way,” Boo Boo said, and slid her hands into her hip pockets. “At least he don’t run very *far* away,” Mrs. Snell said, giving another short laugh. (1991, 77-78)

This brief conversation between Mrs. Snell and Boo Boo shows that they do not think Lionel’s trip out of the house to run away is too serious due to the recurrence of it. They know that he usually goes out to isolate himself when he is upset and that generally is not for a further place. In another dialogue, Boo Boo reveals other flights by Lionel. ““Well, at the age of two-and-a-half,’ Boo Boo said biographically, ‘he sought refuge under a sink in the basement of our apartment house. Down in the laundry’” (1991, 79). Lionel’s isolation is generally from the people of the house: as two years old from his parents, and as four from his living-in maid. He recurrently goes to places below the level adults are, which represents that even though he has run away from them, he can be caught or seen by them.

Moreover the expressions “down in the laundry” or “down at the dinghy” represents not only the place where Lionel is — and where he does not want to be found —, but also how sad (down) he is feeling in those situations. Then, the title of the short story enunciates that Lionel is feeling down as well as he is at the water level near the family’s dinghy. However, the dinghy is anchored — and has not been used for awhile, as Sandra says:

“I mean none of ‘em even go anywheres *near* the water now. *Shed*on’t go in, *he* don’t go in, the *kid* don’t go in. *Nobody* goes in now. They don’t even take that crazy boat out no more. I don’t know what they threw good money away on it for.” (1991, 76)

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happened before Boo Boo was married and had Lionel. It seems, then, that she is a character who is constantly concerned with the Glass characters that are struggling. Bearing that in mind, it is possible to say that Boo Boo is not an alienated character, but one who has the empathy to face the Glasses realities.

The dinghy is a common space for the family to go in, as well as a place to have fun on the lake. However, the dinghy is stagnant on the lake, which makes it accessible to Lionel — who can use it when isolated from the family. It is, at the same time, a place of comfort — where he used to be with the family —, and a place of possible isolation for him. This represents that even though Lionel wants to isolate himself from the family in this situation, he also finds comfort in the dinghy, which is a representation of his family moments.

Moreover, Sandra's words made Lionel repel not only adulthood, but also and, consequently, adults. When Boo Boo goes after him and tries to talk to him, Lionel hesitates and starts being a bit hostile with his mother, who had nothing to do with Sandra's words. This shows that Lionel created a behavior in which he repels adults in general after his flight.

Lionel's reactions to the adults in those situations could be misinterpreted as a spoiled behavior. However, Lionel is not spoiled; he is very sensitive and gets hurt due to what he listens from people he trusts. He does not isolate himself because he did not get a lollipop or a chocolate bar, for example, he isolates himself because of the confrontation caused by people he knows — and probably likes — when saying bad things about him or his family. He rebels against the world he does not fit in, and not because of something he wishes. Or maybe he wishes he had more caring people around him.

The non-conformism upon social aspects of the post-WWII US such as race, class, and religion, e.g., are part of the backbone of counterculture. Even though Lionel does not know what a “kike” is, he is upset because of the tone of a dialogue that summarizes in it issues of race, class and religion. His perception of Sandra's dialogue to Mrs. Snell makes him lose his innocence and, because of that, isolate himself from the rest. Anti-Semitism is one of the main aspects of this short story. Sandra acted with prejudice against Lionel's father, and therefore, he himself, which made him feel Sandra's prejudice and the rude tone. Boo Boo seems to minimize religion intolerance when talking to Lionel, since she notices her son did not understand what Sandra really meant. Also, Boo Boo does not know exactly the context in which Sandra said that Mr. Tannenbaum was a kike, and neither the reader. Sandra may be reacting to something her boss had done to her or said to her<sup>88</sup>.

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<sup>88</sup> Similarly to “A perfect day for bananafish,” in “Down at the dinghy,” Salinger uses the technique of the modern short story (the iceberg theory), by

However, this was an effort made by Boo Boo to get Lionel less upset and make him feel that the world is not as bad as he was thinking it was. By the time Lionel notices that his mother — an adult — is affectionate with him and that she does not throw his key chain on the lake, he feels relieved, as if realizing that the world was not as cruel as he thought it was. What Boo Boo makes is to try to keep Lionel's innocence intact, apart from the problems of the adult world.

It is possible to understand, then, “Down at the dinghy” within the 1960s counterculture perspective, since it raises issues that are also discussed in countercultural texts and that were raised in signs during protests. Moreover, Salinger uses a child character to represent the loss of innocence and the disgust with the adulthood's reality. This can counterbalance the idea that even though the countercultural characters are sensitive to perceive that their realities need changes, they are not, necessarily, able to change such realities.

Whereas in “A perfect day for bananafish,” Seymour Glass — or See more Glass, the one who sees beyond — does not find a solution for his reality, in “Down at the dinghy” Salinger gives a more optimistic view, showing that it is with a new — sensitive — generation that something better could happen. It is not strange that Lionel throws Seymour's goggles on the lake, as a metaphor that means that the way Seymour used to see life is not the one Lionel will choose. While the uncle Seymour killed himself due to the possible inability of changing his reality, his nephew Lionel is questioning the acts of adults and trying to escape from it without being coopted. Even though both “escape” from their realities, these are two different postures and acts concerning the same anguishes about the reality they live in: differently from Seymour, Lionel can go back to the house and continue to live.

In light of the countercultural issues contained in this story, it is important to mention the issues of social inequality and race from it. In the first sequence of dialogues of “Down at the dinghy,” Sandra and Mrs. Snell have a conversation in the kitchen of the Tannenbaum Glass family holiday home. It is clear that both of them are maids, however, Sandra is a permanent maid and Mrs. Snell is a temporary one. It is possible to establish a dichotomous relationship between both regarding

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showing only a tip of the whole story — as before mentioned through Ricardo Piglia's *Formas Breves* (2000). The reader does not have the information of why Sandra said that, and neither knows how is Sandra's relationship with her boss. Boo Boo's relationship with the maids seems to be a little cold, as it will be argued later.

their names: while one is called by her first name, the other one is called by her last name – representing a social status of a married woman of the long 1960s. Being Mrs. Snell a temporary maid, she minimizes Sandra’s concerns regarding what Lionel heard Sandra saying about his father. Sandra argues, “It’s all right for *you*, you live here all year around. You got your social life here and all” (1991, 76). Mrs. Snell lives in the city of the Tannenbaum’s holiday house, and as a temporary employee she does not worry much about losing her job. Mrs. Snell’s behavior in the kitchen differs from Sandra’s. Mrs. Snell relaxes in the kitchen after her work hours having some tea and smoking a cigarette: “Boo Boo Tannenbaum, the lady of the house, came into the kitchen (...) Sandra and Mrs. Snell were silent. Mrs. Snell put out her cigarette, unhurriedly” (1991, 77).

Both maids feel uncomfortable with the entrance of Boo Boo in the kitchen, however Sandra worries about losing her job, what Mrs. Snell does not feel. This differentiates the way both acted in front of Boo Boo: even though both were silent and were surprised by Boo Boo’s sudden entrance in the kitchen, Mrs. Snell does not hurry to put out the cigarette she was smoking. This shows that even though she was doing something that she should not do — otherwise she would not have put out when Boo Boo arrived — she does not try to hide it.

Boo Boo is described by the narrator as the “lady of the house” (1991, 77). She seems to treat Sandra and Mrs. Snell in a very distant way. The narrator subtly describes the difference between the way Boo Boo treats the maids and the way she treats Lionel.

The swinging door opened from the dining room and Boo Boo Tannenbaum, the lady of the house, came into the kitchen (...) She went directly to the refrigerator and opened it (...) Sandra and Mrs. Snell were silent. Mrs. Snell put out her cigarette, unhurriedly. “Sandra...” “Yes, ma’am?” Sandra looked alertly past Mrs. Snell’s hat. (1991, 77)

Boo Boo enters in the kitchen without talking to the maids. She ignores Sandra and Mrs. Snell, who feel a little intimidate with Boo Boo’s sudden entrance. Boo Boo only addresses to Sandra, who alertly responds to her, when she needs to know if there are more pickles. The maids were talking about what Sandra said about Mr. Tannenbaum, and it seems that Sandra is in doubt whether Boo Boo heard anything when

entering the kitchen. This shows that Boo Boo and Sandra, the live-in maid, are not close to each other, and that Sandra probably does not like Boo Boo too. The “lady of the house” is too cold with the maids, and shows a silent superiority in relation to them.

Even though Sandra knows better the family she works for, she does not feel as comfortable to act the same way Mrs. Snell does. Sandra constantly asks Mrs. Snell about how she should “fix” the fact that Lionel heard what she said about Mr. Tannenbaum. And Mrs. Snell, on the other hand, is “relaxed” in her workplace, because she does not fear losing her job as much as Sandra does. It seems that the relationship between maids and bosses are not good, then. However, Mrs. Snell does not fear to lose her job because it is temporary, whereas Sandra does.

Moreover, the reader only knows what Sandra’s concern is when Lionel — in the second part of the story — is talking to his mother and tells her that he heard Sandra saying that his father was a “big sloppy kike.” Even though Sandra knows the family well, she keeps being insecure in front of Mrs. Snell. Sandra’s insecurity comes not only from her displacement for being in a city she does not recognize as hers: “I’ll be so gladda get backa the city. I’m not foolin’. I hate this crazy place.” (1991, 76), but also because of Mrs. Snell’s indifference to the relevance Sandra gives to her job.

Besides Mrs. Snell’s indifference to their job positions, since for her this is only a temporary job, the narrator describes Mrs. Snell’s personal objects as ones from expensive brands. However, Mrs. Snell’s personal objects are worn, which may imply that she once belonged to another social class. This may infer that Mrs. Snell’s indifference to her current job as a temporary maid may be because she does not feel as belonging to the position. This justifies why Sandra was confronting Mrs. Snell by saying “It’s all right for *you*, you live here all year around. You got your social life here and all” (1991, 76).

Moreover, the references given in the story about Mrs. Snell’s, through her objects, make the reader think that she was, once, part of a upper social class, but that she is, currently, in financial decadence.

“(…) Reach me my bag, dear.” A leather handbag, extremely worn, but with a label inside it as impressive as the one inside Mrs. Snell’s hat, lay on the pantry. Sandra was able to reach it without standing up. She handed it across the table to Mrs. Snell, who opened it and took out a

pack of mentholated cigarettes and a folder of Stork Club matches.” (1991, 75)

Mrs. Snell’s extremely worn handbag shows that even though this is a shabby bag, it is an expensive and designed one. Another class reference in relation to Mrs. Snell is her Stork Club matches. Stork Club was one of the most prestigious nightclubs in Manhattan, New York, from 1929 to 1965, which means that at least once, Mrs. Snell had been there. The financial decadence of Mrs. Snell suggests that she once belonged to an elite position. That means that Mrs. Snell has a background story in “Down at the dinghy,” which makes her feel more secure and comfortable in front of the Tannenbaums, whereas Sandra is a live-in maid who does not seem to have much going on in her “social life” (1991, 76). This can be a reference to the 1930s economical crises in the US.

This social inequality between Sandra and Mrs. Snell goes beyond their current class status. Currently in the story, they were supposed to belong to the same social class, since they are both working as maids and both at the same house. However, Mrs. Snell’s background as a married woman that holds personal objects with impressive labels on them puts her in a higher position between them. Moreover, the narrator describes Sandra as feeling oppressed.

Mrs. Snell lit a cigarette, then brought her teacup to her lips, but immediately set it down in its saucer. “If this don’t hurry up and cool off, I’m gonna miss my bus.” She looked over at Sandra, who was staring, oppressedly, in the general direction of the copper sauce-pans lined against the wall. “Stop *worryin’* about it,” Mrs. Snell ordered. “What good’s it gonna do to worry about it? Either he tells her or he don’t. That’s all. What good’s *worrin’* gonna do?” (1991, 75)

The fact that Sandra feels oppressed and Mrs. Snell does not is due to the fact she thinks that her job is in danger, while Mrs. Snell does not seem to have big intensions on turning her temporary job into a full-time one. Another evidence in the text that distinguishes the behavior of both characters is the way Mrs. Snell talks to Sandra: either she is ordering Sandra to do her favors, “Reach me my bag, dear” (1991, 75), or ordering her to ‘shut up’, “‘Stop *worryin’* about it,’ Mrs. Snell ordered” (1991, 75).

Due to Sandra's language use it is possible to argue that she may be a black woman<sup>89</sup> and would be another reason why she feels vulnerable to lose her job. Sandra's insecurity to lose her job, as a black woman in the late 1940s, may be considered a reproduction of the racial inequality that many protests were trying to combat in the Civil Rights Movements. At that time in the US, as it was mentioned before, black people were refused to work at any position in service where they could be seen by customers. Because of that, countercultural agents included racial inequality within their political agenda in order to support the Civil Rights Movement and its demands. The exposition of racial and social inequality between blacks and whites was an issue soon established after the WWII in the US.

Moreover, the issue of religion is very important in this story<sup>90</sup>. In Warren French's *J.D. Salinger* (1966), there are few remarks about the theme of religion within the Glass stories. And despite the relevance of the anti-Semite tone of the story "Down at the dinghy," French leaves

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<sup>89</sup> The article "Estudo da cultura Afro Americana relacionando o Black English e o Reggae," by Barros, Vargas, and Almeida, presents a comparison between the Standard English and the Black English. According to the article, it is common for Black English speakers to use the words "wanna, gonna" instead of "want to, going to," the non-use of the letter "g" when the words finishes in "ing," such as "singin'." The authors define this group of words by analyzing reggae lyrics, but they do not specify these are the only ones. These are uses that Sandra makes throughout the story, which let open the idea that she may be a black woman. However, since there is no physical description of Sandra, only of Boo Boo "She was a small, almost hipless girl of twenty-five, with styleless, colorless, brittle hair pushed back behind her ears (...)" (1991, 77), it is difficult to say that being black is the only possibility for Sandra. However, based on the language spoken by Sandra, my reading is that she either differs from Boo Boo by her skin color or by her social class – or both. Reference of the article: <http://periodicos.ufpb.br/index.php/ci/article/viewFile/14162/8848>.

<sup>90</sup> The essay "Humorous Contemporary Jewish-American Authors: An Overview of the Criticism," written by Nilsen, has the objective of suggesting some critical works about Jewish-American authors. Nilsen writes a section about J.D. Salinger's works and critical review, however he does not mention the reason why he considers Salinger a Jewish-American author of humorous literature. Moreover, he does not mention the story "Down at the dinghy." Because of that, the reason why I am quoting Nilsen's essay is because it includes Salinger within a framework that not many scholars did when analyzing Salinger's works.

this theme opened and disagrees with other scholars<sup>91</sup> — since, as he says, there is no evidence that the maid, who speaks bad words about Lionel’s father, is not Jew (1966, 96). French believes that, because Sandra — the maid — suffers prejudice from other maids (he means Mrs. Snell, but does not mention her), she just reproduces their bully behavior when calling Lionel’s father “a big sloppy - kike” (Salinger, 1991, 86). French eases the political tone that the story has. French’s argument emphasizes that the anti-Semite aspect of the story occurs in detriment of actual anti-Semite prejudice Sandra may suffer from other maids. This is an argument that does not stand because there is no evidence that shows Sandra is a Jew, or even that she was suffering religious prejudice from Mrs. Snell. Yet, if Sandra were Jew, she would not worry about the Tannenbaum family knowing what she said.

What French considers relevant for the story is the dichotomous dynamic of life (being either good or bad) that Lionel sees after listening to the words said by the maid. It is hard to leave the anti-Semite theme out of “Down at the dinghy,” though. Especially if considering that Salinger was born in a Jewish family<sup>92</sup> and that the story was first published only four years after the WWII. As mentioned before in this chapter, the WWII had a great impact on Salinger, causing him a Post Traumatic Stress Disorder after serving the Army. Being Salinger’s family Jew, it is presumable that the historical events of the WWII, and the anti-Semitism as a relevant part of the war, had a great impact on the production of the Glass family stories. Even though Sandra commits an anti-Semitic act, she knows how bad that can sound – her awareness of the gravity of that act is implicit in the story through her fear of losing her job.

As before mentioned, the issue of religion is only brought up for the reader in the end of the conversation between Lionel and his mother when he says to her what he had heard to Sandra say about his father.

“Sandra – told Mrs. Snell – that Daddy’s a big – sloppy – kike.” Just perceptibly, Boo Boo flinched, but she lifted the boy off her lap and stood him in front of her and pushed back his hair from his forehead. “She did, huh?” She said.

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<sup>91</sup> These scholars are mentioned generically, because their names or works are not in the book. It is problematic due to the impossibility to research this debate deeply.

<sup>92</sup> According to Salinger’s biographer Kenneth Slawenski (2010, 3).



Lionel worked his head up and down, emphatically. He came in closer, still crying, to stand between his mother's legs. "Well, that isn't *too* terrible," Boo Boo said, holding him between the two vises of her arms and legs. "That isn't the *worst* that could happen." She gently bit the rim of the boy's ear. "Do you know what a kike is, baby? (...) It's one of those things that go up in the *air*," he said. "With *string* you hold." (1991, 86)

Lionel tells, crying, what he had listened to, and Salinger uses the dashes to mark the pauses for every sob Lionel makes. Religion is part of the story when Sandra says kike in a pejorative way referring to Mr. Tannenbaum. Lionel, by confusing the word kike with kite, does not understand the meaning of the sentence, but understands the tone of it. Lionel's innocent world only recognizes naïve, ludic or child-like references. To know abruptly the adult world, even though not understanding the meaning of it, made Lionel quickly understand that this is not a pleasant world. Lionel's lost innocence made him struggle, even though not knowing exactly why.

The fact that Lionel chooses to isolate himself down at the dinghy shows that he does not understand and accepts adulthood. The movement of running away Lionel makes shows that he does not understand the world he lives in pretty well. He is an innocent child who believes that what adults say is true. Lionel gets upset when he hears that his father is a "kite," because he knows his father could never be a kite, since he is a man. As an innocent boy, he does not problematize what necessarily Sandra says about his father — because it does not make sense — but how she says it. He understands that being a "kite" in the adult world is not a good thing. Lionel does not see his father as a person with bad personal features, so he gets confused and enters in a personal conflict. And so he chooses to be out of this world.

To sum up, "Down at the dinghy" presents Boo Boo and Lionel as characters of the Glass family. Moreover, Lionel's innocent world is not lost due to the effort made by his loving mother Boo Boo, who comforts him in his moment of struggle. Because of that, Boo Boo seems to be very aware of her family's struggles, and does not escape from it. On the other hand, Boo Boo and her husband seem to have a classist relationship with their maids Sandra and Mrs. Snell, which have may been the cause of Sandra saying that her boss was a "sloppy kike." In light of this comment, the short story also presents the issue of

religion in relation to the post-WWII context, problematizing the Anti-Semite discourse after the war. In the following chapter, the discussion of religion in the Glass family stories will be the focus of the analysis, but issues such as alienation, innocence, race, sex and sexuality, and others related to counterculture will also be discussed.

## 5 A countercultural perspective of the Glass family stories through religious experience

Similarly to the previous analytical chapter, this one is organized according to issues that are presented in Salinger's Glass family stories and that can be related to how the long 1960s counterculture of the US has been portrayed by the critics, as exposed previously in the theoretical framework. In this chapter, though, the main issue to be discussed will be religious experience. Countercultural agents are often related to the religious and mystical experiences during the long 1960s and even more often related to Eastern religions and philosophies. In the Glass family stories, Salinger exposes a miscellaneous of religious thoughts and issues, commonly one of the main aspects of the narratives. Bearing that in mind, the relationship between Salinger's stories and counterculture seemed very similar to me if seen through the search of religious experience. However, there is not a single scholar who has built the bridge between Salinger's stories and counterculture through the issue of religion. When scholars analyze Salinger's Glass family stories through a religion perspective, they do not mention counterculture. And the same happen when scholars analyze religion within counterculture —they leave Salinger's stories aside. So, again, I found another gap related to the Glass family stories and counterculture. In this analytical chapter, then, I attempt to demonstrate how the religious experience presented in Salinger's Glass family stories can be understood from a countercultural perspective, i.e., taking into consideration the socio-political aspects of the long 1960s in the US.

The concept of "religious experience" was first developed by the Harvard psychologist William James, in the collection of lectures he gave at the University of Edinburgh, published in the book *The varieties of religious experiences: A study in human nature* (1902). James defines religion in terms of religious experience, developed as the experiences individual human beings have to the divine:

Religion, therefore, as I now ask you arbitrarily to take it, shall mean for us THE FEELINGS, ACTS, AND EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUAL MEN [*sic*] IN THEIR SOLITUDE, SO FAR AS THEY APPREHEND THEMSELVES TO STAND IN RELATION TO WHATEVER THEY MAY CONSIDER THE DIVINE. Since

the relation may be either moral, physical, or ritual, it is evident that out of religion in the sense in which we take it, theologies, philosophies, and ecclesiastical organizations may secondarily grow. (1902, 27)

James developed the religious experience concept as the individual's ability to connect to the divine<sup>93</sup>. For him, the divine is not necessarily a God or dogmas, but anything the individual understands as divine. However, the scholar distinguishes two main kinds of religious individuals: the ordinary religious believer, someone who follows the conventional observances of their country (independently of the religion), and the religious geniuses. The latter, James defines as:

We must make search rather for the original experiences which were the pattern-setters to all this mass of suggested feeling and imitated conduct. These experiences we can only find in individuals for whom religion exists not as a dull habit, but as an acute fever rather. But such individuals are "geniuses" in the religious line; and like many other geniuses who have brought forth fruits effective enough for commemoration in the pages of biography, such religious geniuses have often shown symptoms of nervous instability. Even more perhaps than other kinds of genius, religious leaders have been subject to abnormal psychical visitations. Invariably they have been creatures of exalted emotional sensibility. Often they have led a discordant inner life, and had melancholy during a part of their career. They have known no measure, been liable to obsessions and fixed ideas; and frequently they have fallen into trances, heard voices, seen vision, and presented all sorts of peculiarities which are

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<sup>93</sup> This is, of course, one of the arguments of William James presented in his lectures. His work is very complex and brings to light many aspects of the religious experience in connection to the fields of neurology and psychology. My interest in reading James' research is to understand the way countercultural agents used to think about the term "religious experience." Moreover, it is recognizable in Salinger's "Franny" that he was aware of James' work. Moreover, as it will be argued later, Alan Watts, also demonstrated to be aware of James' works — ones that he agreed with.

ordinarily classed as pathological. Often, moreover, these pathological features in their career have helped to give them their religious authority and influence. (1902, 9-10)

The long quotation taken from James' study shows the ambiguity of the religious experience in individuals during the modern era. James, as a psychologist, shows that the religious geniuses — the ones who experience religion in their solitudes, etc. — can be seen as a religious influence and, at the same time, be classed as pathological<sup>94</sup>. The religious geniuses will, then, rely on the judgment of others, since only the ones who experience the connection with the divine can actually feel the connection itself.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> This also raises the issue of the paranormal in the religious experience. However, I will not deeply discuss it, since it is not either the main argument of James, or Alan Watts — or Salinger's Glass family stories. For further information on the subject, read Howard Wettstein's article "The significance of Religious Experience," available on: <http://philosophy.ucr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/The-Significance-of-Religious-Experience.pdf>.

<sup>95</sup> I chose to work with William James work on the term "religious experience" not only because he was a precursor on the issue, but also because he was the great influence within theological studies for considering religion in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the US. Moreover, James' study was a reference used by Alan Watts, who is the scholar who developed the religious experience of the long 1960s counterculture in the US. However, it is important to mention that James' work on the term "religious experience" has been problematized in the contemporary panorama — within the past thirty years — of theological studies, according to Ann Taves (2009, 4). Since I am concerned with the developments of the concept of religious experience in Salinger's Glass family stories through a countercultural perspective, I will not here deeply problematize the use of the term from a theological perspective, even though I understand that the individualization of the religious experience may be controversial. However, I will not consider the individual religious experience as apolitical or as detached from culture. I will rather borrow James' concept, which was followed by countercultural agents in the long 1960s in the US, for defining the ambivalence of religious as pathology. Moreover, later in this introductory text, I will relate James' conception of religious experience to Amy Hungerford's idea of beliefs. For further information on how current theological studies problematize the concept of "religious experience," read the Ann Taves' book *Religious Experience Reconsidered: A building-block approach of religion and other special things* (2009), published by Princeton University Press. The conception of religious experience is problematized by Ann Taves in her article "Experience," (2005) when referring to scholars' analytical

I will, then, borrow James' conceptualization of the term "religious experience," because Salinger's Glass family stories present enough textual evidence that allow me to read them through it, specially concerning Seymour Glass. Also James' study was read and used by countercultural agents to think religion within the long 1960s in the US. This is the case of Alan Watts, in his article "Psychedelics and Religious Experience" (1968), in which he writes that psychedelic experiments are often described in religious terms (1968, 74). As before mentioned, Watts is known for being one of the diffusers of Zen Buddhism in the long 1960s US. He was very close to the beat writers, and is considered of relevant importance for the beat-counterculture developments.

In "Psychedelics and Religious Experience," Alan Watts affirms that he is interested in following William James' religious experience concept, as the psychology of religion (1968, 74). He also mentions that people have dichotomous opinions about psychedelic experiments in Western societies, either being pro or against the use of drugs —as its users are commonly classed as pathological. However, Watts emphasizes that his psychedelic experiments allowed him to predispose his consciousness to the mystical experience (1968, 75), as devices that allowed him to connect with the divine.

As it will be later argued in the analysis of the stories, Salinger's Glass family stories are not concerned with the mystical experience that Watts mentions, which means that the stories do not raise explicitly the issue of psychedelic experiments as a transcendental part of religious experience. I will argue later that some of Salinger's Glass characters, such as Seymour, Buddy, Mrs. Fedder and the Matron of Honor, can be understood departing from James' conception that religious experience can be seen as common to happen to either a genius or to a pathological person — or both. Then, the religious experience in Salinger's Glass family stories happens through Seymour. His religious knowledge (oppose to innocence) enabled him to be considered a genius by his siblings, but at the same time, to be considered a pathological person by Muriel's parents and the Matron of Honor. So, the family Glass stories can be understood through a countercultural perspective, since they present textual evidence that balance the binary discussion of the religious experience (the person who experiences is either a genius or a pathological person). Similarly, the term religious experience, given

by James, is also used by Watts; however for other purposes, i.e., the psychedelic experiments.<sup>96</sup>

Moreover, D.T. Suzuki, in his book *Selected Works of D.T. Suzuki, Volume III: Comparative Religion* (2016), is concerned with the term religious experience in order to avoid sectarian preconceptions. In the introduction of his book, Jeff Wilson and Tomoe Moriya explain Suzuki's points of view when developing a study that aims at finding similarities in different cultural and religious backgrounds:

In this way, Suzuki's writings gradually shifted to find the commonalities among religions by considering mystic traditions from different cultural and religious backgrounds. In describing religion, he dealt with religious experience (*shukyo keiken*), partly in order to avoid sectarian preconceptions. In his studies of the history of Christian monasteries, he noticed attitudes among monks quite like those of Buddhists. "Organizations of Buddhism and Christianity, doctrinally speaking, may seem to contradict each other, whereas viewing from each follower's religious experience, they share the same course." (2016, xxv)

Suzuki's concern to understand the commonalities among religions, especially considering the religious experience in each, interests this study since the Glass family stories bring a wide variety of religious references. The Glass characters are interested in the study of

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<sup>96</sup> This article was published in *The California Review* journal in 1968. Besides explaining his use of the term religious experience in relation to psychedelic experiments, Watts raises the issue of the resistance against the use of psychedelic drugs in Western societies. He suggests that the title of "escapism of one's reality," for drug users, generates prejudice. Moreover, he justifies such resistance due to the fact that Westerners religious concepts cannot finely define the description of the psychedelic experiences. On the contrary, many Westerners use Eastern words to define the sensations one feels when using psychedelic drugs, such as *satori*, from Japanese, or *moksha*, from Hinduism. Because of that, Watts claims that the US legal system provokes a "barbarous restriction of spiritual and intellectual freedom...[as it is] a tacid alliance with the monarchical theory of the universe and will, therefore, prohibit and persecute religious ideas and practices based on an organic and unitary vision of the universe." (1968, 85)

religions. Moreover, Seymour and Buddy, for example, consider themselves non-sectarians.

Bearing the conceptualization of the term “religious experience” in mind, in this section I will focus on the pursuit of the religious experience by the Glass family characters as a way to either escape or face reality. Moreover, I will also compare Suzuki’s considerations on religious knowledge and, what he calls, “no knowledge,” which are also very relevant part of the characterization of the Glasses. So, the following stories will be analyzed in this chapter: “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” “Seymour: an introduction,” “Franny,” “Zooney,” and “Hapworth 16, 1924”<sup>97</sup>. These are stories that present characters of the family that had not been presented in the previous narratives – the short stories mentioned in the previous chapter. The siblings Buddy, Franny, and Zooney will present their views of their own family as well as of the world they live in. Buddy Glass is the character who can be distinguished from the others, since he is not only a sibling of the family, but also the narrator of the stories “Zooney,” “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” and “Seymour: an introduction.” The publication of the Glass family stories ends with “Hapworth 16, 1924,” an epistolary story which is devised by Salinger as being written by Seymour Glass and recuperated as a document years later by his brother Buddy. This is the only story in which Seymour is, actually, “narrating” a story. As a consequence, the reader experiences for the first time the geniality of Seymour through his own words, instead of through his siblings’.

The fragmented narrative of the Glasses is, then, exposed through many different voices and different views; however, not only the narrative is fragmented, but also the family itself. Due to the fragmented family —most of the siblings do not connect with each other, making them apart from each other’s lives — religious and mystical beliefs become an important part of their lives, as a way to escape reality or to make this reality more meaningful. The religious knowledge in search of a religious experience is a very relevant part of the Glasses childhood, as well as of their adulthood, as the analyses of

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<sup>97</sup> In the previous section I analyzed the Glass family story “Down at the dinghy,” and religion was one of the aspects brought into discussion through Anti-Semitism. However, in this chapter I will not focus on this story again, since I chose to analyze the anti-Semitism issue in relationship to the historical context of the post-WWII rather than to the religious experience concept.



this chapter will show later. It is through the religious experience that some of the characters connect to each other.

Moreover, countercultural literature has been directly related to religious experience. All the scholars mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter discuss religious experience as a relevant part of countercultural works, especially in the beats' writings. Because of the relevance of religious experience in the beats' literature, as well as the relevance of the beats to the 1960s counterculture, religious experience became an inseparable theme to counterculture.

The term "beat" was coined by Herbert Hunckle as a reference to the hipsters "whose music was bop, [and] looked like criminals [and] talk[ed] about (...) long outlines of personal experience and vision, night-long confessions full of hope that had become illicit and repressed by War, stirrings, rumblings of a new soul (that same human soul)" (Kerouac, in Theado, 2001, 24). It is difficult to relate this meaning of the word "beat" presented by Hunckle to Salinger or to his works. However, when Jack Kerouac began to study Zen Buddhism, he incorporated one more meaning to the "beat" concept: beatific, as a reference to a spiritual joy<sup>98</sup>. Therefore, if there were a chance of relating Salinger to the "beat" concept, the way to go would be through the beatific meaning. Religious experience for the beats is as important as the beats are for counterculture. So, analyzing the religious experience in Salinger's Glass family stories shows that these narratives can be read through a countercultural perspective.

Bearing that in mind, it is relevant for this study to discuss religious experience in the Glass narratives since they provide a fruitful field for the subject, as well as it approximates Salinger's works to other countercultural works, such as the beat ones. The idea here is not to compare the experience of religion in the beat writers' works and in Salinger's ones, but rather to state that if religion is such an important

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<sup>98</sup> This is suggested by Robert McG. Thomas Jr., in his newspaper article "Herbert Hunckle, the hipster who defined 'Beat' dies at 81," who mentions Kerouac after Hunckle used the term 'beat', used as a reference to "beatific" (Thomas Jr., in Theado, 2001, 31). The use of the term beat as a reference to the countercultural writers was widening accordingly to the development of the beats' interests and works. Kerouac's interests on Eastern religious experience was developed after *On the Road*, so also after the term 'beat' was coined. Because of that, the term 'beat' encompasses some of the subjectivities this generation has such as the jazzy rhythm, the "bum" behavior, and the spiritual interest.

element for countercultural works, why not see Salinger's Glass family narratives – that provide such religious thoughts – as countercultural texts too?

So, regarding the beliefs of the Glass family members, a lot can be said since the stories give evidence of how each character deals with religion in their lives. Bessie Glass, the mother, is Catholic and Les Glass, the father, is Jew; Waker Glass became a priest, and Zooey is a Zen Buddhist; Franny's religious beliefs are in between Zen Buddhism and the Christian "Jesus Prayer" saying; Boo Boo's husband is Jew, but there is not enough evidence regarding Boo Boo's religious beliefs; Seymour and Buddy do not seem to believe in a single religion, but are loaded with existential thoughts that are, sometimes, explored through the theme of religion (Zen Buddhism and Christianity, mainly). The fragmentation of the family can be identified also by the theme of religion, since the characters' beliefs differ from each other. Because of this variety of discourses on religion, many scholars have analyzed the theme in the stories of the Glass family.

Howard Hasper, in the chapter "Salinger," in *Desperate Faith* (1972), analyzes some of the Glass family stories regarding the theme of religion. However, Hasper does not relate the religious experience in Salinger's stories to other countercultural texts. Hasper highlights the relevance of Zen for Seymour and Buddy, and religion as existential and philosophical backgrounds for the stories (1972, 61). According to Hasper, Buddy's philosophical approach as a narrator in some of the Glass family stories is similar to what Zen sustains, i.e., that the mystery of life can be seized only partially and intuitively (1972, 61). However, Hasper does not deepen the philosophical aspects neither in the Glass stories, nor in Zen's documents or sayings. Since Hasper's book has religion in the US literature as the main focus – including analysis of works by John Updike, Norman Mailer, Saul Bellow and James Baldwin – the chapter on Salinger is a little disappointing. It contains a general reading of some of his stories and few fragments of analysis on the issue of religion.

The issue of religion is also explored in *A study of the religion dimensions in the fiction of J.D. Salinger* (1976), a master thesis written by John Anthony Bishop, for the McMaster University. Bishop goes beyond the limited ideas of religion in Hasper's book and explores the multiple references that Salinger exposes within the Glass family plots:

Yet *Franny and Zooey* provides substantially more than a compendium of Vedantic thought; the

work also serves as a vehicle for ideas on Christianity and Zen Buddhism as well as Indian philosophy, while developing several themes such as love and alienation which were present in *The Catcher in the Rye*. (1976, 47)

For Bishop, the stories<sup>99</sup> *Franny and Zooey* are relevant for the study of religious experience in Salinger's Glass family stories, since more than one religion is taken into consideration by the characters; which also shows the diversity of religious experiences within the family. Bishop does not mention William James's study, neither he conceptualizes the meaning of the term "religious experience."<sup>100</sup> For Bishop, religion in the Glass family stories is portrayed as a human experience, since what matters in the stories is what is meaningful for each character (1976, 47-48). Because of that, the characters of the family do not have one specific religion, but on the contrary, they are constantly questioning and arguing about religions in general. Bishop also argues that, until the thesis publication, critics had shown some hostility to Salinger's references to Zen (1976, 48):

George Steiner charges him [Salinger] with "shoddy use of Zen," while Finkelstein feels the question hinges upon whether he is concerned with Zen as a coherent ideology, or a twentieth century religious cult. These approaches fail because of their narrow focus; Salinger's religious vision extends beyond Zen alone – he brings this vision to bear against the dominant problems of communication, alienation and lack of self-awareness. (1976, 48-49)

Bishop does present a perceptive perspective on how religion is used within Salinger's *oeuvre*, especially through the Glass family stories. For him, Zen is not brought into the stories because it is a religious trend of the second half of the twentieth century, as suggests

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<sup>99</sup> The plural here is used in order to point out that *Franny and Zooey* is a collection of one short story "Franny," and one novella "Zooey," as I will argue later in following section of this chapter.

<sup>100</sup> However, Bishop analyzes Lane's discourse in the story "Franny," when he approximates the idea of religious experience and psychology. I will later bring this issue up in this story analytical section in this chapter.

Finkelstein<sup>101</sup>. This is an argument to be held because even Salinger criticizes, in his story “Seymour: an introduction,” this kind of use of Zen in literature. Bishop argues consistently that in Salinger’s stories the issue of religion serves as a tool for the debate of other political and social issues of the US society. Even though not mentioning counterculture, Bishop’s argument that religious experience in Salinger’s stories serves as a tool for the debate of socio-political aspects of the US shows the relevance of it within such context.

In a more current study about the issue of religion in the US literature, Amy Hungerford, in *Postmodern Belief: American Literature and Religion since 1960* (2010), explains how the book *Franny and Zooey*<sup>102</sup> negotiates the relationship between words and God. Hungerford argues that the narrator of the story contradicts himself. She argues that *Franny and Zooey* is a religious story and that Salinger approaches the problem of doctrine (2010, 10). It is well said that Salinger, throughout the Glass family stories, problematizes doctrines within religions and finds in the individuals’ religious experiences a way out of it. Hungerford focuses on the US literature texts that present beliefs that do not emphasize doctrine<sup>103</sup>, but instead, ones that emphasize belief and meaninglessness<sup>104</sup>. Such literature, according to

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<sup>101</sup> Bishop mentions Finkelstein in order to counter-position his argument that Salinger’s stories “hinges upon whether [the author] is concerned with Zen as a coherent ideology, or a twentieth century religious cult.” (1976, 47).

<sup>102</sup> Hungerford understands *Franny and Zooey* as a novel, and not as two different novellas that, of course, complement each other – such as all the Glass stories do. Because of that, she constantly mentions the book as a novel or as story or narration. I, otherwise, understand them as separate stories, since they were first published separately in the literary magazine *The New Yorker*: “Franny,” published in 1955, and then “Zooey” (1957), as I will later develop in the analytical section of these stories. Moreover, it does not seem that the Glass family stories were coherently edited in volumes for the construction of novels, since the fragmented discourses are a relevant part of these narratives. It seems more coherent to me to consider them as separate stories that complement each other. Hungerford preconceives that the book is a novel, however neither mentioning the pre-publication of the stories in *The New Yorker* nor explaining her motives for considering them as a novel. But this is a detail out of the issue of religion.

<sup>103</sup>“(…) Institutional religion and its discourses of doctrine and theology” (2010, xiii).

<sup>104</sup> To define meaninglessness as a non-pejorative sense, Hungerford says: “My point, then, is not that certain religious beliefs or practices of others can be or

Hungerford, has roots in 19<sup>th</sup> century transcendentalism. However, US transcendentalists, like Emerson, saw in the belief without content<sup>105</sup> a way to criticize the institutional religion and their doctrines. On the other hand, Hungerford argues that, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, belief without content “becomes to hedge against the inescapable fact of pluralism” (2010, xiii). The pluralism mentioned by Hungerford is due to the “diversity of religious life in America, not to mention the world at large” (2010, 109).

The conception of the religious experience in the US literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> century given by Hungerford is not Christian-centered as the critic develops the argument based on the power of human speech and writing. In relation to *Franny and Zooey*, she argues that it is a religious narrative because of its dial tone and its sacred human performance. She mentions, then, the power of human speech in the stories; however, the stories also can be read as containing a religious experience through the power of writing, as I attempt to show in the analytical section of the stories. As Hungerford argues, writing, and the power of language, is not only a form of religious practice, but also the articulation of belief. I will borrow Hungerford’s theory on beliefs in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and use it in relation to the term “religious experience” because, for the scholar, the religious experience cannot happen without belief (2010, 26).

Hasper, Bishop, and Hungerford are important scholars who have developed a critique on Salinger’s Glass family stories as well as on the literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> century regarding the issue of religion. In these studies it was possible to notice that the religious experience in Salinger’s stories is constructed through many different religions, such a Catholicism, Zen Buddhism, Christianity, and Judaism. Following Hungerford’s argument, not only Salinger’s Glass family stories’ religious experiences are built afar from doctrine, i.e. built from belief

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should be understood as meaningless from an outsider’s point of view and in a pejorative sense – an idea with a long and shameful history in Western encounters with non-Western religion – or, indeed, that religion as such must be defined by those internal dispositions we understand, as a legacy of Protestant tradition, to qualify as ‘beliefs.’ (...) I am convinced that to live a belief in meaningfulness as that form of belief emerges in all its variousness in this book – to live it especially through the practice of writing and reading – is undoubtedly to live religiously” (2010, xv).

<sup>105</sup> According to Amy Hungerford, “Belief without content for Emerson — the experience of which he imagines, through the figure of the transparent eyeball, or the silent church — makes way for a critique of institutional religion and its discourse of doctrine and theology” (2010, xiii).

and meaninglessness, but also other works from the 20<sup>th</sup> century show the plurality of the US religion context. In light of these scholars' criticism on Salinger's stories and religion, it is clear that Salinger was not the only one to problematize the doctrine through religious experience during the post-WWII period.

Religion has been very much discussed by countercultural agents and, consequently, by scholars who develop critiques to their works. The canon of counterculture literature, the beats Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Jack Kerouac, discussed religion not only in their works, but also in their interviews and lectures, becoming known as diffusers of Zen Buddhism.

Most of the beat writers were living in the San Francisco Bay Area during the 1950s and studying Eastern religions and cultures. Gary Snyder and Gregory Corso were students of the University of California, Berkeley, where they attended courses about Asian cultures and religions. Their friends and city neighbors Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac were also interested and self-educated in the subject. Watts used to lecture in California and especially around the SF Bay Area. It is also relevant to mention that there is a grand Asian community in the SF Bay Area and, because of that, Asian cultures and religions are, in a certain way, more accessible.<sup>106</sup>

However, maybe the writer who is mostly known as being a Zen diffuser in the US is Alan Watts. In his preface to *The way of Zen* (1989), first published in 1957, he explains the popularity of Zen Buddhism in the US accordingly with their political context after the WWII.

During the past twenty years there has been an extraordinary growth of interest in Zen Buddhism. Since the Second World War this interest has increased so much that it seems to be becoming a considerable force in the intellectual and artistic world of the West. It is connected, no doubt, with the prevalent enthusiasm for Japanese culture which is one of the constructive results of the late war, but which may amount to no more than a passing fashion. The deeper reason for this interest is that the viewpoint of Zen lies so close

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<sup>106</sup> In the appendix chapter of this dissertation there is a more deep discussion also on the protests of the Asian community – specially through the students – of the SF Bay Area and the relevance of them for the understanding of the counterculture perspective.

to the “growing edge” of Western thought. (1989, vii)

Watts had access to Zen through D.T. Suzuki’s translation from Japanese to English of his books about Zen.<sup>107</sup> The beats’ first contact with Zen, on the other hand, was through Watts’ lectures and not by D.T. Suzuki’s books. However, according to Theodore Roszak, in *The Making of a Counter Culture* (1972), what the beats spread about Zen in the Western culture had little to do with what Watts and Suzuki had done before (1972, 142). Roszak writes that the beats’ works oversimplified Zen and diffused it in a vulgar way, in contrast to what Watts and Suzuki had done to it. Roszak, Watts and Suzuki developed a radical criticism of the scientific conventions of men versus nature, whereas the beats developed a massive youth rejection of materialism and machinery. In this sense, the beats appropriated Zen philosophy in order to criticize and reject the US industrial complex through it. Then, for Roszak, the beats expressed their search for Eastern philosophy as an inspiration for the ideal of freedom they expected for the US individuals of the 1960s (1972, 142-143).

Differently from the beats, who wrote about the Zen and spoke about the religious experiences they had, Alan Watts asserts in the preface of *The Way of Zen* that he does not intend to appropriate Zen from the East to the West.

I am not in favor of “importing” Zen from the Far East, for it has become deeply involved with cultural institutions which are quite foreign to us. But there is no doubt that there are things which we can learn, or unlearn, from it and apply in our own way. It has the special merit of a mode of expressing itself which is as intelligible – or perhaps as baffling – to the intellectual as to the illiterate, offering possibilities of communication which we have not explored. But above all it has a way of being able to turn one’s mind inside out, and dissolving what seemed to be the most oppressive human problems (...). (1989, viii)

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<sup>107</sup> Some of his books published in English are *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (1927), *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (1934), and *Manual of Zen Buddhism* (1934).

By writing that he is not in favor of importing Zen to Western culture, Watts acknowledges that there will always be certain specificities in Zen that will be foreign to him. A form of acknowledging the impossibilities of appropriations from one culture to another is when Watts defines what Zen Buddhism is. Commonly described as a spiritual or a religious experience, Watts affirms that:

Zen Buddhism is a way and a view of life which does not belong to any of the formal categories of modern Western thought. It is not religion or philosophy; it is not a psychology or a type of science. It is an example of what is known in India and China as a “way of liberation,” and is similar in this respect to Taoism, Vedanta, and Yoga. As it will soon be obvious, a way of liberation can have no positive definition. It has to be suggested by saying what it is not, somewhat as a sculptor reveals an image by the act of removing pieces of stone from a block. (1989, 3)

The impossibility of describing Zen Buddhism into Western culture is one of the reasons why Watts does not intend to “import” it. He sees it as a way that can be learned by Westerners in order to free — or unlearn — unnecessary, unpleasant or destructive thoughts. Roszak, on the other hand, affirms that the beats do not have the same awareness regarding the appropriation of Zen. However, at the same time, the beats used Zen for the construction of their criticism upon the US reality in the long 1960s — and for part of the US youth’s (1972, 143). It is through the Zen experience that the beat writers could reach satori<sup>108</sup>, and find the liberating enlightenment, as Roszak affirms (1972, 136-137), or “the way of liberation,” as Watts defines. In the 1960s counterculture, the appropriation of Zen Buddhism served for the beats as a way to reach freedom of mind — similarly to what they used to look for in hallucinogens.

Amy Hungerford argues that Ginsberg’s — “the figure who defined Beat poetry” (2010, 28) — sixteen-month stay in India for spiritual experience in 1963 turned his poetry into a spiritual practice

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<sup>108</sup> Satori is defined by Alan Watts, in *The Way of Zen*, as being “the Zen experience of ‘awakening’” (1989, 22). The ‘awakening’ Watts refers to is a moment of comprehension.



(2010, 28). For Hungerford, Ginsberg had become a “spiritual leader” for counterculture by the end of the 1960s.

Similarly to countercultural agents, Salinger shows through the Glass family stories that he is also concerned with religions, beliefs, and religious experiences. In “Zooney,” Buddy borrows the definition of knowledge and no knowledge from D.T. Suzuki’s explanations about Zen<sup>109</sup>. These two concepts, knowledge and no knowledge, are very relevant for the Glasses narratives, since Seymour, Buddy, Zooney, and Franny seem to be aware of the concepts and make use of them in their lives<sup>110</sup>. As it will be shown in the analysis of *Franny and Zooney*, Franny is in constant pursuit of religious experience, but she does not know exactly how. These Glass characters are concerned with religious knowledge — as it will be demonstrated in the following analysis —, since they have already lost their innocence<sup>111</sup>. They are concerned with the knowledge and the communal life, since they are aware of their lost innocence. Suzuki explains the difference between Zen’s knowledge, loss of innocence, and no knowledge, emptiness.

To sum up, in terms of the counterculture canon, Zen Buddhism is *the* “religion” mostly discussed by countercultural agents and by scholars. However, other Eastern religions and even Christian ones can also be related to counterculture, in a minor scale. It is relevant to mention that, even though many scholars have worked with the issue of religion in Salinger’s Glass family stories, none of the ones researched for the study of this dissertation mentions it as being part of a countercultural way of thinking the 1960s US reality. Although there is a gap when reading critical texts about Zen in literature of the US and about Salinger’s works, it is possible to understand religion in Salinger’s Glass family stories as a way to think the US context of the long 1960s.

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<sup>109</sup> As before mentioned, “Knowledge and Wisdom” is a transcription of a lecture D.T. Suzuki gave for a Western audience, as he mentions. This text is part of the book *Selected works of D.T. Suzuki, volume 3: Comparative Religion* (2016).

<sup>110</sup> Buddy quotes Suzuki’s understanding of both concepts in a letter sent to Zooney, that is part of the narrative “Zooney.” Buddy says in this letter that Seymour used to have the same opinion in relation to those concepts, i.e., he used to rely on them, and Zooney tries to explain that to Franny with his own words in the end of the narrative (“Zooney,” 1991, 65).

<sup>111</sup> The relationship between Suzuki’s conceptualization of innocence and knowledge can be read in the introductory text of the first analytical chapter.

## 5.1 “Franny” (1955)

*Franny and Zooey*, the book, was first published in 1961. There are some scholars, such as Amy Hungerford, who consider the two stories as chapters of the same novel. However, most of the scholars who study Salinger’s works consider *Franny and Zooey* as a book that contains two separate stories. Even though these narratives dialogue with each other — the same way that all the Glass family stories do — they present different data about the family, one contradicting the other. So, at the same time that both stories can be understood as being apart, sometimes they work as a mirror to each other, in order to present a balance of contradictory memories of the family. Because of I understand that *Franny and Zooey* is a book composed by two stories, I will present the analysis of these narratives in two different sections, first this one about “Franny,” and the following one about “Zooey.”

“Franny” was first published in the literary magazine *The New Yorker* in 1955. In terms of length, this story differs from the other Glass family ones: it is not as short as the ones published in the book *Nine Stories*, and not as long as “Zooey,” “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” “Seymour: an introduction,” and “Hapworth 16, 1924.” It can be considered a novella, for its forty-four pages of the pocket book version, or a modern short story by its open ending. I will argue that this is a short story, basing my argument on Ricardo Piglia’s thesis on the modern short stories<sup>112</sup>.

In terms of narration, “Franny” is told by a third person narrator that is not omniscient, similarly to the stories of the family published in *Nine Stories*. The narrator starts the story describing the setting and the people around Lane Coutell. As well as the others around him (1991, 3), Lane is waiting for his date — Franny — in a train station. She is meeting Lane to spend the weekend with him around the University of Yale campus, for the big event — the Yale game weekend. The narrator describes Lane as belonging to the group of unknown boys (in the station waiting for their dates to arrive), but somewhat distinguished from them. While Lane is waiting for Franny to arrive, the narrator

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<sup>112</sup> Piglia’s theory about the modern short story in *Formas Breves* was already mentioned in this dissertation. Piglia bases his theory on Ernest Hemingway’s iceberg theory, as well as on his fellow countryman Jorge Luis Borges’s works. For Piglia, the modern short story always tells two stories, in which the hidden one is the key for its form. Moreover, and more importantly to read “Franny,” the modern short story contains an open ending (2000, 108).

informs the reader that Lane has a letter in his pocket sent by Franny. The reader accesses the letter immediately and, because of its content, also first accesses Franny's insecurity about her intellect in comparison to Lane's. Moreover, the letter shows that Franny seems to be concerned with Lane's judgment on her thoughts and on her writing.

Franny and Lane, then, meet at the station and go to a restaurant, where they talk about amenities. The narrator describes Lane as monopolizing the conversation by talking about his literature classes and his classmates at Yale. Franny seems to be disinterested and sort of irritated when she says that Lane has been talking like a section man. After a while, Franny tells Lane she has felt destructive all week (1991, 15), which Lane replies by saying that this was not perceptible in her sent letter. Franny argues that she is tired of pedants, and they start talking about the intellectual world. Franny seems to have a nervous breakdown at this point of the narrative. When Lane asks if she feels alright, she says she will be right back, while Lane keeps at their restaurant table. Then, there is a break in the narrative.

The narrator goes with Franny to the ladies room of the restaurant where she cries alone and briefly reads silently a passage of a book she was carrying in her handbag. Then, feeling a little calmer, she leaves the room. When she gets at the table, she apologizes to Lane. He talks about ordering food, but Franny gets annoyed because she does not want to order any food. Lane orders his food, and after awhile, the food arrives and he starts eating his snails. Meanwhile, he asks about how Franny's theatre lessons are. She says she quit because she was feeling like an egomaniac (1991, 28). When Lane says she is sweating, she gets her handbag to the table level to get her handkerchief. After that, Lane asks her "What's the book?" (1991, 31). Then, there is a paragraph break, which creates a tone of suspense to Franny's answer.

Then, Franny gets nervous and literally jumps, as if she did not want Lane to know she was reading that book. After avoiding the conversation about the book, Franny explains to Lane she does not know what the book is about exactly, and that it is primarily a religious book (1991, 33). While she talks about the book, Lane does not give her much attention: he asks her to hold on because he is busy eating his frogs' legs. From hesitation to passion, Franny starts talking about the book, the Jesus Prayer, faith, Buddhism, God, Hinduism, religion and religious experience in general, to which Lane does not give much attention. After she stands up again, Lane follows her. He notices she does not feel all right, but she denies it. She walks to the dining room, sees a cocktail bar and suddenly faints on the floor.

In the last section of the book — the shortest one — Franny wakes up on a couch in the restaurant’s manager’s office, with Lane beside her. He says he was worried about her, asks if she is fine. She asks him some questions about what happened, and if they still have time to go to the game. Lane replies by saying they are going to his room in order to rest, and that the game does not matter. After that, Lane says he will get out of the room to get Franny some water and call a cab. The story ends with Franny saying OK to Lane, who leaves the room. Franny keeps looking at the ceiling and whispering soundless words.

It is possible to analyze “Franny” regarding the issue of religious experience. But before analyzing the narrative through a perspective of the religious experience, it is important to understand Franny as a character, and how the narrator in the story portrays her. The first contact the reader has with Franny is through her letter sent to her boyfriend Lane. The epistolary genre as part of this narrative approximates Franny to the reader, even before the narrator introduces her physically in the train station. The letter creates an effect of knowing Franny through her own words, which is a technique used in some of the Glasses narratives.

The letter shows that she is too concerned with Lane’s opinion about what she is writing. Franny is insecure about her intellectual abilities, and sees Lane in the position of a person who is intellectually superior.

Dearest Lane,  
 I have no idea if you will be able to decipher this as the noise in the dorm is absolutely incredible tonight and I can hardly hear myself think. So if I spell anything wrong kindly have the kindness to overlook it. Incidentally I’ve taken your advice and resorted to the dictionary a lot lately, so if it cramps in style your to blame. (...) P.P.S. I sound so unintelligent and dimwitted when I write to you. Why? I give you my permission to analyze it. Let’s just try to have a marvelous time this weekend. I mean not try to analyze everything to death for once, if possible, especially me. I love you. (1991, 6)

In this excerpt of the letter, Franny seems to ask for acceptance. It also shows that both are concerned with intellectuality. The reader will know later that Lane is an undergraduate student at Yale, and Franny is an English major undergraduate student in a college, and she

is a theater actress that has recently quit it. The reader, then, notices that they both have similar interests on the intellectual world of literature, theater, philosophy, etc. By reading Franny's letter, it seems that she is in love with Lane, as well as in love with the intellectual world they both share in conversations. However, by the time Franny arrives at the station and goes to the restaurant with Lane, she complains that she has been feeling awful the whole week. Franny is in conflict with her life and, therefore, with her relationship.

Franny demonstrates to be discontent with her life and with the people who surround her. She constantly says that she is tired of egocentric people and that she even quit her theater plans because she could not handle living beside egocentric people. She even considers quitting her English major studies.

"I'm just so sick of pedants and conceited little tearer-downers I could scream." She looked at Lane. "I'm sorry. I'll stop. I give you my word...It's just that if I'd had any guts at all, I wouldn't have gone back to college at all this year. I don't know. I mean it's all the most incredible farce." (1991, 17)

This brief excerpt of the conversation between Franny and Lane shows that she has been feeling tired of the world she has been sharing with him: the academic and intellectual world. Throughout the narrative, they talk about the intellectual world they live, but Lane passionately and Franny tired of it. The paradox the characters present in the narrative about the intellectual world can be understood as a reflex of the historical moment the US was passing through: the liberals against the conservatives, a consequence of McCarthyism as a result of the Cold War. Lane represents a conservative intellectual, whereas Franny looks forward for a liberal conceptualization of art and life.

"You've got two of the best man in the country in your goddam English Department. Manlius. Esposito. God, I wish we had them *here*. At least, they're poets, for Chrissake." "They're not," Franny said. "That's partly what's so awful. I mean they're not *real* poets. They're just people that write poems that get published and anthologized all over the place, but they're not *poets*." (...) "I'm just interested in finding out

what the hell goes. I mean do you have to be a goddam bohemian type, or *dead*, for Chrissake, to be a *real poet*? What do you want – some bastard with wavy hair?” “No. Can’t we let it go? Please. I’m feeling absolutely lousy, and I’m getting a terrible –“ “I’d be very happy to drop the whole subject – I’d be delighted. Just tell me first what a *real poet* is, if you don’t mind. I’d appreciate it I really would.”(1991, 18-19)

For Franny, being a poet — or an artist — is beyond academicism. A real poet would not be a section man, i.e., a person who works closely to a professor — like a graduate student, as she says. It is clear that for Franny the academic world ruins the *real* artistic world, whereas the behind the stage talk ruins her work as an actress. Art, for Franny, is beyond intellectualism. Therefore, she cannot see professors being poets, as well as she cannot see herself as being an actress. Franny has a conflict between what she is and what she expects life to be. She gives evidence to Lane about her feelings: every time they talk about the intellectual world she feels sick. It is a way to demonstrate her feelings about what Warren French calls the “square” world<sup>113</sup>. After having this argument with Lane, about what a real poet is, the reader knows, through the narrator’s point of view, that Franny feels sick:

There was a faint glisten of perspiration high on Franny’s forehead. It might only have meant that the room was too warm, or that her stomach was upset (...) “I don’t *know* what a real poet is. I wish you’d *stop* it, Lane. I’m serious. I’m feeling very peculiar and funny, and I can’t –“ “All right, all right – O.K. Relax,” Lane said. “I was only trying –“ “I know this much, is all,” Franny said. “If you are a poet, you do something beautiful. I mean you’re supposed to *leave* something beautiful after you get off the page and everything. The ones you’re talking about don’t leave a single, solitary thing beautiful. All that maybe the slightly better ones do is sort of get inside your head and leave *something* there, but just because they *do*, just because they know how

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<sup>113</sup> French defines that in almost all Salinger’s stories there is a separation between the “square world” and the “good world” (1966, 34-44).

to leave *something*, it doesn't have to be a *poem*, for heaven's sake. It may just be some kind of terribly fascinating, syntax *droppings* – excuse the expression. Like Manlius and Esposito and all those poor men.” (1991, 19-20)

Franny feels sick because she cannot deal with the real world, and because the content of the argument she has with Lane — about what a real poet is — is the kind of academicism she has been criticizing. Moreover, Franny finally defines why she does not consider her professors poets. For her, they have the knowledge of what a poem is, but they do not have the spirit of a poet. The academic world, as well as the theater world behind the curtains, for Franny is empty. There is certainly knowledge, in her opinion, but that does not mean anything if empty of spirituality. However, Franny cannot find a definition for what she has been feeling, and she can only rebel against what she is contrary to. So she quits theater, and almost quits college.

Lane, on the other hand, does not agree with Franny, and even does not notice her almost-faint moments while they talk. He is too busy trying to talk about his academic achievements, trying to prove his point of view or even to have his meal. And the narrator is the key to show to the reader how Lane is too involved with himself. This is also a component of why Franny feels terribly sick during their conversation, since she criticizes egocentric people around her, and at the same time, has to deal with an egocentric boyfriend in front of her.

Lane can be understood as an alienated character, similarly to Muriel in “A perfect day for bananafish.” Muriel, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is alienated from the outside world, being kept in between the wall of a good hotel room. She is comfortable in it, busy with her own personal concerns and does not perceive her husband's, Seymour, emotional breakdown. She is so focused on her inner world that she does not even agree with her mother when she tells that Seymour may have a nervous breakdown anytime during the trip in Florida. For Muriel, everything is fine. In “Franny,” the same situation happens: Lane is so busy with his academic world that he cannot perceive how Franny is actually feeling. In the case of “Franny,” there is not a specific character who would tell Lane that Franny is not feeling well — such as Muriel's mother tells her in “A perfect day for

bananafish.” On the other hand, Franny herself continuously tells her boyfriend that she has been feeling a little “funny” all week long<sup>114</sup>.

Lane’s alienation regarding the world around him is one of the things that upset Franny, since she often considers people too egocentric. She even considers herself egocentric, and that is one of the reasons why she quits theatre. Although Franny does not explicitly tell Lane that she thinks he is an egocentric person, she demonstrates her dissatisfaction with his talking either by saying he is looking like a section man or by her body language and gestures while he talks to her.

The narrator unmaskes the characters’ thoughts by accessing their minds — as an omniscient narrator would do; however, the reader also accesses the characters’ comfort, discomfort, excitement or indifference by their gestures and behaviors while they are talking to each other. This enables the reader to know, for example, that Lane does not pay attention to Franny when she is talking, especially about her new reading of *The Way of a Pilgrim*. While she is talking excitedly, Lane keeps worried about his meal — either about ordering it or about having his meat fiercely.

“You haven’t touched your goddam sandwich,” Lane said suddenly. “You know that?” Franny looked down at her plate as if it had just been placed before her. “I will in a minute,” she said. She sat still for a moment holding her cigarette, but without dragging on it, in her left hand, and with her right hand fixed tensely around the base of glass of milk. “Do you want to hear what the staretts told him about? she asked. “It’s really sort of interesting, in a way.” Lane cut into his last pair of frogs’ legs. He nodded. “Sure,” he said. “Sure.” (1991, 36)

Lane, as a Yale student, does not pay attention to what Franny is saying about her religious book, which has given her strength to move on in her life apart from what she has been feeling. Since Franny’s letter — in the first pages of the story — it seems that Lane is an intellectually superior character in comparison to Franny. The narrative shows that sometimes Franny asks writing advices for Lane, as well as that she apologizes all the time for unexceptional things she does during their

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<sup>114</sup> Funny is the same adjective Mrs. Fedder, Muriel’s mother, uses to describe Seymour’s behavior.



conversation. Moreover, she hesitates to tell Lane that she was reading a religious book, as if he would judge her. The relationship girlfriend-boyfriend is constructed in a way that Franny feels inferior to Lane. The way he talks about himself — as if he were the best — and the way he does not pay attention to her arguments or the things she is excited about — as if they were too silly to waste his time — shows that Lane contributes to Franny’s nervous breakdown. And Franny tries to enunciate to Lane about her not feeling well, but he ignores it too.

Because of Franny’s dissatisfaction with the intellectual world, as well as to egocentric people that live around her — such as Lane — she connects with the religious book *The Way of a Pilgrim*. It is her way to reconnect to life and others around her. She tells Lane that this is a book she took from the library because “this man that teaches this Religion Survey thing I’m taking this term mentioned it” (1991, 32). At first, Franny does not show to Lane how excited she is with the book, as if not willing to show Lane how silly she was (because she thought that this was what he would think of her).

“I don’t know. It’s peculiar. I mean it’s primarily a religious book. In a way, I suppose you could say it’s terribly fanatical, but in a way it isn’t. I mean it starts out with this peasant – the pilgrim – wanting to find out what it means in the Bible when it says you should pray incessantly. You know. Without stopping. In Thessalonians or someplace. So he starts out walking all over Russia, looking for somebody who can tell him *how* to pray incessantly. And what you should say if you do.” Franny seemed intensely interested in the way Lane was dismembering his frogs’ legs. Her eyes remained fixed on his plate as she spoke. “All he carries with him is this knapsack filled with bread and salt. The he meets this person called a starets – some sort of terribly advanced religious person – and the starets tells him about a book called the ‘Philokalia.’ Which apparently was written by a group of terribly advanced monks who sort of advocated this really incredible method of praying.” (1991, 33-34)

Franny keeps talking about the book while Lane is eating his meal. Her passion about it is demonstrated by the way she talks compulsively. Moreover, she encounters the pilgrim while

wandering across Russia are grounded on religious and mystical experience, whereas people who despise spirituality surround the encounters that Franny has in her life. Her conversation with Lane about ‘what a poet is’ represents the lack of spirituality that she understands that “section men” have when writing poetry. For Franny, poetry is a spiritual experience while for Lane poetry is an intellectual work. In this sense, Franny’s conception of poetry is closer to the Romanticist presuppositions of what poetry is— spontaneous, mystical, and bohemian, etc.

It is relevant to mention that in 1955 — when “Franny” was first published in *The New Yorker* — Allen Ginsberg wrote the poem “Howl” in Berkeley, that was later in the first edition of the book *Howl and other poems* (1956), published by the City Lights Booksellers & Publishers, from San Francisco. Ginsberg is considered *the* poet of the beat generation and, perhaps, the one who has been studied in connection to the Romanticism form<sup>115</sup>. Needless to mention that the US modernism emerged between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and for not following it completely, Ginsberg’s poetry raised a polarity of having a romanticist background in a modernist time. Bearing that in mind, it is possible to understand “Franny” as a narrative that also raises the debate between what is the role of poetry in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, Franny is more concerned with the mystical experience a poet has to have with their poetry, differently from Lane who is more concerned with the process of writing and the awareness of the process.

Besides the discussion regarding mysticism and poetry, “Franny” is a story in which the main character asks for help. It is not casually that Franny asks for help for Lane — her boyfriend that represents everything that has been making her sick of the world: egocentrism. This relationship makes her feel even sicker, and she cannot find in Lane the help she looks for. Differently from “Down at the dinghy,” for example, where Lionel finds exactly the help he needs in his mother Boo Boo. In “Franny,” the main character can only feel better through the whispering of the “Jesus Prayer” sayings. But when returning to the table and meeting her boyfriend Lane again she faces everything she hates in the world, and after a while she collapses and faints. This shows that the whispering of the prayer in *The way of a Pilgrim* enables her to free herself from the actual world she lives in. By

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<sup>115</sup> Ginsberg’s poetry has many references to the Romantic poets Walt Whitman and William Blake, who he considered his mentors.

repeating the “Jesus Prayer,” she empties her mind and can move on. However, when she stops the repetition and faces reality again, she collapses.

Franny is not feeling well, and because of that she is in search for a spiritual connection to God. However, she does not know exactly what she is doing by repeating the “Jesus Prayer.” She believes that by repeating the prayer she will have the result, which is to see God.

“(…) I mean all these really advanced and absolutely unbogus religious persons that keep telling you if you repeat the name of God incessantly, something *happens*. Even in India. In India, they tell you to meditate on the ‘Om,’ which means the same thing, really, and the exact same result is supposed to happen. So I mean you can’t just rationalize it away without even — “What *is* the result?” Lane said shortly. “What?” (…) “You get to see God. Something happens in some absolutely nonphysical part of the heart — where the Hindus say that Atman resides, if you ever took any Religion — and you see God, that’s all.” (1991, 39)

Franny does not reach the religious experience she wants to. She is looking for something different to happen after she repeats the prayer. She believes that by praying she will have a religious experience. She also believes that such religious experience — her vision of God — will help her to deal with her life. Moreover, the religious references she mentions while talking to Lane show that she is also a Glass sibling who is very concerned about religion<sup>116</sup>. Moreover, when Lane replies to Franny’s explanation about the result of saying the prayer he says that this is a religious experience.

“Well, it’s interesting, anyway. All that stuff... I don’t think you leave any margin for the most elementary *psychology*. I mean I think all those religious experiences have a very obvious psychological background — you know what I mean... It’s interesting, though. I mean you can’t deny that.” (1991, 40)

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<sup>116</sup> In the analysis of the following stories I will show the relevance of religion to Zooley, Buddy, and Seymour.

Lane considers the “result” of the prayer, i.e. seeing God, a religious experience. Similarly to what James Williams and Alan Watts have argued about the religious experience, Lane also sees it as the psychology of the religion or, in other terms, the individualization of religion. Lane means that the one who achieves the “result” of seeing God will actually experience an individual religious moment. However, it seems that Lane diminishes the religious experience to Franny, as well as says that it has *obvious* psychological background, as if Franny was not as intelligent as him to perceive it. Franny searches for a religious experience because she is struggling, but she not necessarily theorizes about it, as her other brothers used to do. After Lane’s reply, Franny excuses herself to leave the table, and she faints on her way to the restroom.

The search for the religious experience in “Franny” works as a mean to escape from her reality and struggles. It can be compared with Seymour’s suicide, Eloise’s drinking, or Lionel’s runaways: all of them are ways to escape reality, but none of them are effective in changing the reality. The characters are struggling in the stories, but they do not necessarily have the love and compassion they need. Franny does not receive the love and compassion from Lane. He loves Franny without compassion, and, because of that, does not notice exactly what she needs. It is in the story “Zooney” that Franny will find the love and compassion she needed and understand the religious experience differently.

## 5.2 “Zooney” (1957)

The novella “Zooney” was first published in *The New Yorker* on May 4<sup>th</sup> 1957, two years after “Franny.” Then, in 1961, it was published as part of the book *Franny and Zooney*. In “Zooney,” the Glass sibling Buddy is the narrator and tells his family stories for the first time<sup>117</sup>. Buddy is a literature professor and a writer, besides being the closest brother to Seymour. His narration style is as peculiar as the Glass characters, and it is very recognizable. Buddy presents an existentialist stream of consciousness, in which he tells not only the action of the main characters, but also his considerations about them. It is in this

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<sup>117</sup> He is also the narrator of “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters,” and “Seymour: an introduction.” He is also the fictional writer of a small introductory text to the story “Hapworth 16, 1924.”

story that there is an “official” presentation of the family as a whole, since the narrators from the previous stories analyzed do not connect neither the stories of the family or the characters to each other. Right in the beginning of the narrative, Buddy introduces to the reader the context of the story he will tell.

One last advisory word: Our family’s surname is Glass. In just a moment, the youngest Glass boy will be seen reading an exceedingly lengthy letter (which will be reprinted here *in full*, I can safely promise) sent to him by his eldest living brother, Buddy Glass. The style of the letter, I’m told, bears a considerably more than passing resemblance to the style, or written mannerisms, of this narrator, and the general reader will no doubt jump to the heady conclusion that the writer of the letter and I are one and the same person. Jump he will, and, I’m afraid, jump he should. We will, however, leave this Buddy Glass in the third person from here on in. At least, I see no good reason to take him out of it. (1991, 50)

The different narration style is one of the reasons why I particularly do not see “Franny” and “Zooney” as a singular story, as a novel. The content of the story itself can be understood as a continuation of Franny’s religious experience pursuit after her nervous breakdown. Similarly to Franny, Zooney is also an actor who lives in New York City. Buddy describes the story he narrates as a “prose home movie” (1991, 47) and Franny and Zooney as the leading players of it. The setting of the story — the apartment of the family — gives to the story a sense of confinement. Similarly to the previous story, in which the characters are most of the time at a restaurant, in “Zooney,” the minimalist setting gives the impression that this could be a play acted in the theatre<sup>118</sup>.

In the beginning of the story, Buddy narrates — in third person — that Zooney is in the family’s apartment bathroom, specifically in the

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<sup>118</sup> Amy Hungerford has affirmed that in the online class “JD Salinger: Franny and Zooney,” from the Yale University’s course “The American Novel since 1945 (ENG 291).” Available on: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=toql5jGSDBU>. Moreover, Kenneth Slawenski, in the biography *J.D. Salinger: A life*, says that Salinger used to have the ambition to be a playwright (2010, 34).

bathub, reading a four-year old letter sent by Buddy. In this old letter sent to Zooley, Buddy apologizes to for the religious and spiritual lessons he and Seymour had given to Zooley and Franny when they were children. He explains that their idea was to inform both that the most important thing in life is not having knowledge, but having no-knowledge. After Zooley rereads this letter in the bathtub, he starts reading a typewritten manuscript there<sup>119</sup>. While he is reading, his mother suddenly interrupts him, knocking on the door to ask if she may come in. Zooley then closes the curtain and allows her to come in. Bessie, the mother, asks Zooley if he has spoken to Franny, to which he replies that he talked to her the night before. She also complains about him staying too long in the bathroom, as well as about Buddy not having a telephone at home. Zooley gets annoyed about his mother's conversation, but she continues it. She says that she is worried about Franny, since she does not stop crying. They also remember Seymour and Walt, the latter being remembered by Bessie as the only cheerful son she had. Then, after Zooley insistently asks her to leave, she gets out of the bathroom and Zooley starts shaving. Bessie, then, comes in again to ask Zooley what he thinks about asking Waker – the twin brother of Walt who became a priest – to talk to Franny. To which Bessie replies by saying that Waker is too sentimental. She also says that Lane is worried about Franny, which Zooley replies by saying that he is a fake, who tells Franny's problem is due to the book —*The way of a Pilgrim*— one that she got from Seymour's bedroom<sup>120</sup>. The conversation in the bathroom continues and Zooley says he is tired of talking about Seymour and Buddy all the time. He also explains to his mother the content of the book Franny has been reading, and the "Jesus Prayer." She, then, asks about calling a psychiatrist for Franny, which Zooley replies angrily disagreeing with her. Bessie then leaves the bathroom.

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<sup>119</sup> The reader has access to the typewritten manuscript. The excerpt shown gives evidence that this is a play about a love story between Rick and Tina. The narrator says that Rick's lines are "heavily underlined," (1991, 71) inferring that Zooley was the actor who plays the role of Rick in some theater.

<sup>120</sup> This information contradicts the one in "Franny." She says to Lane that she borrowed the book in a library, whereas "Zooley," through Buddy's narration, says she got it from their oldest brother bedroom. This, and some other information in other stories, raises the issue of Buddy being an unreliable narrator. This is not specifically the focus of this dissertation. However, in the analysis of the story "Hapworth 16, 1924" I will point out more evidence of that and suggest studies that are concerned specifically with this matter in the Glass family stories.

Then, there is a paragraph gap and the narrator introduces the living room of the Glasses apartment, where Franny is laid down sleeping on the couch. The room has on its walls pictures of the Glass as children when they starred the radio show “It’s a wise child.” After the description of it, Zooley enters the room — “almost direct from the bathroom” (1991, 124) — and wakes up Franny. She tells Zooley a nightmare she was having. Franny talks about her religion professor, and they talk about acting, etc. Then, she remembers the day before she had with Lane Coutell (the one presented in the story “Franny”). The conversation continues, and Zooley complains about the phoniness and ego of the television world, similarly to Franny’s complaints about the academic world. However, for Zooley not all the egos are bad, there are some good ones who allow creativity to happen. Moreover, Zooley criticizes Franny by saying that she does not understand Jesus and says that he understands that man and God are all the same. Franny sobs a lot to which Zooley apologizes.

Zooley, then, leaves the living room and goes to Seymour and Buddy’s old bedroom, where he takes a look at notes, books and the room in general. After closing the door of his eldest brothers’ old bedroom, he reads many “gorgeous-looking columns of quotations from a variety of the world’s literature” (1991, 176)<sup>121</sup>. Then, he sees a cardboard that “had been written on in February, 1938” (1991, 177) with Seymour’s handwriting. The reader has access to both the quotations and Seymour’s cardboard. Before Zooley finishes the reading he stops and goes to Buddy’s desk. He, then, decides to call to the main number of the apartment from his brothers’ bedroom telephone.

Bessie, who was trying to comfort Franny offering her — insistently — chicken broth, answers the telephone. Zooley, then, pretends to be Buddy willing to talk to Franny. Bessie believes it, and gives the telephone to Franny, who picks it up, thinking it is Buddy on the line. “Buddy” asks her how she is and soon Franny notices the person on the telephone is not Buddy, but Zooley. He says he is calling to tell her that if she wants to continue with the Jesus Prayer saying, she should. Zooley, then, tells her the anecdote of the Fat Lady<sup>122</sup> and Franny says that Seymour used to tell her the same story. Zooley finishes the

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<sup>121</sup> The quotations Zooley reads are by authors such as Marcus Aurelius, Issa, Epictetus, (Jean Pierr) De Caussade, Kafka, and Mu-Mon-Kwan, and from books such as *Anna Karenina*, *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna*.

<sup>122</sup> Seymour used to tell Zooley when they were radio stars to shine very well his shoes for the Fat Lady.

conversation by saying that the Fat Lady is a representation of Jesus Christ. After that, they hang up the telephone and Franny feels fine, comfortably lying down on the couch looking at the ceiling with a smile on her face.

“Zooney” tells the story of how Franny’s struggles are eased directly by her brother Zooney, and indirectly by her brothers Buddy and Seymour. In the beginning of the story, Buddy, as the narrator, says that Zooney thinks this is a religious story, whereas he — Buddy — thinks it is a love story between siblings (1991, 49). The contradiction of arguments about the theme of the story brings the evidence that the story may be both a love and a religious story. Similarly to Seymour and Lionel, Franny is also a Glass character that is struggling due to the fact that she does not trust anyone from the adult world. She is a character who lost her innocence and that can perceive the “phoniness” of adulthood. In the story “Franny,” she does not receive the necessary empathy and love from Lane, who is alienated, and very amused, with his adult Yale world. On the other hand, in “Zooney,” Franny receives Zooney’s love and compassion directly, through Seymour and Buddy’s indirect notions of the religious experience. Because of that, I argue that this is both a love and a religious story, similarly to Amy Hungerford.

Amy Hungerford, in *Postmodern belief* (2010), argues that this is a religious story because of its divine dial tone — in reference to the telephone call Zooney makes to Franny — and its performance of the sacred human speech, showed in the family’s private language, and the inventive languages of art (2010, 14). Hungerford’s comprehension of the story — that she reads together with “Franny” — frames it as a religious story, contradicting Buddy, who says it is a love story.

When I make this claim about the centrality of the novel’s religious concerns, it should be said that I am contradicting the narrator, who insists that the plot does not hinge “on religious mystification” and that it “isn’t a mystical story” at all, but “a compound, or multiple, love story.” I will show how Salinger ensures that his is a religious story in the face of his narrator’s insistence that it isn’t one; indeed, the novel’s simultaneous denial and assertion of religious meaning is the first hint as to how Salinger will approach the problem of doctrine. (2010, 10)



Hungerford's argument that this is a religious story also raises the fact that Buddy is an unreliable narrator. Then, I will borrow Hungerford's argument that this is a religious story. However, this is also a brotherly love story, in which Zoey understands that Franny's religious experience pursuit is empty with wisdom. Franny does not know exactly what she has been doing by repeating the Jesus Prayer. For her, repeating the prayer will take her to have a religious experience — to see God.

In the story, Zoey criticizes Franny because she over repeats the Jesus Prayer, meaninglessly to “acquire wisdom” (2010, 10), as Hungerford writes. That is exactly what Zoey criticizes in religious experience: “Zoey's ensuing monologue, delivered over the phone to the still-snuffing Franny, solves the tension between syncretism and specificity, between wisdom and non-knowledge, by transforming a theory of religion into a theory of acting” (2010, 11).

Zoey argues to Franny, when they were talking on the telephone, that even if she wants to have a religious life, she needs to understand the religious actions around her, the ones that she has been missing out. Moreover, Zoey tells her that if she wants to say the prayer correctly she needs to know how to recognize the religious acts and the holy people.

“I'll tell you one thing, Franny. One thing I *know*. And don't get upset. It isn't anything bad. But if it's the religious life you want, you ought to know right now that you're missing out on every single goddam religious action that's going around this house. You don't even have some sense enough to *drink* when somebody brings you a cup of consecrated chicken soup — which is the only kind of chicken soup Bessie ever brings to anybody around this madhouse. So just *tell* me, just tell me, buddy. Even if you went out and searched the whole world for a master — some guru, some holy man — to tell you how to say your Jesus Prayer properly, what good would it do you? How in *hell* are you going to recognize a legitimate holy man when you see one if you don't even know a cup of consecrated chicken soup when it's right in front of your nose? Can you tell me that? (...) I'm just asking you. I'm not trying to upset you. Am I upsetting you?” (1991, 196)

Zoey criticizes Franny because she has been acting as if she was still the baby of the family, making her parents worry about her. And the fact that Zoey is trying to tell Franny that her pursue for seeing God by saying the Jesus Prayer is meaningless because she cannot recognize a simple religious action — like Bessie’s chicken soup — that goes around the house. The house, as before experienced by Zoey in his siblings’ bedroom, is full of resources for the study of religions. However, Franny avoids studying religion, she pursues directly the sacred moment where she sees God. By doing that, she misses both the religious actions of daily life and the religious experience she could probably have.

Differently from Lane, who does not listen to Franny’s struggles, and from Bessie, who is trying to comfort her, Zoey talks to her with clarity, saying exactly what he thinks. Even though a little rude to Franny, Zoey is clear that he does not mean to hurt her, and that what he says is nothing bad. So, at the same time that Zoey criticizes Franny, he comforts her. This is the comfort Franny was in need for, since it is neither false, nor egocentric.

In the narrative, Zoey also mentions an anecdote to Franny about their childhood past. When all the siblings were stars of the radio show “It’s a Wise Child,” their oldest brother used to ask Zoey to shine his shoes and to do his best for the Fat Lady. About the anecdote, Hungerford considers the imaginary Fat Lady as the “embodied human being who is always entitled to one’s love” (2010, 11). In sum, Hungerford considers *Franny and Zoey* a religious novel in its own terms, since it “let us hear the divine dial tone as well as the performance of sacred human speech” (2010, 14), which means that the communication between the characters regarding the religious experience as well as the embodiment of religious experience through speeches and performances are important parts of the stories.

To establish that everyone out there – in the world – is Seymour’s Fat Lady is to say that the religious experience is in the daily life.

“(…) Are you listening to me *There isn’t anyone out there who isn’t Seymour’s Fat Lady*. That includes your Professor Tupper, buddy. And all his goddam cousins by the dozens. There isn’t anyone *anywhere* that isn’t Seymour’s Fat Lady. Don’t you know that? Don’t you know that goddam secret yet? And don’t you know – *listen* to me, now – *don’t you know who that Fat Lady*

*really is?... Ah, buddy. Ah, buddy. It's Christ Himself. Christ Himself, buddy.*" (1991, 201-201)

Moreover, Zooley says that Seymour's Fat Lady is the representation of Jesus Christ — which means that everyone out there in the world can be the representation of Jesus Christ. In light of that, Franny recognizes that she does not need to constantly say the Jesus Prayer in order to have a religious experience, if she recognizes she is entitled to someone's love — such as Bessie or Zooley.

Bearing that in mind, it is through this religious discourse that Zooley makes Franny recognize her place in the world. Therefore, she can no longer distrust the people around her. After Zooley's religious speech, Franny finally gets the help she needed — love, compassion, and religious knowledge — and seems to relax from the nervous breakdown she passed through.

Franny attempts to have a religious experience through book *The way of a Pilgrim* in order to relieve her emotional pain. However, it is not with the book — or with the prayer she constantly repeats — that she gets better, but with the attention her brother Zooley gives to her through loveable and religious words during the dial phone.

Buddy, when narrating "Zooley," clarifies that this is not a "religiously mystifying story" (1991, 49), but a love story. However, "Franny" and "Zooley" show that it is through love and religious knowledge that the struggles of the characters will be softened. Franny starts to look for help in the religious book because that is what her oldest brothers, Seymour and Buddy, taught her when they were younger. However, by the end of "Franny," she cannot stay peaceful until she faints and Lane gives her some attention. The same happens to her in the story "Zooley."

When Zooley goes to his brothers' bedroom he realizes that he has to have another approach with Franny. His conversation on the telephone with Franny shows that for Zooley the religious experience can happen through religious actions between human beings, provided that there are mutual love and empathy. Zooley's comprehension to what a religious experience is perhaps the one mostly associated to counterculture's motto of "peace and love."

Moreover, Seymour and Buddy's bedroom provided religious references for Zooley, through the religious quotation on the columns of the bedroom's wall, and for Franny, through the book she took from their bedroom. Even though Franny and Zooley's religious discourses

are full of Christian words and references (Jesus, the Bible, sacred, etc.), their older brother's studied many different religions, including those from Eastern cultures. When Zoey reads the quotations in their bedroom, the reader starts to know a little better the two characters' — Seymour and Buddy — religious concerns with many different religions. For Seymour and Buddy, such as for Zoey, the religious experience is only possible with the religious knowledge, that must happen from within to the outer, as well as in connection to mutual love between human beings<sup>123</sup>.

In this analysis of "Zoey," I argued that Seymour and Buddy are like religious gurus, or mentors to Franny and Zoey. In the letter sent by Buddy to Zoey, showed in "Zoey," he explains the idea of educating the youngest siblings concerning religion:

Much much more important, though, Seymour had already begun to believe (and I agreed with him, as far as I was able to see the point) that education by any name would smell as sweet, and maybe much sweeter, if it didn't begin with a quest for knowledge at all, but with a quest, as Zen would put it, for no-knowledge. Dr. Suzuki says somewhere that to be in a state of pure consciousness — *satori* — is to be with God before he said, Let there be light (1991, 65).

The contrast between knowledge (everything opposite to innocence) and no-knowledge (innocence) that Buddy mentions in D.T. Suzuki's works<sup>124</sup> is the duality that Franny faces when trying to achieve a religious experience by repeating what she learned from the book. She is too attached to the book — and to what people said to her —, so she cannot reach what she desires. Zoey emphasizes to her, on the other hand, that she has to know who to believe in — the guru, or mentor — in order to achieve the religious experience. Knowledge is a status one achieves after their loss of innocence, whereas no knowledge is innocence itself. One is as relevant as the other in life, but each one occur in different situations. In order to have a religious experience, i.e. no knowledge, one has to master the emptiness of the mind (2016, 207). That is the reason why Zoey emphasizes that Franny is not the baby of

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<sup>123</sup> This statement will be better developed in the analysis of following stories.

<sup>124</sup> D.T. Suzuki's conception of knowledge and no-knowledge has already been developed in the introductory text of this chapter.

the family anymore, so she cannot be behaving as an innocent girl. She is an adult, has the knowledge, but does not know how to canalize it into no-knowledge in order to have the religious experience she wants to.

Therefore, “Franny” and “Zooney” are two stories that tell Franny’s struggle and her pursue to have a religious experience in a meaningless way. She tries to have a religious experience, to see God, by repeating constantly a prayer she learned in the book *The Way of a Pilgrim*. Moreover, her brother Zooney helps her to understand the meaning of the religious experience with love and compassion. The Glasses religious experience is found individually through their religious knowledge and no-knowledge, as well as their love and compassion to each other. The following section will continue the discussion about the religious experience, especially concerning the characters Seymour and Buddy. This will clarify some of the points about them that are not so well explained in “Franny” and “Zooney.” To sum up, “Franny” and “Zooney” can be read through a countercultural perspective since both stories raise the religious experience pursuit in order to find a way out of the individual’s struggle.

### 5.3 “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters” (1955)

This story was published in *The New Yorker* on November 19<sup>th</sup> 1955. So “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” is posterior to the Glass family stories published in the book *Nine Stories*, as well as to the short story “Franny,” but it is not posterior to “Zooney”<sup>125</sup>. If one reads the Glass family stories chronologically, in terms of publication date, it is in “Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters” that the Glasses are first presented as a family. In the previous stories, the ones published in the book *Nine Stories*, there is not a sense of unity of the family; the characters are mentioned sparsely. In the other previously published

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<sup>125</sup> “Franny” was published in *The New Yorker* magazine on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1955, almost ten months before the publication of “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” in the same literary magazine on November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1955. I have been reading the stories chronologically through their first publication dates, which imply their publication in literary magazines and not on books. “Zooney” was published only in 1957, even though published with “Franny” in the same book collection. Because of that, I consider “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” as the first story narrated by Buddy Glass and the first one to present the family as a whole.

story, “Franny” (1955), the same structure follows and the characters are known as being family members, but there is no introduction to all of them.

The family information contained in the previously published stories is complementary to the development of the narrative of “Raise high.” Again, if one reads the stories chronologically, in terms of publication date, this is the first story in which it is clear that Buddy Glass is the narrator<sup>126</sup>. Besides presenting his family with details, in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” Buddy narrates Seymour’s wedding day from his perspective.

The story is placed in 1942 and Seymour is, then, going to marry Muriel. Buddy is in charge to go to the wedding, since none of the family members will be able to go due to the fact that most of them are compromised with the war. The reader knows that no one will be able to go to the wedding because Buddy received a letter sent by his sister Boo Boo, asking him to go to the wedding to represent all the absent family. Buddy presents the letter in the narrative, adding the epistolary style to it. The epistolary style becomes present since “Franny,” which gives a personal account approaching the reader to the narrator and other characters. Right in the beginning of the story, the reader notices that three of the four adult siblings are serving the Army: Seymour, Buddy, Walt and Boo Boo (Franny, 8, and Zooey, 13, are too young); and Waker is in a conscientious objectors’ camp<sup>127</sup> in Maryland. So, all the adult siblings are, somehow, involved with the war, which makes it one of the most relevant themes of this story. Buddy got a three-day-offleave to go to his brother’s wedding while he is healing the pleurisy he has gotten in the Fort Benning Army base, in Georgia, and Seymour also got days off due to his own wedding ceremony. However, Boo Boo and Walt cannot make it, as well as

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<sup>126</sup> Buddy Glass says in “Seymour: an introduction” that he also wrote the story “A perfect day for bananafish.” However, in the narrative of “A perfect day for bananafish” there is no mention to Buddy as the narrator of it. In “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” though, Buddy is the narrator and positions himself also as character of the narrative. That is why I consider this the first story to be clearly stated as one narrated by Buddy.

<sup>127</sup> To be conscientious objectors means to reject the idea of serving the country in the war. As a consequence, for the WWII, some objectors were sent to jail, and the majority of them were sent to the Civilian Public Service (CPS), a US governmental program in which the objectors worked in agriculture, fire fighting, soil conservation, etc. Later in this subchapter I will develop more the war theme as well as Waker’s position in it.

Waker because of their war obligations. Bessie and Les, the parents, are traveling across the country, and on the wedding day, they are specifically in the West Coast. Franny and Zooey are in the West Coast with their parents.

Buddy, then, tells that he could go to the wedding even though he was recovering from the pleurisy. He goes to the wedding by train, where he meets a bookish man who shares the same favorite writer as he: L. Manning Vines. This fictional writer also appears in “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” when Eloise says that L. Manning Vines is her husband’s, Lew, favorite author. In “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” Buddy does not give the bookish man’s name, so it is hard to infer if this is or not Lew traveling by Buddy’s side.<sup>128</sup> After the train trip, Buddy arrives at Muriel’s grandmother’s house, where the non-sectarian wedding ceremony was going to happen. When he arrives there, Buddy seats beside Helen Silsburn, a middle-aged woman, who introduces herself to Buddy. Buddy, on the other hand, does not say who exactly he is. After an hour and twenty minutes there, Muriel was taken outside and away by her parents, since Seymour did not show up for the wedding. Despite Seymour’s absence, the guests are told to take the guest cars and go to the wedding reception anyway. Buddy, then, gets into one of the limousines where other four guests are: the Matron of Honor, her husband Robert — a Lieutenant of the Army, Helen Silsburn, and Muriel’s father’s deaf-mute uncle. By this time, the reader does not know the reason why Seymour did not show up, or if there was a reason for him to do that.

In the beginning of the limousine trip, Buddy does not tell anyone in the car he is Seymour’s brother, because he is afraid that the guests in the limousine would ask him too many questions about his brother’s absence in the wedding. The Matron of Honor shows her anger at Seymour’s attitude by not showing up in the wedding and by embarrassing her friend, Muriel. Buddy remarks about the Matron of Honor are that she speaks too loud and that she is rude. The Matron of Honor’s target is Seymour, since she questions his sanity, his sexuality and his suitability as a groom. Everything she says about Seymour is based on Muriel’s mother’s theories on him. The Matron of Honor keeps saying that Muriel’s mother, Rhea Fedder (or Mrs. Fedder), is

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<sup>128</sup> The year in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters” is 1942. By that time, Walt Glass was still alive and Eloise was probably waiting for him to come back from the war. Because of that, even if the bookish man beside Buddy were Lew, going from Georgia to New York, he would not be married to Eloise yet.

very intelligent and nice, as a way to reinforce her opinion about Seymour as the *correct* “analysis” of him. The bride’s maid also tells everyone that Seymour requested Muriel the night before to meet him in a hotel lobby to talk to her, telling that he was not able to marry her because he was too happy. The bride’s maid gives her opinion about it, saying that Seymour’s talk was not normal. She also asks Buddy from where he knows Seymour, to which he replies they grew up together. However, by the time the Matron of Honor starts making so many awful remarks about Seymour, Buddy gets angry and takes Seymour’s part. Because of that, his identity is clearer to the bride’s maid, who says she knows who he is: Seymour’s brother. Half of the narrative, then, happens inside the limousine.

However, suddenly the car is stopped due to a parade happening downtown. The bride’s maid gets even more worried about Muriel, since she promised her to arrive at the reception before anyone else. Because of that she rudely requests the driver to ask a policeman if the parade was going to last too much. Then, the driver gets vexed but asks the policeman, who replies that there is no estimative time for ending the parade. After that, all the bride’s maid, her husband, and Mrs. Silsburn decide to go out to get something to drink and to call Muriel to tell they were going to be late. The bride’s maid, then, invites Buddy to go with them, and he accepts. Buddy tries to invite the elderly man who was quietly seated in the back of the limousine, but he cannot. No one knew, by that time, that the elderly man in the limousine was deaf-mute, so at this time Buddy realizes that and tries to communicate through paper notes. After that, Muriel’s father’s uncle accepts the invitation and everyone gets out of the car to find a place to freshen up.

After walking a block, they realize that the restaurant they were looking for is closed. So, Buddy invites the guests to go to the apartment Seymour and him had shared before —where Boo Boo had been living when not serving the Army. There, Buddy says, they would be able to drink something, use the telephone and, moreover, enjoy the fresh air of the air conditioner. The guests accept the invitation and go to the apartment, which was very close to where they were. There, Buddy gets busy being the host preparing drinks, setting up the air conditioner and taking the bride’s maid to the bedroom in order to show her where the telephone was. There, in Seymour’s bedroom, he finds Seymour’s diary and takes it with him to the bathroom. In the bathroom, there was a note on the mirror (an old habit of the family) written with lipstick by Boo Boo:



“Raise high the roof beam, carpenters. Like Ares comes the bridegroom, taller far than a tall man. Love, Irving Sappho, formerly under contract to Elysium Studios Ltd. Please be happy happy *happy* with your beautiful Muriel. This is an order. I outrank everybody on this block” (1991, 65).

After recognizing Boo Boo’s handwriting on the mirror, Buddy starts reading some excerpts from Seymour’s diary entries in order to find a clue to his behavior that afternoon. Meanwhile, in Seymour’s bedroom, the Matron of Honor telephones to Muriel’s apartment. Buddy, as the narrator, introduces some excerpts of the diary, in which Seymour describes Muriel’s mother behavior before him, misunderstandings with her, as well as his talk to Muriel saying that he is unable to marry her in a traditional way, since he has been too happy to deal with many people. Seymour also writes about his wish to run away with Muriel to marry apart from everybody. After reading the diary, Buddy leaves it there and goes to the living room to prepare some drinks.

Buddy, then, prepares some drinks and has one, which makes him get drunk and a little dizzy. The bride’s maid, then, gets into the living room and says that she talked to everyone in the wedding reception and they told her that Seymour was there all the time, and that by the time Muriel arrived there, they ran away to marry somewhere else alone. She also says that everything was back to normal and that everyone seemed to be fine. After that the Matron of Honor, her husband, and Mrs. Silsburn go away not knowing if they would go home or to the wedding reception. Buddy, still dizzy, ends up in the apartment with the bride’s father’s deaf great uncle. He, then, gets Seymour’s diary in the bathroom and puts it in his bedroom, from where he had taken it.

The story told by Buddy enables the reader to penetrate into the Glass family saga, and to understand deeply its characters. The elements of this story that can be read through a countercultural perspective are two: the effects of the war in the US family — portrayed by the Glass family —, and the religious experience. Moreover, this story also functions as a clarifier of Seymour’s thoughts and life, since it provides the reader with some excerpts of his diary entries. Bearing that in mind, in this subchapter, I will focus on the issues related to war, religious experience and the relationship between Seymour, Buddy and the other family members.

The religious experience becomes one of the main issues in the Glass family stories since the narrative of “Franny.” The stories that follow “Franny” can also be related to the religious experience and to how the characters deal with religion in their lives. In “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” the issue of religious experience is brought up through Seymour’s religious knowledge that he shares with his siblings. Right in the beginning of the story, Buddy, the narrator, remembers a day in which Seymour reads a “Taoist” tale to Franny, at the time, a ten-month-old baby.

The Taoist tale is, in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” taken from a book. However, there is not any data confirming that this story exists within the Taoist philosophical and religious writings, which leads the reader to understand that this is either a creation of the characters (Seymour or Buddy, who are both fictional writers) or of Salinger.

In “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” Buddy reproduces the tale read by Seymour to Franny. This Taoist tale starts with Duke Mu of Chin saying to Po Lo that he has achieved an advanced spiritual level. The context of both characters of the tale is not inserted, but it is implied that Duke Mu of Chin is a “superior”<sup>129</sup> man and that Po Lo works for him or with him. Because of Po Lo’s spiritual achievement, Duke Mu Chin says that he does not need to work with the horses anymore, and asks him if there were anyone in his family he would suggest for him to employ. Po Lo replies by saying that his sons can recognize a good horse by its general built and appearance, but not a superlative horse, which means a horse that raises no dust and leaves no tracks. Po Lo then suggests his friend Chiu-fang Kao, who three months later finds the steed Shach’iu, but it turns out that the horse was actually not a steed. When the Duke talks to Po Lo arguing that his friend made a mess when trying to look for a steed, Po Lo argues that his friend Kao “keeps in view the spiritual mechanism” (1991, 5), and, because of that, sees what he wants and not what he does not want to see, meaning that Kao was a clever judge, and that he could even judge better things than horses. When the horse arrived, it turned out that the horse was one of the finest ones.

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<sup>129</sup> It is not explicitly told the reason why Duke Mu of Chin professes that Po Lo achieved a superior spiritual level. But he may be understood as a mentor.

The Taoist tale read by Seymour to Franny tells the reader not only Seymour's religious knowledge and lack of innocence<sup>130</sup>. It is symbolic in the sense that Franny is the character, as seen in the previous section, that will have difficulties — as an adult — to understand how to profit from the religious knowledge in order to have a religious experience. Moreover the Taoist tale is also a metaphor for the story Buddy is about to narrate: Seymour's wedding day.

Seymour is constantly misunderstood by Muriel's family and friends, who believe he is a schizoid person, far from what these characters consider "normal." Because of that, Buddy feels uncomfortable when within the limousine, but at the same time, he tries to defend his older brother. The car trip can be read as a metaphor of war, since the Matron of Honor constantly attacks Seymour, the target, and Buddy defends him. Buddy asks if the Matron of Honor can prove the things she has been saying throughout the car trip, but she ignores him and continues the attack.

The reader does not know the reason why Seymour did not show up at the wedding, neither do the characters in the limousine. So, Seymour is not a very reliable character to the reader, as he is not to the guests of the wedding who do not know him very well, such as the Matron of Honor. However, for the only person who knows him well, Buddy, Seymour is a reliable character. Buddy does not have 'proof' that confirm Seymour's reliability, though. It is similarly to the Taoist tale, in which Po Lo confirms the reliability of his friend Kao, even without any 'proof'. Duke Mu of Chin only recognizes that Po Lo was telling the truth about his friend Kao's ability to know a good horse, when the horse arrives in the end. In "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters," Seymour was in the apartment waiting for Muriel in order to ask her for the last time to marry him far away from everyone, only the both of them. Buddy's efforts on contesting the Matron of Honor's comments on Seymour is not needed anymore neither for the guests nor for the reader. The guests know that everyone seems to be happy at the reception party, according to the Matron of Honor's telephone call, and the reader knows Seymour's reasons for not wishing to marry Muriel in a great wedding party through his diary entries.

Even though people from outside the family think that Seymour is not a "normal" person, it is clear that the Glass family praises him not only as a very important sibling or son, but also as a genius. The title of

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<sup>130</sup> I am here, once more, borrowing the conception of knowledge by D.T. Suzuki, which was before mentioned in this dissertation.

the story, that comes from the note Boo Boo left for Seymour in the bathroom mirror, represents how grandeur Seymour is for the Glass family. Boo Boo writes “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters. Like Ares comes the bridegroom, taller far than a tall man.” (1991, 65), which is a reference to Sappho’ poem fragments<sup>131</sup>. To be taller than a tall man is to be unusual, such as the Glass siblings think of Seymour. In light of that, Boo Boo suggests the houses’ roofs to be adapted for Seymour’s grandiosity. It is a suggestion, perhaps, to Seymour’s new family, and house, to be adapted for him, and not the opposite.

Concerning the issue of religion, in “Raise high.” Seymour introduces Eastern religions and philosophies for his siblings. To overcome the siege of mumps the family was passing through, Seymour finds in the Taoist tale, by reading aloud it to his sister, a way to introduce the religious knowledge to her, even though symbolically speaking. He promotes the religious knowledge in which Franny was not necessarily aware of, since she was only ten-months-old. However, in the posterior published story “Zooey” (1957), Zooey says that Seymour has always tried to provide to Franny and Zooey the religious knowledge.

It is explicit that this is not exactly a bedtime story to tell a ten-month-old baby, but, as Buddy says, that was Seymour’s favorite Taoist tale (1991, 4). Buddy, as the narrator, explains the reason why he chose to quote the tale in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters.”

I’ve reproduced the tale here not just because I invariably go out of my way to recommend a good prose pacifier to parents or older brothers of ten-month-old babies but for quite another reason. What directly follows is an account of a wedding day in 1942. It is, in my opinion, a self-contained account, with a beginning and an end, and a mortality, all its own. (1991, 5)

Buddy departs from an analogy to a Taoist tale in order to begin the narrative about his experience in Seymour’s wedding. This is a strategy that Buddy also uses in “Seymour: an introduction,” as he narrates the family’s attachment to Eastern cultures and religions through texts. The attachment of the Glasses to Eastern cultures and

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<sup>131</sup> Translation by Julia Dubnoff, available on:  
<http://www.uh.edu/~cldue/texts/sappho.html>.

religions can be understood from a countercultural perspective. As it was previously discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the countercultural canon has also recurred to Eastern philosophies and religions. This is a theme that approaches the Glass family stories to the beatnik counterculture.

Eastern cultures and religious experiences are frequent themes in the beat generation writings due to the movement they have done traveling to Asian countries in order to try different spiritual experiences either through native and herbal drugs or through religion. The problem is that authors such as Allen Ginsberg, and specially Alan Watts, are known as the diffusers of Zen and other Eastern religions in the US. Professor D.T. Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* translation to English had provided fruitful material for Westerns to understand the Zen Buddhism without going too far from home. The translation of some texts on Zen Buddhism to English, by D.T. Suzuki, enabled and popularized the beat writers and other US citizens to reach the Eastern spiritual philosophies. The translation helped because most of these writers did not know how to read in any Asian language. Because of that, as it will be argued throughout this chapter, the beat writers appropriate Eastern cultures and, specially, the spiritual philosophy imperialistically<sup>132</sup>. To argue, then, that the beats were the diffusers of Zen seems problematic in a country known for having a large Asian community; and being the Asian cultures so inserted in the US's architecture, arts, literature, and language, for example.

The 'discovery' of Eastern cultures in the long 1960s by writers such as Salinger and the beats is recorded in their writings full of Eastern religious experiences references. I attempt here to analyze Salinger's stories in relation to Eastern religious experiences, but not necessarily in comparison to the beat writings. This would need another study focused on this comparison only. However, being the beats the "entities" of the literary counterculture, the mention of the similarity is worthwhile.

Back to "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters," the religious experience in the story can be read through William James' conceptualization of the term. The story presents dichotomous points of view about Seymour, similarly to what happens in "A perfect day for

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<sup>132</sup> In the article "The appropriation of the East in the US 1960s counterculture," published in the journal *East-West Cultural Passage* (2014) I also argue that the beat writers appropriated Eastern cultures in the US countercultural context by comparing the beats' works with Salinger's "Seymour: an introduction."

bananafish.” The Matron constantly says that Seymour is not normal and that Mrs. Fedder — Muriel’s mother — was correct when saying that he has psychological problems. On the other hand, Buddy, as well as the other Glass siblings, thinks that Seymour is above the average. Seymour is a kind of guru for his siblings, a religious mentor. Bearing that in mind, it is relevant to go back to James’ *The Varieties of Religious Experience* in order to understand his conceptualization of — what he calls — a religious leader, i.e., a person who can be classed as either pathological or a person who has great religious influence upon others (1903, 9).

It is possible to understand Seymour as a religious leader in light of James’ conceptualization of the term. For James, a religious leader is ordinarily classed as pathological, because of their individual religious experience that are not understood by everyone. This explains the dichotomous understanding of people towards Seymour: his siblings think he is a religious leader, and Muriel’s mother and Matron of Honor think he is not normal and that he needs to see a psychiatrist. Moreover, Seymour has “exalted emotional sensibility,” as it could be seen in the analysis of “A perfect day for bananafish,” with his argument with the woman in the elevator. His obsessions and fixed ideas are also part of Seymour’s character, as it will be able to see in the analysis of “Hapworth.”<sup>133</sup> Because of that, it is possible to understand that any family moment in which Seymour’s religious knowledge was in it, became a religious experience moment for the family.

The story also presents a dichotomy between Eastern and Western spiritual philosophies. Seymour’s and Buddy’s contact with Eastern religions, philosophies, and literature conflicts with the usual Christian ceremony of marriage in the US. However, Seymour’s wedding is non-sectarian, according to Boo Boo’s letter (1991, 9) and the “shrine” chosen for the ceremony is Muriel’s grandmother house. Her grandmother’s house is the sanctuary for the marriage, which implies that family is somehow above religion for the couple. Even though Seymour is a character that is very concerned with religious knowledge, he never opted to belong to any specific religion.

Moreover, marriage in Western societies, such as in the US, is not only a symbol of the patriarchal family, but also of religion. In one of Seymour’s diary entries, he mentions a misunderstanding he had with

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<sup>133</sup> His obsession with literature and religious books (and the library he frequently goes to), as well as to providing advices for his parents and siblings are some of the examples.

Muriel's mother due to the fact that she was not used to Zen tales. While Seymour and Muriel were having dinner with Mrs. Fedder — Muriel's mother — she asked him what would he like to work with after leaving the Army, to which he replied he would like to be a dead cat. Seymour's answer was a reference to a Zen Buddhist tale, but he forgot to explain that to Mrs. Fedder. In his diary entries, Seymour explains the reasons why, from his point of view, Mrs. Fedder thinks he is not a good partner for Muriel.

I gather that Muriel was naïve enough to tell her where I got the scars on my wrists, poor sweet babe. From what M. says, however, this doesn't bother her mother nearly so much as a couple of other things. Three other things. One, I withdraw from and fail to relate to people. Two, apparently there is something 'wrong' with me because I haven't seduced Muriel. Three, evidently Mrs. Fedder has been haunted for days by my remark at dinner one night that I'd like to be a dead cat. She asked me at dinner last week what I intended to do after I got out of the Army. Did I intend to resume teaching at all? Would I go back to teaching at all? Would I consider going back on the radio, possibly as a 'commentator' of some kind? I answered that it seemed to me that the war might go on forever, and that I was only certain that if peace ever came again I would like to be a dead cat. Mrs. Fedder thought I was cracking a joke of some kind. A sophisticated joke. She thinks I'm very sophisticated, according to Muriel. (...) I forgot to explain to her. I told Muriel tonight that in Zen Buddhism a master was once asked what was the most valuable thing in the world, and the master answered that a dead cat was, because no one could put a price on it. (1991, 70-71)

Seymour's reference to the Zen Buddhist story "The Cat's Head"<sup>134</sup> emphasizes not only Seymour's knowledge of Eastern religious stories, but also his displacement. Seymour's references and ideas are misunderstood by those who are not into Eastern religions and cultures', such as Muriel and Mrs. Fedder. Moreover, Seymour does not

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<sup>134</sup> Available on: <https://www.buddhagroove.com/zen-story-the-cats-head/>.

seem to think his life in a Western common-like way: He thinks his professional future through the Zen Buddhism's stale. This behavior, when not explained, puts him away from other people who do not belong to his Glass family or to any Eastern religion and, therefore, do not understand the metaphors of the tales. Through the eyes of the people who do not know him very well, such as Mrs. Fedder and the Matron of Honor, Seymour is an exquisite (or sophisticated), but at the same time a schizoid person, an outsider.

On the other hand, as mentioned before, for people who know him very well, such as Buddy, Boo Boo and his other siblings, he is seen as an extraordinary person, above the average and the common. The dichotomy of opinions about Seymour is not only a characteristic of "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters," but also of "A perfect day for bananafish." These dichotomous discourses represent the families' conflict: the Fedders versus the Glasses. This can be understood through James's religious experience perception, as before mentioned, but also through the historical context of the US. As before mentioned, the long 1960s US political context is very much based on dichotomies, such as: right vs. left wings, conservatives vs. communists, war enthusiasts vs. pacifists, KKK (as a representation of the mass murders of black people) vs. Martin Luther King Jr. (and Malcolm X, Black Panthers, etc. as representations of the civil rights movement), etc. In relation to Seymour, in the Glass family stories, it is possible to recognize, then, a conservative discourse coming from the Fedder family — who cannot comprehend Seymour's differences as a religious leader and, because of that, pathologizes him — and a liberal discourse that praises Seymour for his uniqueness and differences.

It is possible, then, to link the tales and metaphors of "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters" to the ideal of freedom. Seymour, and Buddy as the narrator, uses metaphors and tales with religious backgrounds to show that freedom comes from being free from the social impositions. The wedding ceremony is a social imposition that Seymour does not agree with and, therefore, does not go to it. Moreover, the image of the dead cat can be seen as a metaphor for being free from such impositions — social roles and norms in relation to professional careers. It is possible to read the Taoist tale in the same direction, since it shows that wisdom is, many times, misinterpreted. Therefore, in "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters" religious experience — through the religious leader Seymour — can be seen as a way of approaching freedom.



The dichotomous long 1960s can be understood not only by the religious expressions of Seymour, but also in the war discourses within the Glass family stories. As mentioned before, from the five siblings that had minimum age for serving the Army, four are serving: Seymour, Buddy, Boo Boo, and Walt. The only one who rejected the idea of serving the Army was the twin Waker. Because of that, he went to the Civilian Public Service (CPS), in Maryland. Very little is told about Waker's denial to go to the war in the Glass family stories. It is only in "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters" that Buddy shortly describes his refusal to serving the war: "The twins, Walt and Waker, had been split up a whole year earlier. Waker was in a conscientious objectors' camp in Maryland, and Walt was somewhere in the Pacific — or on his way there — with a field-artillery unit." (1991, 6)

According to Carl J. Schneider, and Dorothy Schneider, in *World War II* (2003) there were some CPSs in Maryland during the WWII, which had some of the conscientious objectors working in Washington County, and some in the Pocomoke River.

In Washington County, Maryland, at the suggestion of the local soil conservation agent, they set up experimental farm as possible models for demobilized soldiers. Small groups lived on each of five farms, two or three of them running the farm and the others working on soil conservation projects nearby and in the evenings helping to repair farm buildings, garden, and care for the livestock. Others straightened the Pocomoke River to convert swamps into agricultural fields. (2003, 247)

The CPSs served as a way to punish the citizens who denied serving the Army and at the same time to help farmers to recover from the early 1930s economic crisis. Being Salinger one of the citizens who had served the Army in WWII, it is likely that he knew the data about the CPSs and that he used the estate of Maryland as a reliable data for the narration of this story. Salinger, actually, uses of this technique throughout the Glass family stories, which means that he brings non-fictional information to the fiction stories (celebrity names, places, book and film titles, historical events, etc.). Waker, then, was the only one who rejected to serve the Army; however, in the Glass stories, it is clear

that Seymour did not want to serve either.<sup>135</sup> According to Bonnie Keady, in “The good war and the bad peace: conscientious objectors in World War II” (2003), serving the Army to fight against the Nazi was, for many, a heroic act, mostly because part of the media and the politicians were calling the WWII a “good war.” (2003, 3) So, to be a conscientious objector was to reject the “social and cultural norms that had a stronghold on the national community” (2003, 3). And the only Glass character to be able to reject those norms in relation to the war was Waker.

Seymour, Buddy, Boo Boo and Walt could not avoid the war and served the Army. In Seymour’s case, after the war, he had a Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, as it is mentioned in the short story “A perfect day for bananafish.” After the war, Seymour committed suicide. Walt compromised his relationship to Eloise (as it is possible to read in “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut”) and died serving the Army in Japan in 1945, just before the war ended. Boo Boo was also serving the Army and because of that she never knew where she was going to be the day after as she says to Buddy in the letter in “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters”:

Dear Buddy,

I’m in a terrible rush to pack, so this will be short but *penetrating*. Admiral Behind-pincher has decided that he must fly to parts unknown for the war effort and has also decided to take his secretary with him if I behave myself. I’m just sick about it. (...) I may be gone for anywhere from six weeks to two months on this trip. (1991, 8)

Boo Boo is not satisfied with her position as serving the war, since she does not have any stability and cannot commit to simple things such as her brother’s wedding. Buddy is maybe the most impartial character in relation to the war, since he does not criticize his position as serving the Army. However, it is relevant to mention that the war is an important fact for the fragmentation of the family. The emotional instability some of the characters’ struggle within the Glass family stories are due, in part, to the war. One of the siblings, Walt, died during the war, and Seymour had a PTSD after the war, which may have

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<sup>135</sup> I will develop Seymour’s criticism on wars in the analysis of the story titled “Hapworth 16, 1924” later in this chapter.

contributed to his suicide. Eloise never recovered from Walt's death, and the Glass siblings never recovered from Walt's and Seymour's; especially Seymour, who was a mentor for most of his younger siblings.

Therefore, in "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters," it is possible to recognize two main themes: the religious experience — that celebrates the Glasses lives and the war — that forced the fragmentation of the family and brought death. These two dichotomous themes represent the dichotomous political moment of the long 1960s in the US. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation, the war and the religious experience are recurrent themes of counterculture.

#### 5.4 "Seymour: an introduction" (1959)

Counterculture studies have legitimized the encounter between Western and Eastern cultures during the long 1960s in the US<sup>136</sup>. So, in this section, I will discuss the US' 1960s counterculture literature through the analysis of J.D. Salinger's "Seymour: an introduction," focusing on the issue of religious experience. Since this story could be read as a critique towards the beatnik poets and poetry, a parallel between "Seymour: an introduction" and works from the beat generation will be part of the analysis.

Counterculture expressions in the US' 1960s have presented a strong relationship with the Eastern cultures as a way to enlighten the dark socio-political context of the US<sup>137</sup>. Eastern religions, as well as Eastern literatures, were absorbed in the US' 1960s, and a variety of US writers have built a bridge between the East and the West in the very troubled political context of that decade. The beat generation created a strong connection to Zen Buddhism not only by practicing it, but also by exposing their individual experiences and studies within their literatures and performances. Salinger, on the other hand, was more concerned with Eastern religious practices through the pursuit of the individual

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<sup>136</sup> Studies such as by Theodore Roszak, Alan Watts, Ken Goffman and Dan Joy, Todd Gitlin, Matt Theado, among other that have already been mentioned in this dissertation.

<sup>137</sup> According to Theodore Roszak, in *The Making of a counter culture* (1972, 139), Zen, for the beats, was a personal illumination to which they were attracted due to the intellectual censorships that many of them suffered during the McCarthyism in the 1950s.

religious experience (what Suzuki calls “no knowledge”), as well as through the religious knowledge (what Suzuki calls “loss of innocence”)<sup>138</sup>.

In “Seymour: an introduction” (1959/1963)<sup>139</sup>, Salinger theorizes on Western and Eastern traditions in literature and problematizes the relationship between both through Buddy Glass’ stream of consciousness narration. The novella itself is another piece of literature by Buddy, a self-conscious/metafictional narrative. Throughout the narrative, Buddy positions himself as a professor, a writer, and a brother. His motivation for the narrative is his brother’s, Seymour Glass, poems; however, the metafiction structure of the narrative makes it more like a story about Buddy’s literary writings than about Seymour’s.

“Seymour: an introduction” does not follow a linear plot, but Buddy’s narration is based on his memories about Seymour and his family. Moreover, Buddy also writes about the process of writing, and constantly addresses his reader as being a common or a general reader. Since his main objective of writing this story is to tell the importance of Seymour as a man and as a poet, he also writes about literature and about Seymour’s poetry. However, Seymour’s poems are never shown in the story.

Seymour is a constant character in the Glass family stories, as it could be noticed in the previous stories analyzed in this dissertation. In “Seymour: an introduction,” Buddy attempts to show the reasons why Seymour is so special for the Glass siblings. He is a mentor for his seven siblings, even though he is a phantasmagoric character: he is recurrently mentioned in the stories, but he is actually the protagonist only in “A perfect day for bananafish.” He is mentioned in “Down at the dinghy,” “Franny,” “Zooney,” “Raise high the roof beam, carpenters,” and “Seymour: an introduction,” but never really appears as a living character.<sup>140</sup> Seymour is described in these stories as a wise child, and a role model for his younger siblings.

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<sup>138</sup> These terms are used here as a reference to D.T. Suzuki’s conceptualization of them, explained before in this dissertation.

<sup>139</sup> First published in *The New Yorker* (1959) and later in the book *Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters and Seymour: an introduction* (1961).

<sup>140</sup> The only story that Seymour is neither present nor mentioned is in “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut.” In “Hapworth 16, 1924,” as it will be possible to read in the next section of this chapter, Seymour is the narrator — as he is the writer of the letter sent to his parents and siblings. However, this is also a

Surely he [Seymour] was all the *real* things to us: our blue-striped unicorn, our double-lensed burning glass, our consultant genius, or portable conscience, our supercargo, and our one full poet, and, inevitably, I think, since not only was reticence never this strongest suit but he spent nearly seven years of his childhood as star turn on a children's coast-to-coast radio quiz program, so there wasn't much that didn't eventually get aired, one way or another – inevitably, I think, he was also our notorious 'mystic' and "unbalanced type" (...) he was the only person I've ever habitually consorted with, banged around with, who more frequently than not tallied with the classical conception, as I saw it, of a *mukta*, a ringding enlightened man, a God-knower.(1991, 106)

Buddy describes Seymour as a genius, a role model, and a full poet. For Buddy, Seymour is not any kind of poet — he is *the* poet of the long 1960s. However, what interests this dissertation most in this excerpt from "Seymour: an introduction" is how Buddy describes Seymour regarding his religious knowledge. For Buddy, Seymour is a notorious mystic, a *mukta*, an enlightened man and a God-knower. It is possible to understand Seymour — as well as some of his siblings — as non-sectarians<sup>141</sup>. Seymour is a religious bookish man, who studies and reads about as many religions as possible. He is not concerned with doctrines, but with how to apply the religious thoughts to life. Based on the previous stories analyzed, it is possible to argue that Seymour's

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phantasmagoric appearance, since by the time Buddy Glass "published" this letter, Seymour had already died. Seymour's letter was sent when he was only seven years old.

<sup>141</sup> One of the reasons why D.T. Suzuki prefers to use the term religious experience is because it avoids sectarian preconceptions (2016, xxv). Moreover, Suzuki mentions that religious experience is both common to happen in the West and the East (2016, xii). These are reasons why I particularly chose to use the term "religious experience" when reading the Glass family stories. Other authors, and their developments of the concept, are also used in this dissertation, as previously explained in the introductory text of this chapter.

religious knowledge of Hinduism, Zen Buddhism, Taoism, is very important for the way he deals with his life<sup>142</sup>.

Buddy mentions that Seymour studied the classical conception of *amukta*. A person who is considered a *jivan-mukta*, according to the Sikh conception of it, has realized the divine presence within him/her<sup>143</sup>. This is the first mention to the Sikhism in the Glass family stories, which brings to light Seymour's and Buddy's knowledge on many different Eastern religions. According to "Sikhism and Sikh Americans" (2005)<sup>144</sup>, with the end of the WWII, many of the impediments that had been created in order to maintain Sikhs away from the Western countries ceased. This enabled a second wave of immigrants who went to the US in the long 1960s.

The end of the World War II brought an end to many legal impediments that had been created to keep the Sikhs out of Western countries. In contrast to the earlier Sikh immigrants who provided labor in the farming, lumber and other industries, this movement was also constituted of highly educated Sikhs who wanted to find better opportunities in the Western world. The new wave of immigrants brought together a greater diversity of geographical dispersion, class, occupations and political beliefs. Also, their experience of the North American life was very distinct from that of the early pioneers. Discrimination had been de-legitimized by government and public machinery; inter-ethnic communication had increased; and generally the society was a bit more accepting of Asians. But even though prejudice was not legally and socially sanctioned, it can and did lead to

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<sup>142</sup> One of the examples given is in the story "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," in which Seymour tells Franny the Taoist tale.

<sup>143</sup> For more information on the subject, read: <http://www.chardikalaa.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Jeevan-Mukta-Vichaar.pdf>.

<sup>144</sup> This is a text written by Jasbir Kaur, Sutinder Kaur, Harmandeep Singh, Jasmit Singh. The format of the text is encyclopedia-like, included in the book *Justice & Democracy: Challenges and opportunities in the aftermath of September 11*, 2001. Available on: [https://www.weareoneamerica.org/sites/weareoneamerica.org/files/guide\\_sikhis-m-sikh-americans.pdf](https://www.weareoneamerica.org/sites/weareoneamerica.org/files/guide_sikhis-m-sikh-americans.pdf).

discrimination against Sikhs, who continued to face barriers that might not have been institutionalized, but were evident in employment, housing and other spheres of life. (2005, 11)

It is relevant, then, to situate Seymour's religious knowledge about Eastern religions to the long 1960s socio-political context. When Buddy says that Seymour is a *jivan-mukta*, he not only praises his brother as a religious leader, but also establishes a relationship between the East and the West through the individual (Seymour's) religious experience. Moreover, after WWII, Sikhs immigration increased due to the end of legal impediments for their entrance in the US. The context faced by the Sikhs immigrants in the post-WWII was more favorable than the one in the 1920s and 1930s immigration period. The long 1960s was a time for raising debates regarding the ethnic struggles, discussed by many different immigrant peoples, and to position their political beliefs before the US government's political decisions. Religion, then, cannot be understood as apart from politics, especially when concerning immigration politics.<sup>145</sup>

So, in "Seymour: an introduction," it is possible to see two main strands of counterculture: the religious knowledge (about Eastern religions) in search of a religious experience, and the incorporation of Eastern literatures (haiku, religious tales, and philosophical texts) in the process of writing. In the narrative, Buddy compares Seymour's poetry with the poetry produced during the long 1960s in the US. Buddy criticizes especially the beat generation. The Glass narrator criticizes not only the beats' poetry, but also their use of Zen and their life styles.

In the excerpt below, Buddy addresses the readers<sup>146</sup> in order to criticize the beat generation not only regarding their literary production,

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<sup>145</sup> Needless to say that religion and politics is a very current issue in the US, similarly to many others providing from the counterculture debate and discussed in this dissertation such as race, immigration, LGBTQ community, etc. The presidential elections in 2016 brought up the discussion on the immigration of muslims in the US in a very controversial form by Donald Trump. Therefore, it is relevant to reflect about the legacy of countercultural texts and protests (and their political agendas) of the long 1960s up to nowadays in the US culture and politics.

<sup>146</sup> The reader in "Seymour: an introduction" is not anyone in particular. Buddy addresses the general reader as his "last deeply contemporary confidant" (1991, 96), who can be any reader (relative, friend, sibling, or someone who he does not know — the reader of the book).

as “the unlettered young men” (1991, 97), but also their way of life and their ideal of freedom. Right at the beginning of the narrative Buddy writes:

In this *entre-nous* spirit, then, old confident, before we join the others, the grounded everywhere, including, I’m sure, the middle-aged hot-rodgers who insist on zooming us to the moon, the Dharma Bums, the maker of cigarette filters for thinking men, the Beat and the Sloppy and the Petulant, the chosen cultists, all the lofty experts who know so well what we should or shouldn’t do with our poor little sex organs, all the bearded, proud, unlettered young men and unskilled guitarists and Zen-killers and incorporated aesthetic Teddy boys who look down their thoroughly unenlightened noses at this splendid planet where (please don’t shut me up) Kilroy, Christ, and Shakespeare all stopped – before we join these others, I privately say to you, old friend (unto you, really, I’m afraid), please accept from me this unpretentious bouquet of very early-blooming parenthesis: (((((())). (1991, 97-98)

Starting the sentence with the French expression that means “in between us,” Buddy directs his text to the reader, who, he assumes, shares the same ideas with him. After that, he criticizes the countercultural production, mainly the beats. He makes reference to counterculture through: 1) the Dharma Bums, which is the title of Jack Kerouac’s 1958 novel on self-enlightenment through Zen masters from the East; 2) sexual liberation; 3) the hippie style; 4) the “Teddy Boy” style –which is the rock music and the rockabilly fashion style; 5) Rock ‘n Roll; 6) “wrong” practices of Zen; and 7) the flower power or peace movement.

Therefore, Buddy distinguishes his narrative — and later on Seymour’s poems — from countercultural writings by diminishing the beats’ writings and behaviors in an ironic tone. Buddy’s narration, when mentioning the beats, is a parody of the beats’ writing style: without precise punctuation for pauses, long sentences, and many exemplifications. He is surely preoccupied with literary tradition and completely rejects the counterculture stereotypical characters, the “sloppy” and “petulant” writers, as he says (1991,97). Buddy’s approach to countercultural authors is based on the stereotypical “flower



power” hippie style performance; however he does not fully develop an argument about their literatures. As a scholar and a writer, Buddy claimsthat literature is worthier when it comes from the literary tradition<sup>147</sup>. Therefore he writes this essayistic novella with assumptions on language, literature and religious knowledgethrough the relation of those in theEast and in the West. Buddy offers to the readers a parenthesis bouquet, i.e., he does not have anything else to offer to the readers except for language. The parenthesis bouquet is also a metaphor to Buddy’s own writing style, since he provides a text full of long parenthesis within it. Similarly to Seymour, in “Hapworth 16, 1924,” Buddy is very aware of his writing style and declares it to the reader clearly.<sup>148</sup>

After criticizing the countercultural canon, the beat writers, Buddy continues to describe Seymour. He mentions the day in which Seymour has committed suicide in Florida, and claims that he is the writer of the story “A perfect day for bananafish.”

On the other hand, in the earlier, much shorter story I did, back in the late forties, he not only appeared in the flesh but walked, talked, went for a dip in the ocean, and fired a bullet through his brain in the last paragraph. However, several members of my (...) family, who regularly pick over my published prose for small technical errors, have gently pointed out to me (...) that the young man, the “Seymour,” who did the walking and talking in that early story, not to mention the shooting, was not Seymour at all but, oddly, someone with a striking resemblance to — alley oop, I’m afraid — myself. (1991, 112-113)

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<sup>147</sup> The assumption that the beats did not compromised with the literary tradition is too vague. Authors such as William Blake, Walt Whitman, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, among others, are some of the authors mentioned by the beatniks either as mentors or as great influence for their literatures.

<sup>148</sup> In Seymour’s long letter sent to his family (“Hapworth 16, 1924”), he is aware that he is writing too much and that his father, Les, will probably not reach the end of it. Because of that, he apologizes to his father in the middle of the letter, as well as writes that his father can take a break on the reading: “Les (...) if you are tired of frankly bored reading, stop immediately, with my heartfelt permission.” (196).

Even though Buddy claims that he is the writer of Seymour's suicide story, there is not a single mention of it in "A perfect day for bananafish" that points out that. The form of "A perfect day for bananafish" differs very much from the ones in the other stories in which Buddy positions himself clearly as the narrator. On the other hand, he does not refer to "A perfect day for bananafish" as the narrator of the story, but as the writer of it. Because of that, it is more likely that Buddy is the fictional writer of "A perfect day for bananafish" than the narrator of it, whereas it is more likely that he is the fictional writer and the narrator of "Zooney," "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters" and "Seymour: an introduction."<sup>149</sup>

After writing about Seymour's suicide in "Seymour: an introduction," and telling the readers he is the writer of "A perfect day for bananafish," Buddy seems to be relieved. It seems that Buddy reaches a state of happiness after he recognizes his authorship in the "A perfect day for bananafish," as well as after he mentions briefly Seymour's suicide. So, by releasing his memories through language Buddy reaches freedom: "*Oh, this happiness is strong stuff. It's marvelously liberating. I'm free, I feel, to tell you exactly what you must be longing to hear now*" (1991, 113), he says right after he had shortly described his story about Seymour's suicide. Freedom for Buddy is to exorcize his family memories through writing the Glass stories "biography." At the same time that he is concerned with other prose and poetry of the long 1960s, such as the beats, Buddy achieves his ideal of freedom through the composition of the "biography" of his family through his memories and experiences.

One of Buddy's main memories is regarding religious knowledge. He writes about religions as well as about his siblings'. In "Seymour: an introduction," Buddy not only mentions

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<sup>149</sup> The (un) reliability of Buddy's narration and authorship is an important issue within the Glass family stories. There are some specific details within the stories that are revealed in others, such as Seymour's tattoo, mentioned in "A perfect day for bananafish," that the reader later knows, in "Raise high the roof beam, carpenters," it is a scar in his wrist. It is not the intention here in this dissertation to point out these details or even to analyze Buddy's narration through authorship theory. For more information on the subject, read Cesare Joseph Filipelli's *The Pleasantly Problematic Nature of J.D. Salinger's Glass Family Stories* (2015); Available on: <http://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3351&context=thesesdissertations>.

Sikhism, but also writes about Zen Buddhism. For Buddy, Zen became in fashion and vulgar during the long 1960s. This could also be perceived as a critique of his Western contemporaries' use of Zen in their writings. For Buddy, the American writers appropriated Eastern Zen into their culture as a way to conceptualize their material detachment in the US.

I'd much prefer, though, to leave Zen archery and Zen itself out of this pint-size dissertation – partly, no doubt, because Zen is rapidly becoming a rather smutty, cultish word to the discriminating ear, and with great, if superficial, justification. (I say superficial because Zen will surely survive its Western champions, who, in the main, appear to confound its near-doctrine of Detachment with an invitation to spiritual indifference, even callousness – and who evidently don't hesitate to knock a Buddha down without first growing a golden fist. (1991,207-208)

It is not the case here in this dissertation to discuss whether Buddy is being reasonable or not when criticizing his contemporaries. However, it is relevant to consider that, by writing that his contemporaries misunderstand Zen, leading them to a spiritual indifference, Buddy is actually suggesting that he is more aware of Zen in the West context than his contemporaries. Buddy's criticism on the beats' Zen is similar to some of the scholars' criticism, as discussed before in the introductory text of this chapter. It is relevant to mention the parallel between the beats and Salinger regarding religious experience: the beats is an individualistic group, they are a spiritual "family," while Salinger is an individual who created a spiritual family — the Glass family. Moreover, it is also relevant to mention the paradox between the beats and Salinger: while the beats are concerned with identities (sexuality, activism, drugs), Salinger was more concerned with alterity (with telling the story of the other, such as Buddy writing fictionally the biography of his brother Seymour). Then, scholars such as Theodore Roszak analyze the beats' Zen as being frivolous (1972, 139), whereas Amy Hungerford, when analyzing Ginsberg's spirituality, sees his spiritual practices as part of his performance as a poet who had political concerns (2010, 51).

The religious experience is brought up in almost all the Glass family stories. However, it is only in "Seymour: an introduction" that

Buddy mentions that his spirituality differs from his contemporaries' ones. Buddy is concerned with showing his readers that his – and his family's – religious knowledge differ from the beats' ones, and therefore, their pursuit of religious experience as well. However, Buddy's use of the religious knowledge in the long 1960s is similar to the beats one: Seymour and Buddy, as well as the beats, studied Eastern religions and cultures and used these studies for the composition of their writings, as well as for their individual religious experiences in life.

In "Seymour: an introduction," Buddy Glass explains that he is very much concerned not only with the Zen Buddhist tradition, but also with the Eastern literary tradition, the haiku. He claims, in a footnote to the story, that Seymour was a reader of Chinese and Japanese poetry. Buddy also mentions some references for the readers who are interested in the subject.

(...) I'm going to have to dwell on an odd inborn characteristic common, to some extent, to all the original seven children in our family, and as pronounced as a limp in three of us, which made it possible for us to learn foreign languages with extreme ease. But this footnote is mainly for young readers. If, in the line of duty, I should incidentally titillate a few young people's interest in Chinese and Japanese poetry, it would be very good news to me. At all events, let the young person please know, if he doesn't already, that a goodish amount of first-class Chinese poetry has been translated into English, with much fidelity and spirit, by several distinguished people; Witter Bynner and Lionel Giles come most readily to mind. The best short Japanese poems – particularly haiku, but senryu, too – can be read with special satisfaction when R.H. Blyth has been at them. (1991, 117-118)

Safeguarded the differences between real writers, the beats, and a fictional writer, Buddy, it is interesting that Buddy criticizes the beats' literary texts, as well as their use of Zen, since both Buddy and most of the beat writers studied Eastern cultures and religions similarly. In this footnote, Buddy mentions the translation works by Witter Bynner, by Lionel Giles, and by R.H. Blyth. Buddy is a scholar who teaches in the English department of a college in New York, so it is likely that he is aware of the translations to English of the poets he reads. Moreover, he

addresses young readers of English who are interested in Chinese and Japanese poetry, as a way to disseminate his knowledge on the subject. This is a practice very similar to what Alan Watts and Allen Ginsberg are known for regarding Zen Buddhism and Eastern cultures and philosophies in general, as before mentioned in the introductory text of this chapter.

Similarly to Buddy, the beats were also concerned with Eastern cultures and religions. Jack Kerouac, for example, became interested in Buddhism in 1953 and, by the same time, some of his beat friends were taking courses on Eastern cultures, religions and languages as undergraduate students. Gary Snyder was an undergraduate student of Asian culture and languages, at the University of California, Berkeley; Gregory Corso deepened his studies on Japanese culture and language, and Alan Watts, as well as Allen Ginsberg spread the word of Zen in the US long 1960s.

Despite the similarities, Buddy criticizes the beats' use of Eastern cultures. However, what differs Buddy's use of Eastern cultures and religions within his works from the beats' ones is mainly the beats' performances. Perhaps, the critique made by Buddy upon the beats' misinterpretation of Zen, is not only about the way they [the beats, Westerners, who] "appear to confound its near-doctrine of Detachment with an invitation to spiritual indifference" (1991, 207), but also upon their exposure of it as part of their performances, as the "Dharma Bums" beatniks (1991, 97). Buddy criticizes the beats by using Buddhism within their Western context, through a Western perspective. However, he does not realize that he uses the Zen Buddhism similarly within his narrations in "Zooney," "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," and "Seymour: an introduction."

In "Seymour: an introduction," Buddy is concerned with arguing — and shows to be a little upset — about how his Western contemporaries misinterpreted Zen. However, by arguing *how* Zen is misread by Westerners, he does not actually explain the "correct" form of understanding it. In light of that, he actually becomes what he has argued against: "the Sloppy and the Petulant" (1991, 97).

Besides Buddy's critic on the beats' (mis)understanding of Zen, he focuses on the English versions of Chinese and Japanese poetry books, even though he seems to know many different languages (he is not clear if he reads these poetries in the original language, though). Bearing that in mind, it is possible to reflect about Buddy Glass' discussion on the translation of Eastern poetry, as well as his critique

about the beats' religious knowledge and religious experience pursuit, in connection to Roland Barthes' *Empire of signs* (1982).

Barthes develops his argument based on the impossibilities of translating religious texts from Eastern to Western's languages. For example, he mentions that some Eastern religious concepts are translated to Western languages with the use of Western religious concepts and meanings. The fact that *satori*, for example, can be understood through Christian words creates a notion of impossibility for Westerners to fully understand Eastern religious concepts.

(...) What Zen calls *satori*, which Westerners can translate only by certain vaguely Christian words (*illumination, revelation, intuition*), is no more than a panic suspension of language, the blank which erases in us the reign of the Codes, the breach of that internal recitation which constitutes our person; and if this state of *a-language* is a liberation, it is because, for Buddhist experiment, [this is] the proliferation of secondary thoughts (the thought of thought) (1982, 74-75)

Barthes exposes the limits of translation of religious concepts and texts from Eastern languages to Western ones. For the French scholar, in this case, the limits of translation are not only because of the limits of language, but mainly because Western words rely on religion and/or other specific cultural roots. Religion, then, is seen beyond dogmas and its religious texts, but as an experience that can only fully occur predominantly in its original cultural domain. In the case of Zen, when English translations, for example, use words that usually refer to Christian concepts, they create a state of *a-language* to these words, such as the example of *satori*, according to Barthes<sup>150</sup>.

Although Buddy may be seen as a little pedant when criticizing the beats' understanding of Zen, since he does not develop his view of what Zen "truly" is, he differs himself from the beats in one aspect: he is non-sectarian. After he states that he is not a Zen Buddhist and that he does not belong to any other religion, he positions himself as a religious self-learner. Buddy contextualizes his narrative within the Western culture and acknowledges his limitations when understanding Zen from

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<sup>150</sup> It is important to take into consideration that Barthes' study departs from the Eurocentric idea of Western, in which excludes the varieties of religious beliefs of native people from the Americas.

within the Western culture. As Barthes does in the excerpt when mentioning the concept *satori*, Buddy understands the impossibility of fully experience any Eastern religions within Western cultures, in his case, the US. He acknowledges this is a culture predominately Christian, so even his Eastern religious knowledge is grounded on the Bible.<sup>151</sup>

Mostly, however, I would prefer not to compare Seymour's marble-shooting advice with Zen archery simply because I am neither a Zen archer nor a Zen Buddhist, much less a Zen adept. (Would it be out of order for me to say that both Seymour's and my roots in Eastern philosophy – if I may hesitantly call them “roots” – were, are, planted in the New and Old Testaments, Advaita Vedanta, and classical Taoism? I tend to regard myself, if at all by anything as sweet as an Eastern name, as a fourth-class Karma Yogin, with perhaps a little Jnana Yoga thrown in to spice up pot. I'm profoundly attracted to classical Zen literature (...). (1991, 208)

This excerpt provides the reader a broad understanding of Buddy and Seymour's wide Eastern religious knowledge. They are both non-sectarians, and Buddy's narration shows that both of them are scholars of religious thoughts, but not necessarily dogmas. Buddy lectures every week on Zen literature and the literature of Mahayana Buddhism, but he does not consider himself a Buddhist (1991, 208). The religious knowledge he has of Zen Buddhist's texts and literature does not necessarily lead him to have Buddhist religious experiences.

In relation to Zen literature, it is important to remember that Seymour's haikus are Buddy's main reason for writing this novella. Seymour has written about 150 haikus that, as Buddy says, have never been published. Because of that, Buddy's narration is a constant dialogue

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<sup>151</sup> In the article “Religious diversity in America, 1940-2000,” Michael Hout and Claude Fischer say that before the end of the 1960s the statistics prove that the majority of the US citizens declared to be Christians (Catholics, Protestants, etc). Moreover, they write that “It is only at the end of the 1960s that Americans with non-western religions or no religion became numerically significant” (2001,12). Available on: [http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/rsfcensus/papers/Hout\\_FischerASA.pdf](http://ucdata.berkeley.edu/rsfcensus/papers/Hout_FischerASA.pdf).

with the reader, in which he explains his intention to publish his brother's poems. However, Buddy never really shows any of Seymour's haikus in the novella. They are invisible poems that Buddy uses to discuss language, religion and literature in Western and Eastern contexts. When mentioning Seymour's possibility to publish his haikus, he says: "No, he didn't think he could do that. Not yet; maybe never. They were too un-Western, too lotusy"<sup>152</sup> (1991,124). Buddy exposes, then, that even though he could not reach the religious experience from Zen Buddhism, as mentioned before, his brother could — since he is too un-Western and too lotusy. On the one hand, the beats and Buddy cannot completely understand Zen Buddhism, and on the other, Seymour cannot be completely understood by Westerners.

The contraposition of the West and the East is related to what the haiku offers to Western cultures. In the chapter "The breach of meaning," in *Empire of Signs*, Barthes explains the attraction Western readers have about the haiku. According to the French scholar, "the haiku wakens desire" (1982, 69), since Western readers have the impression that anyone could write such poetry, since it is accessible to spontaneous writing (1982, 69). Then, Barthes states that the haiku gives Western readers something that their own literary tradition denies: to be trivial, short, and ordinary.

Hence the haiku seems to give the West certain rights which its own literature denies it, and certain commodities which are parsimoniously granted. You are entitled, says the haiku, to be trivial, short, ordinary; enclose what you see, what you feel, in a slander of horizon words, and you will be interesting; you yourself (and starting from yourself) are entitled to establish your own notability; your sentence, whatever it may be, will enunciate a moral, will liberate a symbol, you will be profound: at the least possible cost, your writing will be *filled*. (1982,70)

Therefore, Barthes writes about the possible consternation of Western readers before haikus, since it provides at the same time the "truth of Zen and the form — brief and empty — of the haiku" (1982, 74). For Buddy Glass, to read poetry is a form of therapy. That is one of

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<sup>152</sup> The lotus flower is a sacred symbol in Asian art and religion.



the reasons why he decides to publish Seymour's haiku: "much less emotional, really, than physical" (1991, 117).

The effects of radioactive particles on the human body, so topical in 1959, are nothing new to old poetry-lovers. Used with moderation, a first-class verse is an excellent and usually fast-working form of heat therapy. Once, in the Army, when I had what might be termed ambulatory pleurisy for something over three months, my first real relief came only when I had placed a perfectly innocent-looking Blake lyric in my shirt pocket and worn it like a poultice for a day or so (...) During much of his [Seymour's] adolescence, and all his adult life, Seymour was drawn, first, to Chinese poetry, and then, as deeply, to Japanese poetry, and to both in ways that he was drawn to no other poetry in the world. (1991, 117)

For Buddy, then, reading or writing poetry is a practice from which he expects a healing process. It is through poetry that Buddy finds the true relief in life, and he infers that Seymour thought the same. Buddy and Seymour, then, religiously read and write poetry, believing that they will profit healing from it.

This way, it is possible to understand the multiple forms of relations between Western and Eastern literatures in the long 1960s through Salinger's novella "Seymour: an introduction." Buddy's narration shows a counterpoint to the beatwriters' use of Eastern religions and philosophies. In the long 1960s, to choose to belong to an Eastern religion was a way to subvert the dogmas and morals of Christian religions. Some of the beats, then, after studying Eastern cultures in the US, opted to belong to Zen Buddhism. Moreover, the beats' works also demonstrate their influence on Zen Buddhism, as can be noticed in works by Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Gary Snyder, for example.

Buddy and Seymour, on the other hand, do not belong to Zen Buddhism, or any other religion. Buddy's narration shows that both brothers were aware of their Christian context, and their "roots" (dogmas and morals within their society), but they opt to study other religions as well. They are non-sectarians, but their religious knowledge about many different Eastern religions provides them the possibility of

achieving a religious experience. Moreover, Seymour is seen as a religious leader by his siblings.

Jack Kerouac is an example of the beats' use of Zen as well as the use of haiku in his *oeuvre*. As mentioned in the introductory text of this chapter, it is not rare to find evidences that the term "beat" is also related to the concept of "beatitude," which shows how the search of a religious experience is relevant for the beat writers. In John K. Hutchens' review of the novel *On the Road*, anthologized in the book *The Beats: A Literary Reference*, he says that Sal Paradise refers to his friend Dean Moriarty as one that became mystical, a saint with "the soul of Beatific" (2001, 172).

However, sometimes, it seems that for Kerouac, Buddhism was more like a trend to follow. In a letter sent to Allen Ginsberg, in 1958, Kerouac says that he was going to change the Catholic references in *Visions of Gerard* and replace them for Buddhist ones, as it is explained by Ann Charters, the editor of Kerouac's letters from 1957 to 1969, "Meanwhile Kerouac told his editors at the Viking Press that he would revise the manuscript of *Visions of Gerard*, which they were reading, and substitute Catholic references for Buddhist references if they would buy the book." (1999, 158). Kerouac also says that changing the religion in his novel would not affect in any way the content of the plot and its theological construction: "There will be no theological difference... The Holy Ghost is Dharmakaya (the body of truth). See? Etc. Dharmakaya literally means the Holy Spirit, or the Holy Truth, so what's the big tizimis?" (1999, 159).

Differently from what Buddy Glass suggests as "Zen killers" in "Seymour: an introduction" (1991, 97), Kerouac was not specifically interested in Zen. When asked by *The Paris Review*<sup>153</sup>, in 1966, about how Zen had influenced his works, he said:

What's really influenced my work is the Mahayana Buddhism, the original Buddhism of Gotama Sakyamuni, the Buddha himself, of the India of old... Zen is what's left of his Buddhism, or Bodhi, after its passing into China and then into Japan. The part of Zen that's influenced my writing is the Zen contained in the haiku, like I said, the three line, seventeen syllable poems

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<sup>153</sup> This interview is available the book *The beats: A literary reference* (2001), edited by Matt Theado.

written hundreds of years ago by guys like Basho, Issa, Shiki, and there've been recent masters. (2001, 215)

It is interesting that at the same time that Buddy Glass tries to differentiate his literature from the one of the beats, he is approaching one to another. In Kerouac's case, he is also interested in haiku, and the Zen as a theme of haiku, the same way Buddy Glass is. Kerouac refers to Basho, Issa and Shiki as masters to be followed, as well as Buddy in "Seymour: an introduction." In Salinger's novella, Buddy also mentions Issa, Shiki and Basho as masters of haiku, but says that it is Issa who defines the impossibility of the poet to choose his own material for poetry, in contrast to the general idea that Chinese and Japanese poets tend to choose simple subjects for their poetry.

It's generally agreed that Chinese and Japanese poets like simple subjects best, and I'd feel more oafish than usual if I tried to refute that, but "simple" happens to be a word I personally hate like poison (...) The great Issa will joyfully advise us that there's a fat-faced peony in the garden. (No more, no less. Whether we go to see his fat-faced peony for ourselves in another matter; unlike certain prose writers and Western poetasters, whom I'm in no position to name off, he doesn't police us.) The very mention of Issa's name convinces me that the true poet has no choice of material. The material plainly chooses him, not he it. A fat-faced peony will not show itself to anyone but Issa – not to Buson, not to Shiki, not even to Basho. (1991, 122-123)

Therefore, it is possible to say that both Salinger and Kerouac presented haiku in their literatures similarly. The irony here is that Buddy Glass criticizes the beat writers, however, he shares with Kerouac, and the beats, similar Eastern literary traditions. It is possible to understand Buddy's intention to publish his brother's haikus as a way to "heal" the post-WWII society who is struggling too. For Buddy and Seymour, poetry is a way of healing from the struggles of life — a way to connect with Eastern religions, such as Zen Buddhism. Although Buddy criticizes the beat writers for their misunderstanding of Eastern

religions within the Western context, he does not write about *how* the beats misunderstood it.

To sum up, this section intended to respond to the question of how Salinger articulates Eastern religious knowledge and literature within the Western context through the “Seymour: an introduction.” Moreover, in “Seymour: an introduction,” Buddy presents the relevance of the religious knowledge for some of the Glass characters’ search of their religious experience. Therefore, it is possible to make a parallel between Salinger’s story and the beats’ religious concerns within the context of counterculture —considering the relevance of Eastern religions within US literature of the long 1960s.

### 5.5 “Hapworth 16, 1924” (1965)

This story was published in the literary magazine *The New Yorker* on June 19<sup>th</sup>, 1965. After this publication, Salinger did not publish this story in any book<sup>154</sup>. This was, actually, the last official publication of a story written by Salinger<sup>155</sup>. After that, a “myth” around

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<sup>154</sup> The source I used for reading “Hapworth 16, 1924” in this dissertation is *The Uncollected Stories of J.D. Salinger volume 1 and volume 2*, one that there is no year of publication. This is an unofficial book published in two volumes, and that circulated in the 1970s costing about \$3 or \$5. In its first two months sold about 25,000 copies in the US. By that time, Salinger had already moved to Cornish as well as stopped publishing any stories (in books or in literary magazines). Even though he was reclusive at that time, he gave interviews in order to express his nonconformity with the case. One of these interviews is “J.D. Salinger speaks about his silence,” by Lacey Fosburgh, included in the essay collection *If you really want to hear about it: Writers on J.D. Salinger and his work*, edited by Catherine Crawford, in which Salinger says: “‘Some stories, my property, have been stolen,’ Mr. Salinger said. ‘Someone’s appropriated them. It’s an illicit act. It’s unfair. Suppose you had a coat you liked and somebody went into your closet and stole it. That’s how I feel.’” (2006, 44) John Greenberg, who was from Berkeley, California, created the collection of his stories published in literary magazines. After all, Salinger’s lawyers sued Greenberg, according to Raychel Haugrud Reiff, in *J.D. Salinger: The Catcher in the Rye and other works* (2008, 38) Due to the fact that I am using *The Uncollected Stories of J.D. Salinger* as a source to read “Hapworth 16, 1924,” I will not put the year in the references, only the page number.

<sup>155</sup> I preferred to use “published” because Salinger’s family has said that even though he stopped publishing in 1965, he did not stop writing. And biographers of Salinger say that among all the stories he wrote, the Glass family stories were

Salinger was created, because he moved to Cornish, New Hampshire, and was rarely seen in the media. I will not go deep into the issue why Salinger isolated himself from the publishing houses and the book market because all the biographies about him have already reported that extensively.<sup>156</sup> However, it is interesting to consider that while countercultural agents were “using” the media to promote their thoughts and ideals, Salinger was isolating himself from it.

“Hapworth 16, 1924” is, perhaps, the Glass story that mostly differ from the others in terms of form and content. The story has the epistolary form; and its date shows that this is a letter written by Seymour as 7 years old<sup>157</sup>. He wrote this letter when he and his brother

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Salinger’s favorites. So it is likely that, perhaps, some day Salinger’s family publishes other stories of the Glass family. Actually, since 2012 — two years after Salinger died — I have been waiting for changing everything about my dissertation in case a new and very unusual Glass family story appeared on the press. But fortunately - or unfortunately – this never happened. Three stories were leaked and published posthumously in an unofficial PDF format: *Three Stories* (2013). One of them, “The ocean full of bowling balls” was prohibited by Salinger to be published until 2060, according to *The Guardian*’s article “J.D. Salinger: Three Stories – Review,” by Jay Parini. Accessed on: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/dec/02/jd-salinger-three-stories-review>.

<sup>156</sup> For further information on the subject, read *In search of J.D. Salinger* (1988), by Ian Hamilton, *Salinger: A Biography* (1999), by Paul Alexander, *J.D. Salinger: A life* (2010), by Kenneth Slawenski, and *Salinger* (2013), by David Shields, and Shane Salerno.

<sup>157</sup> Although Seymour’s age is 7 years old, in this story, the content shows that this may be a letter not necessarily written by a seven year-old child. In some of the Glass family stories, Buddy dedicates his time to tell Seymour’s story, and fills his narrations out with words that characterize Seymour as being a brilliant person, as mentioned before in the previous analyses. Since this story brings an introductory text by Buddy, one may infer that his “transcription” of the letter is not faithful to its original. Renato Alessandro dos Santos, in *Romances Rebeldes - A tradição de rebeldia na literatura Norte-Americana: de Moby Dick a On the Road*, discusses Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*’s narratives in relation to the reliability of the main characters’ words. According to Santos, lying is a device usually used by boys to defend them from adulthood. He compares Twain’s characters’ lies to Salinger’s Holden Caulfield, from *The catcher in the rye*, in order to say that Holden is also a character who seems to use the lying device (2015, 171). As a narrator, Holden becomes unreliable, then. Bearing that in mind, one could read “Hapworth 16, 1924” as a story that also relies on a narration made by a child

Buddy were in a children's camp in Hapworth, Maine, a fictional place, while their parents and siblings (the twins Walt and Waker, and Boo Boo<sup>158</sup>) were traveling. In terms of content, it is the first time that the reader is in touch such a long text written by Seymour.<sup>159</sup> Besides the letter, this story also presents a four-small-paragraph introduction written by Buddy, in which he explains Seymour's letter and the context of it.

As previously discussed, Buddy Glass is a professor and a writer, and he attempts to tell his older brother's, Seymour, story. The Glass family stories, then, present Buddy as being almost like a biographer of Seymour, since he attempts to write about his brother's life<sup>160</sup>. In this story, particularly, Buddy writes that he aims at typing up

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full of little white lies, as a way to detach the character from the adult life. Since Salinger, according to Santos, used this technique in *The catcher in the rye*, it is also possible to read the Glass family stories "ending" — or the ending story — as a lie. In this subsection I will not discuss deeply whether Seymour is or is not the author of the letter, or if he were or not seven years old by then. Scholars have briefly mentioned this issue regarding "Hapworth 16, 1924." As mentioned in analytical sections before, the issue of authorship in the Glass stories in which Buddy is the preface writer, writer and/or narrator, is also a relevant issue. Since I am concerned on reading the Glass family stories through a countercultural perspective, I will not develop the issue of authorship deeply. Regarding counterculture, the issue of authorship in the Glass family stories may be understood as a way to detach Salinger as the author of the stories, when making Buddy as a "biographer" of the family. This would somehow differentiate him from the beats, who, for example, were always on the press and on the television and on the radio for interviews, recording albums and video clips, as well as movies, and therefore were very much analyzed together with their works (their life style and their literary works together). When analyzing the Glass family stories, Salinger's name as the author of them is lost, since the reader dives into the "biography" made by Buddy, as if he were the "real" writer. Regarding the issue of authorship, then, in Glass family stories may be seen as an "invisibilization" of Salinger as the author due to the metalanguage used in the stories, whereas the beat writers were recurrently exposed as performers.

<sup>158</sup> Their other siblings Franny and Zooey were not born yet by the year of 1924.

<sup>159</sup> As before mentioned, in some previous stories Seymour's letters, notes, and diaries are also shown. But they are not as long as this letter.

<sup>160</sup> The "biography" of the family is written by many voices that differ from each other throughout the stories. Their emotional breakdowns give instability for sharp facts and problematize the idea of auto/biography. Moreover, it is a fictional biography – similarly to Gertrude Stein's *The autobiography of Alice*

“an exact copy of the letter, word for word, comma for comma”(180). In his short introduction of “Hapworth,” Buddy also states some historical events of the Glass characters to situate the reader regarding time, such as situate the sibling’s ages, as well as mention Seymour’s suicide.

Buddy also mentions that he had not known about the existence of this letter until four hours before he is writing this introductory text. Since the letter is a transcript made by Buddy, the authenticity of the document may have been lost in the process. In spite of that, Buddy attempts to make the reader believe that the letter was untouchable, and that this is a documentation of the geniality of his older brother:

I intend, right now, probably on this same sheet of paper, to make a start at typing up an exact copy of a letter of Seymour’s that, until four hours ago, I had never read before in my life. My mother, Bessie Glass, sent it up by registered mail (...) No further comment, except to repeat that I mean to type up an exact copy of the letter, word for word, comma for comma. Beginning here, May 28, 1965. (180)

It is only in Salinger’s last published story that the reader figures how prodigious Seymour was, by reading his own words in the letter. Until then, the reader has the characterization of Seymour only by the other characters’ opinions, by the narrator of “A perfect day for bananafish,” or by fragmented pieces of Seymour’s writings (notes, journal, and letter). Similarly to what Elizabeth Bishop wrote in her letter – presented as the epigraph of this dissertation– it is difficult, sometimes, to believe in the geniality of Seymour through Buddy’s narration in “Seymour: an introduction,” since the reader cannot access neither Seymour’s writings, nor his voice. In “Hapworth,” on the other hand, the reader can access it entirely through the letter and can understand better what Buddy was attempting to tell throughout his narrations.

The prodigious Seymour, as a seven year-old child, is constantly shown through the letter due to its form and content: a 28.000-word<sup>161</sup> letter beautifully written about his views of the camp’s counselors and

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*B. Toklas* (1933) and *Everybody’s Autobiography* (1937), ones that also problematize the concept of auto/biography.

<sup>161</sup> This number is taken from Howard Hasper Jr.’s book *Desperate Faith* (1972, 57).

children, childhood, adulthood, parenting, philosophy, canonical literature, work, and religion. The story was not well accepted by the critics in general, being ignored by most of them. According to Kenneth Slawenski, in *J.D. Salinger: A Life*, *Time* magazine published a disapproving paragraph of review, and *The New York Review of Books* wrote that the story confirmed Salinger's career's decline (2010, 370). Slawenski states that "Hapworth" was a disaster, because it required that the readers were not only familiar with the Glass characters, but also that they loved the characters as much as Salinger did (2010, 370).

Even then, readers were punished for their sentiments with an eighty-one-page letter that was at once pretentious, unbelievable, and taxing. Seymour himself admits to this opinion. 'I am freely saddling you,' he recognizes, 'one and all, parent and child, with a very long, boring letter, quite filled to the brim with my stilted flow of words and thoughts.' (2010, 370)

"Hapworth 16, 1924" is a difficult reading even for those who were in love with the Glass family, as Slawenski pointed out. However, it presents relevant references regarding Seymour's religious knowledge (oppose to innocence)<sup>162</sup> and his pursuit of religious experience. Such references allow the reader to understand the relationship between Buddy and Seymour and their connection to religions. This brotherly relationship is also mentioned before in the stories "Zoey," "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," and "Seymour: an introduction" by Buddy as the writer and narrator of them. In these stories, as previously discussed, Seymour is showed as a mentor, a God, or a lama — a unique adult and a prodigious child. So in this letter, the reader gets in touch with the Seymour that Buddy had written about, in order to have an idea of him without much interference of Buddy.

In the beginning of this long letter, Seymour makes sure to address all of his family members that are not in the camp, emphasizing that Buddy and him have been missing them very much. However, since the beginning the reader notices that Seymour has a language style not appropriate for a seven year-old children.

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<sup>162</sup> I will use the term religious knowledge following D.T. Suzuki's conceptualization of it — as oppose to innocence — throughout this section.



I will write for us both, I believe, as Buddy is engaged elsewhere for an indefinite period of time. Surely sixty to eighty per cent of the time, to my eternal amusement and sorrow, that magnificent, elusive, comical lad is engaged elsewhere! As you must know in your hearts and bowels, we miss you all like sheer hell. Unfortunately, I am far from above hoping the case is vice versa. (180)

The style of the letter does not change along the story, and Seymour engages in “monologues” about his routine at the camp, as well as his relationship with Mrs. Happy and Mr. Happy, both camp councilors. Seymour shows his love and sexual interests for Mrs. Happy, even considering his “absurd age” (186), as he says in the letter, and the fact that he does not appreciate her husband. Seymour extensively writes about prayers, religious knowledge, and religions, and gives advices about this issue for his family. Pieces of advices also take a long part on the letter and, by the end, he addresses these pieces(of advices) in different paragraphs to each family member (Bessie, Les, Waker, Walt, and Boo Boo) about love, career, religion, and literature. Moreover, it is possible to say that he subtly criticizes war; however he is not prolix about it.

Seymour also writes extensively about literature. He is concerned with the local library and the books he has borrowed and the ones he wants to borrow from it. So he asks in the letter for his family to request Ms. Overman (the librarian) to select the books he lists in the letter. It is not a small list, and it contains US, French, English, German, Russian, Japanese and Chinese classics such as theones by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Goethe, Flaubert, Victor Hugo, Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, Balzac, Cheng brothers, etc. He lists these and many other authors not only to request their books to be borrowed from Ms. Overman’s library, but also to state his opinions about the works he had already read by these authors. The list is very extensive, and it impresses due to his young age<sup>163</sup>. Among the classics read by Seymour, there are: biographies of Guy de Maupassant written by Elise Suchard, Robert Kurz, and Leonard Beland, all the works by Marcel Proust, all

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<sup>163</sup> This is another fact that makes the reader question if Seymour is actually the writer of the letter, or if he were only seven years old.

the books about religion (before letter H) that the library has, the complete works of Tolstoy, etc.

Seymour makes some predictions for the Glass family members; saying that he was going to die early and that Buddy was going to be a great writer. He also says that he had hurt his leg and that he went to the infirmary in order to have some stitches done. He also tells that he refused to have anesthesia, because he prefers to feel entirely every moment of his life. It also seems that part of the letter was written from the bungalow he and his brother are staying, and part in the infirmary. The letter, then, finishes with Seymour's extensive list of the books and his personal accounts on literature.

Similarly to Buddy's narrations, the content of this letter is not linear, and it is too long. Moreover, the language of the letter is too mannered for a letter addressed to family and written by a seven-year-old boy. However, by reading Seymour's letter, it is possible to notice the duality presented in other Glass family narratives: innocence vs. adulthood, and holiness and humanism (in connection with the spiritual and the physical). So, in this section I attempt to focus on some excerpts of Seymour's letter that might enlighten these dualities. These excerpts are presented as fleeting thoughts in the letter, but despite this characteristic they clarify the Glass characters' beliefs.

In Seymour's letter the first religious experience that seems to connect all the Glass characters is the prayer. Seymour is the one who addresses his parents and siblings asking them to pray for him, suggesting that he has been having a hard time with Mrs. Happy's unaffectionate behavior with him — since he is in love with her, and expects more affection from her.

If you have a moment dear Les and Bessie, and younger children as well, pray for an honorable way for me out of this ridiculous and maddening wilderness. Pray quite at your leisure, using your own good, charming words, but stress the point that I cannot achieve an even keel while being torn between quite sound and perfect advice and simple lusts of the body and genitals, despite their youthful size. Please be confident that your prayers will not go down the drain, in my opinion; merely form them in words and they will be absorbed very nicely in the way I mentioned to you at dinner last winter. Should God choose to see me instrumental in this affair, I can be of quite

unlimited help to this beautiful, touching kid.  
(188)

Seymour's reason for requesting his family to make a prayer may be understood as precocious. His feelings for Mrs. Happy are making him feel quite "ridiculous," as he says. By recognizing his adult sentiments and by saying they are ridiculous due to his age and the size of his genitals, Seymour shows how he can be rational even when regarding to his deepest feelings. Because of that, he sees in the prayers a way out of the "wilderness," where he cannot have control. Bearing that in mind, Seymour asks his family to help him with the prayers, exactly the way he had taught them in a certain dinner, as he mentions in the letter. In this excerpt, Seymour shows the relevance of the prayers for him, and how he has been teaching his family to appreciate prayers too. His role in the family is shown as if he were a religious mentor — even though he is very young. This is exposed in other Glass narratives, as mentioned before, and confirmed by Seymour in this letter. For Seymour, at the age of seven, the way to escape his "childish" struggles is through the religious practices, through his or his family prayers. He does not mention any specific religious prayer, which shows that it is not from the dogmas that he will find his freedom of mind, but through the individual religious practice. Ironically, Seymour does not understand the prayers as a solution for problems. He mentions in the letter that, if he has something to be corrected, he has to do it by himself, and not request it in prayers.

(...) I have left this troublesome instability uncorrected in my previous two appearances, to my folly and disgust; it will not be corrected by friendly, cheerful prayer. It can only be corrected by dogged effort on my part, thank God; I cannot honorably or intimately pray to some charming, divine weakling to step in and clean my mess up after me; the very prospect turns my stomach.  
(193-194)

Seymour urges for a constant connection between the human and the divine through prayers, by advising his family members to also have religious practices. However, he distinguishes the prayers as not being a mere connection when one needs it, but as a constant religious practice in search of the religious experience — the enlightened moment in which one truly and individually connects to the divine.

Seymour breaks the duality between holiness and humanism when he approaches the human body to the spiritual. Bessie, the mother, is investigating a disease in her body, and by the time Seymour writes the letter, no one knows the exams' results. Because of that, Seymour anticipates that he thinks it is a cyst, and he suggests her to remove it — he mentions that he talked to a physician in the train on his way to the camp and he said the removal is painless. After that, Seymour writes about the holiness of the human body. The creation of God in its imperfections — blemishes, cysts, and pimples — is, for Seymour, magnificently and unpredictably “made” while being.

Oh, God, the human body is so touching, with its countless blemishes and cysts and despised, touching pimples arriving and departing, on adult bodies, when least expected. It is just one more pressing temptation to take off one's hat to God during the distracting day; I personally cannot and will not see Him dispense with human cysts, blemishes, and the odd facial pimple or touching boil! I never seen Him do anything that is not magnificently in the cards! (190)

For Seymour, the human body is as holy as God, for it is His creation. Even the imperfections of the human body are, somehow, holy because they reveal the individual experience of both the human and the holy. This is an argument that is brought in Seymour's letter throughout many comments on religious knowledge, religious practices, and religious experience in connection to the human body, but also in his siblings' comments about him. For Franny, Zooey and Buddy, Seymour is a spiritual God, who is between the material world and the divine. In life, Seymour has taught them everything about the religious experience, by demonstrating that everyone is like the Fat Lady — who is the representation of Christ Himself.<sup>164</sup>

Moreover, Seymour writes about how commonplace and normal every human being is at heart due to everyone's awareness of death. By doing that, Seymour approaches people to a common point: death. The human beings' commonplace, then, is caused by the awareness of death, which causes steadfast devotion and rectitude.

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<sup>164</sup> This was previously discussed in the analytical section “Franny (1955) and Zooey (1957).”

My God, think of the opportunities and thrusts that lie ahead when no one knows without a shred of doubt how commonplace and normal one is at heart! With just a little steadfast devotion to uncommon beauty and passing rectitudes of the heart, combined with our dead certainty that we are as normal and human as anybody else, and knowing it is not just a question of sticking our tongues, like other boys, during the first beautiful snowfall of the year, who can prevent is from doing a little good in this appearance? Who, indeed, I say, provided we draw on all our resources and move as silently as possible? “Silence! Go forth, but tell no man!” said the splendid Tsiang Samdup. Quite right, though very difficult and widely abhorred. (199)

In this excerpt, Seymour quotes Tsiang Samdup’s *The book of sayings of Tsiang Samdup*. Samdup is a fictional character created by the English-born US writer Talbot Mundy<sup>165</sup>, in his book *Om – The secret of Ahbor Valley* (1924). *The book of sayings of Tsiang Samdup* is a fictional book supposedly written by this fictional character — Tsiang Samdup — and mentioned throughout Mundy’s *Om*. This is a reference that explains a lot the character of Seymour and that can be related to the family Glass’ search of religious experience.

Tsiang Samdup is a character known as being a lama<sup>166</sup>. The other characters of the narrative have read his “book,” *The book of sayings of Tsiang Samdup*, and attempt to find him throughout the story. For these characters, to find Samdup is to see the divine — their search of Samdup is their search of the religious experience. Similarly to Seymour, who is a character that is constantly mentioned in the Glass narratives but is rarely seen, Samdup appears by the end of the narrative, where he “gives the final word” in a spiritual way. It is possible to establish, then, a relationship between these characters — Samdup and Seymour — to God, or the divine. The constant search of the Glass family characters for Seymour’s thoughts and philosophical

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<sup>165</sup> Talbot Mundy was engaged in the Christian Science New Religious Movement, as well as embraced Theosophy. The book *Om -The secret of Ahbor Valley* (1924) is one of his books that reflect his theosophical beliefs.

<sup>166</sup> A lama is the title for a teacher of the Dharma in Tibetan Buddhism, similarly to a guru. This term has been usually used for spiritual masters.

thinking, through Buddy's narrations, is ceased when Buddy decides to publish Seymour's letter, i.e., "Hapworth 16, 1924."

Mundy, in *The Theosophical Path* (1924), writes about his character Tsiang Samdup in the chapter "Apology."<sup>167</sup>

The "Book of the Sayings of Tsiang Samdup" probably was published at the time when the Stars of the Morning danced and sang. As I was fortunate enough to glimpse a page of it, I have been generous enough to share it. What more can I do? If Tsiang Samdup is not real, how could it be possible to write a book about him? If I had known more about him, would I not have written it? And all of it is true, except the bad part, and the weak part, and the artless, dull, uninteresting part. It is as true as you are in your interesting moments. (Online version)

It is not possible to confirm biographically that Salinger was recreating the myth of the existence of *The Book of Sayings of Tsiang Samdup*, or the myth of Samdup himself, by creating Seymour Glass. However, it is possible to argue that Seymour quoted a book released in the year he wrote the letter and that this textual evidence leads the reader to understand the Glass family characters' pursuit of religious experience. By quoting Samdup, who is a lama and who raises theosophical thoughts in his book quoted throughout the chapters of *OM*, Seymour enables another religious inference: the one through the theosophical beliefs.

Theosophy, according to Mundy in *The Theosophical Path* (1924), stands for the restoration of human society to order, and to the recognition of the essential divinity of human beings (1924, 15). Theosophy looks for a religious practice that is not constructed through dogmas, but through the adaptation and expansion of the human knowledge in service of the humanity needs.

We must go back to the truths that are common to all religions, that are the parent source of all religions; and carefully winnow from them the chaff in the shape of man-made dogmas and

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<sup>167</sup> Available on: <http://www.theosophy-nw.org/theosnw/books/mundy/mundy-2.htm>.

claims to special authority and authenticity. (...) It is in this sense that Theosophy regards the fatherhood of God and the sonship of man. (1924, 16)

So theosophy gives the apparatus to Samdup be understood as a lama, and his comprehension of religious experience as an individual experience in which there is a bridge between the human and the divine. Bearing that in mind, Samdup, then, can be related to Seymour, once both characters can be seen as lamas (or the divine) by the other characters of the narratives and have common thoughts regarding the religious knowledge and practices in which the human body and the divine are connected to each other.

In addition to the duality between the holy and the human, other dualities can be read in Seymour's letter through a countercultural perspective. Innocence and adulthood, as well as the dualities of the wars, as discussed in the theoretical chapter and in the historical context of this dissertation, are representatives of the countercultural perspective. The US society was divided into the conservative right wing, and the left wing as a response to the strong wave of censorship and conservative political agendas that excluded and marginalized great part of the US people. Bearing that in mind, plus the overseas wars in which the US battled or supported against many other nations because of international conflicts, it seems that the collective struggles of the long 1960s in the US can be seen through the Glass family characters. Warren French concludes his book *J.D. Salinger* by arguing that short stories such as "A perfect day for bananafish," "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," "Down at the dinghy," and "Franny" are dramatizations of the condition of the ones who are oppressed by that time — in the long 1960s. Moreover, he mentions that these are stories that emphasize the malaise of the "respectable" part of society (1966, 174).

French saw that these stories somehow dealt with a malaise in the US society. The stories are written from the bourgeois point of view, and are not necessarily from within the activism or writings of resistance, but at the same time, they evidence the general discomfort that the conservative political agendas of the US created towards their citizens. In "Hapworth 16, 1924," Seymour subtly criticizes war,

probably the World War I<sup>168</sup>, through the appearance of a congressman in the camp.

A certain United States congressman, a war buddy of Mr. Happy's, visited the camp last weekend. As he was one of the most unwatchable figures I have watched in many years, it would be wise to skip over his name in this personal letter. A breath of insincerity and personal corruption passed over the camp; the air still stinks to high heaven. The kowtowing and artificial laughing on Mr. Happy's part was beyond earthly description. In the privacy of an impromptu meeting on the porch of her bungalow, I asked Mrs. Happy to take careful pains not to allow the congressman and Mr. Happy's quite sickening responses to him upset her and that marvelous little embryo while all this unamiable crap is going on. (191)

In this quotation it is possible to see how Seymour dislikes not only the congressman who went to the camp for a presentation, but the representation of the government and the war. At the age of seven, Seymour already shows that he dislikes the representation of government and of wars — but that he does not know exactly why. By reading Seymour's comment about the congressman, who is a war buddy, it is possible to connect it with his own war experience that would later happen. Also, it is possible to reflect about the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder Seymour had after serving in the WWII when he was adult. Also, the congressman is the representation of the adulthood that Seymour dislikes, and that later will be disliked by his siblings too.

The duality between innocence and adulthood is constantly in the Glass narratives, especially in the short stories, as mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a theme that does not have so much attention in the novellas, but that returns in "Hapworth 16, 1924." The letter presents the contradiction of Seymour's character, as if he did not have

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<sup>168</sup> There is not any reference in Seymour's letter to which war he is talking about. Because of the proximity of dates, 1924 (when he wrote it) and 1918 (when the World War I ended) it is possible to understand the references to war as if they were to WWI. However, by not referencing specifically to which war he is mentioning, the criticism may be inferred to all kinds of war, and not only one.



the opportunity to be a common child. He is too intelligent to think, write or act as a “normal” child. He has never lost his innocence because he never had it. As a seven year-old boy in a camp on vacation, he spends most of his time writing for his family. Seymour’s letter shows that he also spends most of his time reading, since by the age of seven he has read the complete works of many authors.

As a child, Seymour lives as an adult. In 1924, he works with his siblings in the radio show “It’s a Wise Child,” showing his intelligence and wisdom to the whole nation. He is a mentor for his siblings and a leader for his parents. The Gallagher & Glass, or Bessie and Les — the parents, are Vaudevillian stars in the US by the 1920s, and when they are road tripping, Seymour takes care of his four younger siblings, as he mentions in the letter. Because of that, he gives advice to Bessie about the right form to parent his siblings, especially Buddy, regarding to his meals:

(...) Buddy asked me to tell you, Bessie sweetheart, to send him some more tablets without lines, also some apple butter and corn meal, as he is practically living on the latter, I daresay, when we are able to prepare pleasant, leisurely meal in peace. Be assure that the corn meal is very nutritive for him; his little body is unusually suited to corn and barley, if the truth be known.” (195)

This excerpt shows Seymour’s concern in relation to adult life duties, instead of being concerned with child’s common activities. He takes the lead as if he were the parent of his siblings. This behavior is a consequence of his premature development: intellectually and physically. On the other hand, his parents are a representation of the popular culture, since the Vaudeville was a popular entertainment from late 19<sup>th</sup> century to about 1930s. So, there is a difference of intellectuality between Seymour, who works as a radio star in a show about prodigious children, and his parents, who are popular entertainment stars. This may be one reason for Seymour, the oldest kid, to take the lead of the family since his childhood.

Moreover, Seymour writes about his and Buddy’s premature interest in sex, which he refers to as “sensuality.” In the letter, Seymour demonstrates that he is in love with the camp’s counselor Mrs. Happy, who is twenty-two years old and is pregnant of her husband, Mr. Happy.

He also writes that he has not mentioned to Buddy anything yet, since his “sensuality” is also blooming early.

(...) I must admit, in all joviality, to moments when this cute, ravishing girl, Mrs. Happy, unwittingly rouses all my unlimited sensuality. Considering my absurd age, the situation has its humorous side, to be sure, but merely in simple retrospect, I regret to say. On or two or three haunting occasions when I have accepted her kind invitation to stop by at the main bungalow for some cocoa or cold beverage after Aquatics Period, I have looked forward with mounting pleasure to the possibility, all too slight for words, of her opening the door, quite unwittingly, in the raw. This is not a comical tumult of emotions while it is going on, I repeat, but merely in simple retrospect. I have not yet discussed this indelicate matter with Buddy, whose sensuality is beginning to flower at the same tender and quite premature age that mine did, but he has already quite guesses that this lovely creature has me in sensual thrall and he has made several humorous remarks. (186)

Although this is a letter that dates 1924, it is possible to consider how transgressive it is regarding the theme of sexual liberation. This is a prodigious kid that is only seven years old and who writes to his parents and talks about his and his brother’s premature “sensuality.” Seymour even mentions the issue of virginity in the letter, but says it is not the point to discuss this heated topic of debate (204). Countercultural texts recurrently present sexual liberation or LGBTQ political demands in them. In this letter, Salinger presents a child who feels his body precociously sexualized and rationalizes this regarding his brother. It seems Seymour is much older than he actually is in the narrative and that he wants to pass along his experience to his brother. Also, Seymour is a precocious infant in all levels: emotionally, physically and intellectually.

So, the loss of innocence is portrayed in the Glass family short stories, published in the book *Nine Stories*, whereas in “Hapworth 16, 1924,” no innocence is lost, since Seymour has never had it. Moreover, he wants to make his younger siblings to be like him, by giving them advices. One example is the advices he gives to Boo Boo: he says that

she should read and write as an adult (209), even though she was four years old.

As a child, Seymour acts as an adult, and as an adult, Seymour looks for the lost innocence. In “Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut,” Walt Glass used to make Eloise feel a glimpse of innocence in adulthood — the most pleasurable days that she says she misses; and in “Down at the dinghy,” Boo Boo comforts Lionel in order to make him feel secure and comfortable by being a child, by that, Lionel does not lose his innocence. In “A perfect day for bananafish,” Seymour tries to make Sybil think as a child by introducing her to the story of the bananafish. So, there is a paradox of Seymour that makes him see childhood as an adult, and adulthood as a loss of innocence. Although in “Hapworth 16, 1924” Seymour is seven years old, he does not act or write like one. So he does not have the records to know when, exactly, he lost his innocence.

To sum up, this final breath of the Glass family narratives, “Hapworth 16, 1924,” gives the reader a critical sense of Seymour’s personality. His geniality is shown through his writing style, as well as through his great canonical literary references. Moreover, in this letter, it is possible to understand the dualities of innocence and adulthood, also problematized in other Glass stories. The pursuit of religious experience in “Hapworth” also explains the relevance of Seymour for the family, and can be related especially to Franny, Zooey, and Buddy — his religious “disciples.” The religious experience emphasized by Seymour is the one in which there is no duality between the holy and the human. For Seymour, everyone is holy, divine, and everyone is the commonplace. This is also showed in the previously analyzed story “Zooey.” For the Glass family characters, as well as for the readers of the stories, Seymour may be the representation of God — or the divine. He is omnipresent in the novellas, but he is not necessarily present on them. However, he shows up in the last story through the letter that contains his religious knowledge (oppose to innocence) and practices addressing his disciples — his family.

## 6 Final considerations

To write the final considerations of this dissertation does not mean to end this research. For every word reread, new ideas arise on my mind. However, it is also necessary to give up the endless process of editing, cutting, and proofreading the text towards perfection. To give up, here, means to release this dissertation to readers who will surely improve it with new perspectives and ideas about it. I hope that this open-end creates a space for debating J.D. Salinger and other authors through a countercultural perspective. This is the reason why I spent five years reading, writing, and discussing in order to create this dissertation.

In this study, I attempted to analyze Salinger's Glass family stories through a countercultural perspective. However, such perspective did not exist by the time I started my study. I had, then, to elaborate the conceptualization of counterculture neither as a historical moment, nor as a cultural movement. To do it so, I argued that the binary concepts of counterculture tended to consider countercultural agents as opposing to the hegemonic culture. However, such studies do not problematize the hegemonic counterculture, in which features middle-class white men such as the triumvirate beatnik. A very important book that made me understand counterculture as not being entirely the dichotomy of liberals vs. conservatives either was Manuel Luiz Martinez's *Countering the counterculture* (2003). So, I recognize that countercultural works of the long 1960s expressed concerns with the post-WWII context, as opposing to the US governmental decisions towards an ideal of freedom. However, I argue that these works did not necessarily have only liberal presuppositions.

Therefore, I argue that counterculture can be understood as a perspective. For such argument, I theoretically framed counterculture as emerging some common aspects. The stereotypical idea of counterculture, takes us to the mottos such as "peace and love," "rebels without a cause," and "sex, drugs and rock 'n roll." However, I argue that counterculture has its own political resistance that cannot be seen as rebellion without a cause. The civil rights movement, the free speech movement, peace movements, ethnic protests, women's rights movement, etc., showed the youth of the long 1960s US had lost their innocence and were fighting against the idea of surviving in an alienated society of the post-WWII. So, issues such as the loss of innocence, alienation, as well as the pursuit of a religious experience, together with some elements that built the stereotypical idea of counterculture, are

presented in the first chapter as the ones that are recognizable as part of the US long 1960s countercultural perspective.

In the second chapter of this dissertation I attempted to contextualize the long 1960s in the US by relating some of the political facts and historical moments with counterculture and J.D. Salinger's biography and works. This is a key chapter for this dissertation in the sense that bridges the gap between counterculture and Salinger through political aspects of the long 1960s US. There, I position Salinger and his works in accordance with other countercultural agents and with the context of the long 1960s in the US.

The third chapter is where I analyze the Glass family stories in relation to the issues of alienation and innocence. The stories analyzed in this chapter are: "A perfect day for bananafish," "Uncle Wiggily in Connecticut," and "Down at the dinghy." In the introductory text of this chapter I attempted to conceptualize the terms, alienation and innocence, in relation to counterculture. Moreover, I also attempted to review some of the scholars who discussed the Glass family stories to either the concepts of alienation or innocence.

In the fourth chapter of this dissertation I analyzed the stories "Franny" and "Zoey," "Raise high the roof beam, Carpenters," "Seymour: an introduction," and "Hapworth 16, 1924." The analyses of these stories focus on the issue of religious experience and religious knowledge. The pursuit of the religious experience is very present in the long 1960s counterculture of the US. Alan Watts, for example, is one of the countercultural authors who have extensively written about it. Besides Watts, authors such as William James, and D.T. Suzuki, are also used for the conceptualization of the term "religious experience." Other scholars are also used in order to discuss the theme of religion in Salinger's Glass family stories, such as Amy Hungerford, and Theodore Roszak. In broad terms, the main argument of this chapter is that the Glass siblings were in constant search of religious experience. However, they were very concerned with the religious knowledge (lack of innocence) in order to achieve such experience. Moreover, it was possible to understand that the Glass siblings consider Seymour a religious leader. Seymour's phantasmagoric appearances in the stories show that he can be seen as an omnipresent God.

Bearing the content of this dissertation in mind, I argue, then, that the Glass family stories can be read through a countercultural perspective. In these stories, Salinger points out demands of some of the political agendas that were part of the long 1960s activism. Gender, civil rights, and immigrants' agendas, as well as the activism against the wars

are some of the issues present in these stories. Moreover, Salinger points out a disrupted and fragmented family, in which the children are more respected than the parents. This shows that the youth of the long 1960s had their voices raised upon conservatism or upon norms. The lack of parents-children hierarchy in the Glass family, showed, for example, in the conversation between Bessie and Zooney<sup>169</sup>, demonstrates that part of the youth of this period disagreed with, and challenged their parents. The differences of thoughts between parents and children established in the stories are a reflex of the one between conservatives and liberals after the WWII.

It is possible to argue that the form of the Glass family stories also contribute to the reading of them through a countercultural perspective. There are three different narration styles in the stories: the third person narrator (not omniscient), Buddy Glass' stream of consciousness, and the epistolary narrative Seymour's letter in "Hapworth 16, 1924," and other letters, notes, and diary entries. These narrations show that the stories' form is as fragmented as the family. Moreover, the first type of narration is linear and clear – the reader is not challenged to understand the struggles of the family through the form. However, from the moment Buddy starts narrating the stories, it seems that it lacks air to breathe, and the struggles are perceptible also by the stories' form.

I will recuperate the epigraph of this dissertation, in which Elizabeth Bishop complains about Salinger's writing style in "Seymour: an introduction." The pathetic writing style that Bishop suggests Salinger to have can be read as the feelings and the emotions of the characters' transcription into form. If the stories were a long poem, this would have the following form: in the first part, it would be similarly to Edgar Allan Poe's "The Raven," with a structure well defined, rhymes, and metric; the second part would be Allen Ginsberg's "Howl," with no metric or rhyme, but with a rhythm to take your breathe away; and the third part would be T.S. Eliot's "Wasteland," showing many allusions to Western cannon and religious references.

I understand that this dissertation has strengths and limitations. One of the main strengths is that I have created a study that contemplates counterculture in an original form. Therefore, I can say I have contributed to the development of a countercultural perspective.

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<sup>169</sup> In the story "Zooney," when they are in the bathroom talking to each other while Zooney is very impatiently with Bessie.

Because of that, authors that are not so commonly related to counterculture can be read through this perspective, as a way to understand this author's critiques on elements proper of counterculture.

Another strength is that I have recognized the gap that scholars have left between counterculture and Salinger's Glass family stories. Because of that, I have developed a study that challenges the position of Salinger within the US literary canon. There are not so many critical works that read a canonical author, such as Salinger, through a "marginal" perspective, such as a countercultural one.

A limitation is the number of concepts that is developed in this dissertation. In addition to the concept of counterculture, I work with concepts of alienation, innocence, and religious experience. Because of space constrictions, as well as due to the focus of the dissertation, I did not dedicate an entire chapter for each of these concepts. I rather opted to conceptualize the terms in relation to counterculture, as well as to Salinger's critical review about them.

The study of Salinger's Glass family within the counterculture context is relevant to fields of study such as: the US literature, cultural studies, and the long 1960s US counterculture. Therefore, approaching counterculture perspective to Salinger's narratives is to reconsider not only the conceptualization of counterculture, but also the analysis of Salinger's stories.

I intend to continue researching about counterculture and analyzing more authors of the long 1960s US through a countercultural perspective. And I believe that other students, researchers, and scholars can profit from this dissertation either to borrow some arguments from it or to criticize and develop them more. I also believe that future researches can profit from this dissertation by comparing countercultural agents of the long 1960s with contemporary ones. I also hope that new Salinger stories can be released posthumously, and that, then, researchers can profit from this dissertation in order to read such stories from a countercultural perspective too. The contemporary US politics and culture dialogue directly with the ones of the long 1960s. In terms of activism in the US nowadays, authors and other citizens have been debating the US governmental decisions regarding the black lives matter movement, especially during Barack Obama's presidential years, as well as the issues of immigration, religious intolerance, free speech (especially in relation to the press), class (in relation to health

insurance), etc. So, I hope that future researches can bridge my study to contemporary authors who can be read through a countercultural perspective.





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## 8 Appendix

### 8.1 Social struggles and political decisions toward wars in the US long 1960s

This section has the objective of clarifying the US historical context of the long 1960s for the reader of this dissertation. For readers who are familiar with the US historical context, this section is relevant because I frame it in order to demonstrate in details how the counterculture of the long 1960s dialogues with politics. And for readers who are not familiar with the US historical context of the long 1960s, this is a section in which will provide a fruitful ground for understanding the many different political manifestations in this period. Since it is in the appendix section, this text may be seen as an optional reading. However, I endorse, it is of fundamental relevance to understand the socio-political context of the long 1960s US to have a broad understanding of the meaning of counterculture.

Counterculture has always existed in social politics and, consequently, in literature, according to J. Milton Yinger's "Presidential address: countercultures and social changes" (1977). That is the reason why the sociologist prefers to use the term in the plural, not counterculture, but countercultures. However, the counterculture revisited in this dissertation is the one dated from the long 1960s in the US. As an introduction to the political discussion of the US in the long 1960s, a small text follows in order to present the international actions led by the presidents of the country during the time studied.

The presidential actions<sup>170</sup> toward the wars were fundamental for the dissent and rebellion in culture that culminated into a new concept for social organization, i.e., counterculture. The youth of the long1960s grew up during World War II. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933-1945) led the country during it after Pearl Harbor attack by the Japanese Imperial Navy, in Oahu Island, Hawaii, in 1941. Roosevelt died just some days before the end of the war and left for his successor Harry S. Truman (1945-1953), the thirtieth three president of the US, no briefing on the development of the atom bomb. After V-E

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<sup>170</sup> The presidential international actions from 1933 to 1974 were based on the texts the White House offers in its website (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents>), therefore, it may be understood as the "official" history of the US.

Day<sup>171</sup>, when Japan refused themselves to surrender the war, Truman ordered two atomic bombs to be dropped in his opponent country, in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then, the surrender of Hirohito, Japan's Emperor (1926-1989), followed.

Also during Truman's presidential years, in 1947 and 1948, he intervened in the Soviet Union pressure towards Turkey and in the Soviet blockade on the western Berlin, stimulating economic recovery and a massive airlift to supply the German capital until the Russians backed down. These were the initial strains for the US in the Cold War. He also manifested his political view against the attack from Communist North Korea to the South Korea, on June 1950. However, he kept the war restricted to some actions not to enlarge the conflict to China and Russia.

After that, the following president of the US was Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-1961). He was a president that tried to reduce the tensions of the Cold War. After Stalin's death, in 1953, the relationship between the US and Russia shifted considerably. Besides signing a truce in 1953 that set a border peace between South and North Korea, he proposed that the US and Russia exchanged blueprints of military establishments, since they both had developed hydrogen bombs. The Russians responded to the proposal with silence, but maintained themselves cordial in relation to the US.

John F. Kennedy (1961-1963) was the successor of Eisenhower in the presidency of the United States. "Bay of Pigs," one of his first political moves, was the attempt of overthrowing the regime of Fidel Castro, in Cuba, by permitting trained and armed exiled Cubans to invade their origin country. However, the invasion was a failure. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union renewed its campaign against West Berlin, being Kennedy against it and reinforcing Berlin's troops and increasing the Nation's military strength. After the construction of the Berlin Wall, Nikita Khrushchev (1958-1964), First Secretary of the Communist Party at the time – who had gained power after the de-Stalinization - relaxed its pressure against Central Europe, but focused on installing nuclear missiles in Cuba. Because of that, in October 1962, Kennedy imposed quarantine on the weapons in the direction of Cuba, so the Russians agreed to take the weapons from the Cuban territory.

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<sup>171</sup> Victory in Europe Day was a holiday celebrated by the Great Britain and the United States on May 8<sup>th</sup> 1945. It was the day when the Allies of World War II was formally accepted and when German troops throughout Europe laid the arms down. So, V-E Day is considered the end of World War II in Europe.

Meanwhile, the world trembled on the edge of a nuclear war. Kennedy responded to urgent demands taking actions to equal rights calling for new civil rights legislations. After Kennedy's abrupt assassination on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, his Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963) was sworn in as President of the US.

In 1964, Johnson was elected President (1964-1969). During his presidential years, Johnson continued Kennedy's pursue of the civil rights. In 1965, though, Johnson had political difficulties in relation to the Vietnam. Despite his efforts to end Communism and achieve settlement, the fight continued. In March of 1968, he limited the bombing of North Vietnam, supported by the Soviet Union, in order to start a negotiation. The Vietnam War followed the First Indochina War and happened in a Cold-War era, being opposed North Vietnam (supported mainly by the Soviet Union and China) and South Vietnam (supported mainly by the United States), the communists and the anti-communists nations, respectively. In the US, counterculture expressions have strongly refused the Vietnam War.

Richard M. Nixon (1969-1974) was the President after Johnson. It was after his quest for world stability that he has achieved some of his most acclaimed actions. He reduced the tensions the United States had with the USSR and China, the main communist countries. In accordance with the Russian leader Leonid I. Brezhnev, he produced a treaty to limit nuclear weapons. And in 1973, Nixon announced an accord with North Vietnam to end the American involvement in Indochina. Nixon's administration was embattled over the Watergate scandal<sup>172</sup> and after it, he faced with an almost certain impeachment, which took him to pronounce on August 8, 1974, his resignation.

Bearing this brief introduction in mind, in which exposes some of the US's international actions of the long 1960s, the following section will present a discussion on the developments of politics in the US in the long 1960s. Also, the reaction of the US citizens will also be taken into consideration in order to understand how the political environment of the country influenced counterculture.

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<sup>172</sup> The Watergate scandal was an assault at the offices of the Democratic National Committee during the 1972 campaign by the Republican representatives, one that Nixon was part of.

## 8.2 From within the university to the margins: dissent and the liberal causes

Counterculture has been related to dissent in the US due to the social struggles in the country involving the civil rights movement, the working class immigration through the Bracero Program, women's liberation movement and the university students' Free Speech Movement. Even though there was not a group of people speaking up in the name of one homogeneous movement called counterculture, currently, it is possible to understand it with such a political framework because of the intersection among the political movements that happened in the 1960s.<sup>173</sup> The social struggles in the US built a web of ideals that were somehow connected to each other and that created a socio-cultural fight for the people. These facts and events can be understood as countercultural, but more than that, they can be understood as fundamental parts for the countercultural generation of the US long 1960s.

The dissent of the young students of the University of California, Berkeley, throughout the Free Speech Movement (FSM) raised a political consciousness from the center, that is, the bourgeoisie youth, willing to deconstruct the imperialism towards social issues such as immigration and, mainly, civil rights in the Bay Area. However, at the same time that the movement "gives voice" to the marginalized people, it silences them. The ideal of Berkeley's students for equality, by asserting their rights before the American society, is dual since they were predominantly bourgeoisie white youth. This has nothing to do with being alienated, as previously discussed in this dissertation<sup>174</sup>.

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<sup>173</sup> In the foreword of *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution: A News & Letters Pamphlet* (1965) there is a tone of treating the revolts in the US's 1960s not as pure coincidences: "Was the sequence of these events – Mississippi Summer, Berkeley Fall and Winter, Alabama and Michigan Spring – pure chance? Was the participation by some of the same students in all these events pure coincidence? Were the forms of revolt accidental? Or does an organic link connect the Negro revolution, the student rebellion, and the anti — Viet Nam [*sic*] war teach-ins?" (1965, 8) The intention here is not look for evidence that prove or not the real relationship among those manifestations. On the other hand, it is the intention to make a historical contextualization of them in order to understand why those movements emerged almost at the same time and with such similar ideals.

<sup>174</sup> In the documentary *Berkeley in the Sixties* (1990), Jackie Goldberg, one of the leaders of the FSM, differentiates themselves from what was being said by

However, it maintains the white supremacy “tradition” in the sense that this supremacy is the one who judges whether the oppressed people reach liberty and equality or not.

Bearing this in mind, the FSM’s beginning is historically known when taking part on the civil rights movement, shaking the Negro status as inferior in the Bay Area of California. The FSM<sup>175</sup> (from September 14, 1964 to July 26, 1965) emerged in the University of California, Berkeley as a student protest that had Mario Savio as its principal voice. Some of the students who participated in the movement were active in the civil rights movement in Mississippi, and had returned from the southeastern state, having taking part of the COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) Summer Project. After the murder of the workers James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, who were shot in Philadelphia on June 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> of 1964 by the members of the Mississippi White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, “another white America” (1965, 9) created the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project as Eugene Walker says in the FSM and Negro Revolution Pamphlet. The project was set up by the COFO, as commonly known as the “COFO Summer Project.” The objective of the project was not to better qualify Southern Negroes, so they could fit in the white society. On the contrary, the main purpose was an education that “both Northern white volunteer and Southern Negro to do what must be done in our society. That is, to work to change the society. This is something which isn’t being learned in regular schools” (1966,

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the media in general: “The thing that irritated me the most and the stuff that came out about that period was a description of us as alienated and cynical. We were the absolutely the antithesis of that. We were so committed and so involved that we risked our careers, we risked our jobs, our education... And we did it because we were so tight in to this system, to this country, to this culture, we believed in it so much that we were really into taking those risks, in the time that it wasn’t really popular to do so.” (00:39:31-00:39:58) The fact that Berkeley students were privileged (mainly whites from middle or higher classes families) does not mean that they were politically alienated. I am emphasizing this because Martinez uses the same description for “several social and political valences” to argue that they were “individualistic”: “While it appeared to resist conformism and domesticity, it actually resisted any kind of commitment to community and to the communal notion, and short-circuited direct forms of political participation” (2003, 77).

<sup>175</sup> From now on I will be using the abbreviation “FSM” when referring to the Free Speech Movement.

10)<sup>176</sup> Basically, it was an education looking forward to having social changes by adding a strong socialist perspective in the Freedom Schools.

In 1966, Alice Walker wrote the essay “The Civil Rights Movement: What good was it?” that brings personal and, at the same time, communal accounts about it. For Walker, the movement awaked the black community in the US to see themselves as empowered to fight for their freedom – individually and, mainly, communally; she says: “To know is to exist: to exist is to be involved, to move about, to see the world with my own eyes. This, at least, the Movement has given me” (1966, 126). Furthermore, Walker responds to the title question of her essay, explaining how the movement could be misunderstood both by blacks and whites. It was a fight for black people’s rights and, mainly, for the freedom of choice. It was not a case of questioning if black people would adopt white middle-class mentality when they have their rights gained. But a matter of fighting for being able to decide which role you will play in society. Because of poverty and hunger on the table of the black community, there is no choice for the people. Walker mentions that one step at a time should be taken; first give the necessary, food, the basic rights that the black community did not have and then discuss its cultural interests, because without food, they cannot have a voice for fighting. After giving the example of her mother’s desire to be as similar to the white bourgeoisie soap opera’s characters as possible, Walker responds to the white — and/or hippies and nihilists — Civil Rights activists:

The hippies and other nihilists would have me believe that it is all the same whether the people in Mississippi have a movement behind them or not. Once they have their rights, they say, they will be well fed complacent about things and “soul” that the Movement has seen them practice time and time again. “What has the Movement done,” they ask, “with the few people it has supposedly helped?” “Got them white-collar jobs, moved them into standardized ranch houses in white neighborhoods, give them nondescript gray flannel suits?” “What are these people now? They ask. And then they answer themselves, “Nothings!” I would find this reasoning – which I have heard many, many, times from hippies and

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<sup>176</sup> In *Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution Pamphlet*.

nonhippies alike – amusing if I did not also consider it serious. For I think it is a delusion, a cop-out, an excuse to disassociate themselves from a world in which they feel too little has been changed or gained. The real question, however, it appears to me, is not whether poor people will adopt the middle-class mentality once they are well fed; rather, it is whatever mentality they think will suit them. The lack of a movement did not keep my mother from *wishing* herself bourgeois in her daydreams. (1984, 126)

Walker has a good point. There is no choice for those who are starving or are facing poverty everyday, as Martin Luther King Jr. has said in his memorable speech *I have a dream*, “One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity”<sup>177</sup>. However, she is not clear exactly to whom she is talking to; she does not refer whom the hippies and nihilists are, for example. The problem of it is that she does not leave space for a debate, a talkback about the civil rights. Walker writes about the US white citizens, but surely may not be about the “other white America” that went to the COFO Summer Project<sup>178</sup>. Civil rights and FSM’s activists thought similarly about the racial issues in the US and the Vietnam War later on. Professor Leigh Raiford (UCB) has said in her paper presentation at the panel on the celebration of the FSM 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary “(...) the legacy of the Free Speech is the legacy of the Freedom Summer and that the Free Speech Movement and the Civil

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<sup>177</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.’s speech *I have a dream* was delivered 28 August 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial, Washington D.C., USA. It can be listened and read on the website: <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihavedream.htm>.

<sup>178</sup> Although later on in her essay she gives a tip when saying “But they [Civil Rights workers] do not give up. They do not withdraw into the world of psychedelia.” (1984, 127) Walker also has a great argument in relation to the hippies being mostly middle-class whites. In her argument she defends that black middle-class youth do not have the same status quo as the whites to have the rights to be careless. “They [the Negroes] are required by the treacherous world they live in to be clearly aware of whoever or whatever might be trying to do them in. They are middle class in money and position, but they cannot afford to be middle-class in complacency They distrust the hippie movement because they know that it can do nothing for Negroes as a group but ‘love’ them, which is what all paternalists claim to do.” (1984, 127-128)

Rights are inseparable. And that the Free Speech Movement could not have happened without student commitment to issues of social justice both on and beyond campus.” (2014)<sup>179</sup>

Before the happenings in the Bay Area, in the 1960s, the Civil Rights movement was interested in developing a black consciousness in the U.S. culture by providing to the black community rights equality and actual freedom from the white supremacy in order to stop the segregation between blacks and whites. In the text “FSM and the Negro Revolution” (1965), Raya Dunayevskaya approaches the FSM and the civil rights movement as consequences of a problematic socio-political context in the US. For Dunayevskaya, the Negro Revolution emerged silenced after the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the campaign of the 1950s against racial segregation, one that was not taken into consideration as a strong protest outside the South.

It wasn't until 1960, when Negro youth in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a sit-in at a lunch counter that the first responsive chord was struck in the North. That same year witnessed a mass anti-HUAC<sup>180</sup> demonstration in San Francisco. Thus did the white student youth in the North find its own voice at the same time that it helped the Negro revolution gain momentum not only in the South, but in the North. In the California Bay Area in particular there was, thereafter, no activity – from the Freedom Riders in 1961 to the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964 - in which the student youth didn't participate with a spirit characteristic of youth conscious of reshaping a world they had not made. Thus, suddenly, a generation of new radicals was born to replace “the silent generation” of the 1950s. (1965, 21)

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<sup>179</sup> The panel *The operation of the machine: UC then and now* happened on October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2014, at University of California, Berkeley. The presenters on the occasion were Wendy Brown, Tyrone Hayes, Leigh Raiford, Amanda Armstrong and Chris Newfield. All the presentations can be found online in separate videos on youtube. Professor Raiford's presentation is available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oc05YUwhTaY> and her paper is available on <http://utotherescue.blogspot.com/2014/10/the-free-speech-movement-and-unfinished.html>.

<sup>180</sup> House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).



The period of silence that Dunayevskaya mentions, from 1961 to 1964, turned out to be a gap of time when the white youth did not compromise their privilege in order to be incorporated in the civil rights movement. However, before the FSM started, the Bay Area students engaged on the socio-political issues related to the Negro Movement, when going to the Mississippi Freedom Summer, as it was before mentioned.

But before the FSM, on May 1960, Berkeley's students had protested in San Francisco City Hall against the House Un-American Activities Committee. After the very conservative decade of the 1950s and the communism fear that was established in the US society during these years reinforced by Wisconsin senator (1947-1957) Joseph McCarthy, the young generation of the 1960s protested against the repression of political freedom. McCarthyism, as such specific political repression was named, put people on trial due to their political affiliation in order to intimidate any communist expression<sup>181</sup>. The dissent in San Francisco City Hall can be understood as an inauguration of a long 1960s, which has been echoed in the US society up to nowadays.

During the FSM within the university, the students were often oppressed by the UC Berkeley's administration, which prohibited students from on-campus political organization and activities and also the distribution of literature, which included the ideals and policies, on tables at Bancroft Way and Telegraph Avenue<sup>182</sup>. After that, the students decided to move the tables to Sather Gate exit and not to stop political activity on campus, not to comply with Dr. Kerr order. Hence, the restrictions made by the university were not only aimed at neutralizing the students' actions towards the civil rights movement in the Bay Area, but all progressive or leftist political activities the students would possibly organize. Contradictorily, by banning the

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<sup>181</sup> The film *Operation Abolition* (1960) was one of the attempts from the government, through the House Committee on Un-American Activity (HUAC) to threaten and abolish any kind of communist manifestations in the late 1950s and 1960s. It can be accessed on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DXsCfYYi2FE>.

<sup>182</sup> This is not a site part of UCB campus, but the corner of one of the main exits of the university, the Sather Gate, and where the Sproul Hall, the rectory, is located. And was a place where historically the political activities on campus had been occurred.

political organization of the students, the university fostered a political union from the small political groups that focused, separately and mainly, on the civil rights and the peace movements.

Primarily, in Berkeley, the students were fighting against the hiring practices that, at that time, did not use to hire black people for employment positions that required contact with the public of such companies, generally high-cost service ones. This was the main reason for the students to claim, in 1961, that private companies such as supermarkets, automobile stores, hotels, etc., let black people apply for any position. The main protest of the students who fought for the civil rights movement, at the Sheraton Palace, in San Francisco, created a confrontation between the students and the policies in relation to racial discrimination in order to abolish them. The protest led to some students' arrests and trials. However, in an eight-hour discussion among some of the students' representatives and the direction of the Sheraton Palace, the hotel signed the agreement that stated the end of racial discrimination in the entire hotel industry. It was one of the first victories of the protests of the long 1960s.

Meanwhile, the president of the biggest public university in the US, University of California, Dr. Clark Kerr, pronounced a technocratic discourse in relation to his understanding about the university in the early 1960s. At that moment, he had already made a speech about the changes on the function of the university as a provider of knowledge to the industry towards national growth.

The university is being called upon to educate previously unimagined numbers of students; to respond to the expanding claims of national service; to merge its activities with industry as never before. Characteristic of this transformation is the growth of the knowledge industry, which is coming to permeate government and business, and to draw into it more and more people raised to higher and higher levels of skill. The production, distribution and consumption of knowledge is said to account for 29 percent of gross national product, and knowledge production is growing at about twice the rate of the rest of the economy. What the railroads did for the second half of the last century, and the automobile for the first half of this century, may be done for the second half of this century by the knowledge industry; and that

is, to serve as the focal point for national growth.<sup>183</sup> (Kerr, 1962)

This very technocratic discourse about the production of knowledge to *serve* industry, in wartime, is not naïve. The discourse leads the university to a subservient position towards governmental decisions for military purposes, including the production of technological material for war. For part of that generation of students, that was against the war and that had raised the peace movement in relation to human rights, this was not an acceptable discourse. And together with the communist panic established by the presidential positions, that led the country to a huge repression of the leftist political manifestations, the FSM began to combat not only the civil rights in the Bay Area, but the governmental repression within and out the university. Mario Savio, in one of his most impactful speeches, that was published on *The Free Speech Movement and The Negro Revolution Pamphlet* (1965), counter argues the political postures of Dr. Kerr for the University of California.

There comes a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you cannot take part; you cannot even tacitly take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the wheels, and the gears and all the apparatus, and you have to make it stop. And you have to make it clear to the people who own it, and to the people who run it, that until you are free their machine will be prevented from running at all. (1965, 24)

Savio's discourse uses the industry metaphor, concept that was developed in Kerr's pronouncement, to compare the nation to a machine and the governors as the operators of the machine. For him, it is important to clearly state to the governors of the machines – being them the university, city, state or nation governors — the counter-political position in order to make the machine stop before the human rights.

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<sup>183</sup> Announcement made by the president of the UC in 1962. The material can be found in the website "Calisphere," which is an online archive of the University of California. Available on: [http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt687004sg&chunk.id=d0e893&brand=calisp here&doc.view=entire\\_text](http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt687004sg&chunk.id=d0e893&brand=calisp here&doc.view=entire_text)

Ronald Reagan, some years later as the governor of California (1967-1975), wrote the text “The morality gap at Berkeley,” released in 1968 in his book *The Creative Society*, in which he explains his positions regarding the manifestations for free speech in Berkeley. Reagan diminishes the students’ political acts and relates it with a negative idea of anarchy. At the same time, Reagan refers to the students’ protests as being totally ‘allowed’ by the University, which implies that the students were not suffering any kind of speech repression by the deans or police, which was not true. By affirming that, Reagan states that the students’ protest was apolitical and that it had nothing to do with the actual freedom of speech.

It continued through the filthy speech movement, through activities of the Vietnam Day Committee and all this has been allowed to go on in the name of academic freedom. What in Heaven’s name does academic freedom have to do with rioting, with anarchy, with attempts to destroy the primary purpose of the University which is to educate our young people? (1968, 126)

For the republican politician, the repression of political activism in the campus was not strong enough for reaction. Yet, because the cause was against the Californian government and the president of the University’s decisions, it was considered anarchy. On the other hand, the FSM was politically organized by its representatives, distributing literature, pamphlets, separating two different committees and organizing rallies and sit-ins. What Reagan tried to do in his text was, mainly, to connect the FSM with the fear of the communism the US society was feeling in the 1960s. He even used wrong data to manipulate his reader to that acquaintance.

There has been a leadership gap and a morality decency gap at the University of California at Berkeley where a small minority of beatniks, radicals and filthy speech advocates have brought such shame to and loss of confidence in a great University that applications for enrollment were down 21% in 1967 and are expected to decline even further. (1968, 125)

However, UCB enrollment did not decline in the years after the FSM, but on the contrary it maintained its average. Statistical tables from Berkeley Planning Department show that in 1960 the enrollment of students, undergraduates and graduates, was of 18,7 thousand and in 1970 was of 27,7 thousand.<sup>184</sup> It is relevant, then, to ask what is the importance of such statement made by governor of California about one of the estate's most reputable institutions. By making such statement, Regan implies that the protest at UCB had affected not only the reputation of the institution, but also its large economic impact on Californian society – with the false statement of students enrollment decrease, there would be a threat of economic decrease, with less professionalized workers in the market. Moreover, that data would prove how degenerative the FSM would have been to the university. The impact of that would reflect on Regan's candidature for California's government in 1966. The students' protests throughout the country were as much unpopular as the countercultural expressions during the 1960s. Politician who would position themselves against protesters would not only have the national government on their sides, but also a large part of the population.

Polls made during the 1960s in Berkeley show that the protests within the university were not popular. According to UCB's online database<sup>185</sup>, when the question "How do you feel about the protest?" was made for 1139 persons the result was the following:

Percentage	Number	Label
<b>8,3</b>	87	No opinion
<b>3,8</b>	40	Approve strongly
<b>13,8</b>	145	Approve with
<b>18,7</b>	197	Disapprove somewhat
<b>55,5</b>	584	Disapprove strongly
<b>100,0</b>	1139	Total

<sup>184</sup> UCB Enrollment (Table 21), available on [access limited, though]: <http://sda.berkeley.edu/sdaweb/searchstudies/?clist=cp50,cp60,cp70,cp80,cp90,cp00,cp10>.

<sup>185</sup> This and other polls made in California about the 1960s protests can be accessed through the website <http://sda.berkeley.edu/archive.htm>.

Selected study: Californian Poll 65-01: January 7, 1965 – January 12, 1965<sup>186</sup>

The survey above shows that the majority of the Californians were against the protests. Besides being harassed by the governors and the university president and deans<sup>187</sup>, the FSM was also portrayed by the mass media as made by rebels. The distortion of the movement purposes in the newspapers throughout California focused on the conflicts with the police and authorities. Headlines such as “Sit-in group out of jail; Students, faculty picket,” “UC faculty arranges bail, rebels go free,” “UC’s war spreading: 801 sit-ins arrested – strong’s ouster sought” would focus the image of the movement to the “incorrect” behavior of the “rebel” students, instead of focusing on what they were claiming for.<sup>188</sup> Together with the newspapers, the television broadcasting was also a form to announce to the general public the “rebellion” of the young students, since about 88% of the households in the US had televisions in the beginning of the 1960s.<sup>189</sup> And it was on television that the government speeches were usually done. So it is not so difficult to connect how this poll result was achieved and why mainly of the people who were not engaged with the protests did not accept.

It was in one of his campaign trail speeches for California’s government, in 1966, served on television, that Ronald Reagan

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<sup>186</sup> Available on:

<http://sda.berkeley.edu/sdaweb/searchstudies/?clist=cp50,cp60,cp70,cp80,cp90,cp00,cp10>.

<sup>187</sup> In a written memorandum, Arleigh Williams, dean of UCB in 1964, responds to Mario Savio due to the organization of the rally in the campus towards free speech to the students and the set up of a table in the Sather Gate area on September 29, 1964, the ladder, a violation of the University’s policy. With the memorandum, Williams puts the university on the contrary position of the students and admits that they did not agree with the University’s polices.

<sup>188</sup> All these headlines were in the first page on December 4<sup>th</sup>, 1964, in the following newspapers: 2<sup>nd</sup> Extra of *Berkeley Daily Gazette*’s, *The Sacramento Bee* and *The San Francisco Chronicle*. These and many other Californian newspapers’ first pages facsimiles can be found on <http://fsm-a.org/FSM%20Newspaper%20Coverage/Webpages/gallery-01.html>.

<sup>189</sup> According to the text “100 years of U.S. consumer spending,” released by the United States Department of Labor/Bureau of Labor Statistics on <http://www.bls.gov/opub/uscs/1960-61.pdf>.

pronounces his position against the FSM and other political and cultural manifestations in the estate.<sup>190</sup>

It began a year ago, when the so-called free speech advocates, who in truth have no appreciation for freedom, were allowed to assault and humiliate the symbol of law and order, a policeman on the campus. And that was the moment when the ringleaders should have been taken by the scruff of the neck and thrown out of the university once and for all. As a matter of fact, I have here a copy of a report of the district attorney of Alameda County. It concerns a dance, what was sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee, sanctioned by the university as a student activity, and that was held in the men's gymnasium at the University of California. The incidents are so bad, so contrary to our standards of human behavior, that I couldn't possibly recite them to you from this platform in detail. But there is clear evidence that there were things that shouldn't be permitted on a university campus. Let me just read a few excerpts. "The total crowd at the dance was in excess of 3,000, including a number of less than college age juveniles. Three rock and roll bands were in the center of the gymnasium playing simultaneously all during the dance. And all during the dance, movies were shown on two screens at the opposite ends of the gymnasium. These movies were the only lights in the gym proper. They consisted of color sequences that gave the appearance of different colored liquids spreading across the screen, followed by shots of men and women on occasion, shots where the men and women's nude torsos on occasion. And persons twisted and gyrated in provocative and sensual fashion. (Reagan, 1966)

Throughout Reagan's campaign for governor of California he used UCB students' protests as a target to get elected.<sup>191</sup> Also, together

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<sup>190</sup> My transcript from the video on:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QCr3nL78qWs>.

with the FSM debates, the anti Vietnam War discourse in the universities was rising, together with, and mainly because of, Martin Luther King's speeches. The anti-war movement was, then, not only focusing on the war, but also had impacts on the US society — the ones who stayed in the country. Martin Luther King Jr., in one of the firsts speeches against the Vietnam War on April 1967, that was published on his book *In a single garment of destiny*, speaks in the name of the unprivileged people, white and Negroes, in the US and how the Vietnam War corroborated to maintain their poor status.

We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem. So we have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools. So we watch them in brutal solidarity burning the huts of a poor village but we realize that they would never live on the same block in Detroit. I could not be silent in the face of such cruel manipulation of the poor. (King Jr., 66-167)

As a leader of the civil rights movement, King Jr. also related himself – and consequently the civil rights – to the peace movement. What King Jr. was trying to demonstrate in his speech is that the presidential actions towards the Vietnam War ignored any kind of political action to solve the internal social struggles of the poor and at the same time, for the “welfare of the country.” There was a contrast between the two sides of the US — the international policies through the Vietnam War and the other, the socio-political, student and anti-war protests occurring within the states. Because of that, Nixon, in a very conservative position, allowed National Guards to open fire within campuses and other places where protests would happen. That was the case of what happened in Kent State University, when the Ohio

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<sup>191</sup> This is explained in with faculty of the 1960s testimonials in the text “Ronald Reagan launched political career using the Berkeley campus as a target,” by Jeffery Kahn, available on [http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/06/08\\_reagan.shtml](http://berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/06/08_reagan.shtml).



National Guard shot four students on May 4, 1970. These students were part of the protest against the expansion of the war into Cambodia, one that Nixon had announced about a week before the shooting. After the Ken State Massacre — as it is best known — Nixon pronounced a speech about it:

This should remind us all once again that when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy. It is my hope that this tragic and unfortunate incident will strengthen the determination of all the nation's campuses, administrators, faculty and students alike to stand firmly for the right which exists in this country of peaceful dissent and just as strong against the resort to violence as a means of such expression. (Nixon, 1970)<sup>192</sup>

The conservative policies that the country's government was taking during the 1960s towards the 1970s divided the country into two opposed Americas the ones who were pro the government actions and the New Left ones, majorly, the protesters. And this is so evident that in records from governmental institutions such as the Federal Bureau of Intelligence (FBI) there are threats for protesters like Martin Luther King Jr. In a letter to King Jr. the FBI shows that his speeches on and histargeting the civil rights movement were seen as a threat to the government.

King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes. White people in this country have enough frauds of their own but I am sure they don't have one at this time that is anywhere near your equal. (...) King, like all frauds your end is approaching. You could have been our greatest leader. You, even at an early age have turned out to be not a leader but a dissolute, abnormal moral imbecile. (1983, 125-126)

This is a fragment of a letter sent anonymously to King Jr., which was written by William Sullivan, FBI's domestic intelligence chief at the time. The hostility and the constant intimidation to King

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<sup>192</sup> This statement can be found in *The New York Times* article "4 Kent State students killed by the Troops," by John Kifner on May 4, 1970. Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0504.html>

Jr.'s representation of the Negroes represent how the government at the time saw the protests and protesters and how the US was divided. The representation of the country's division into the political polarity led not only protests but also cultural manifestations throughout the country, as it will be seen in the next section.

It was because of the New Left and its students' protests and the government and National Guards conservative reactions within the universities that the concept of high quality education started to be discussed not only by faculty and administrators, but also — and mainly — by the students. The role of academic authorities and faculty came into question due to the mentioned before internal political decisions that interfered in the students' protests. Many of the students asked for representation in the university decisions and elections.

In the 1960s the US system of higher education was starting to be questioned specially in relation to the hierarchy within its system. The "Critical University," as Michael Seidman describes in his book *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*, emerged in 1967 by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)<sup>193</sup>:

(...) the critical university held the promise of bridging the gap between the radical student movement and other progressive forces, especially the working class, by allowing students to venture forth from their academic ghetto. Some suggested that by following the model of Cuban and Chinese universities, the critical university could help transform society by abolishing the distinction between manual and intellectual work." (2004, 67)

The Critical University, created by students that were part of the New Left, had a communist perspective, based on Chinese and Cuban models. Because of that, it was not easy to incorporate its ideals into the US "anti-communist" political actions and in the country's society at that time. That is probably the reason why it has failed. Stephen Spender (1984), however, criticizes the Critical University's

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<sup>193</sup> SDS was the largest leftist student organization from the 1960s. It was initially inspired by the Civil Rights Movement and fought for equality (social and economic), democracy and peace. Later on, the SDS also was concerned about the Vietnam War and the Women's Movement. More about it is easy to find through: <http://www.sds-1960s.org/index.htm>.

intention of abolishing the distinction between faculty and students, because that would, probably, sustain an endless discussion of how the university should be led and taught. But this is not what the Critical University proposes: they do not see it as the end of distinction from one another, but the end of hierarchy power between one another, as a way to reach democracy within the universities.

Another issue regarding the universities in the 1960s is in relation to the tuitions. At that moment, an in-state resident who attended a public university had to pay about \$62 a semester, and out-of-the-state students had to pay about \$600 for each semester.<sup>194</sup> This created a possible environment for the students to represent themselves politically, because many of them did not need to work in a part-time job to cover the university expenses. Nowadays, the students need to cover the university expenses because the tuitions have increased so much that in-state students pay about \$12,000 and out-of-the-state students pay about \$18,000 a year.<sup>195</sup>

One of the greatest legacies of the 1960s within the academic environment — in addition to the free speech and the political engagement — was the creation, for the first time, of departments of African American studies, Native American studies, Chicano studies and Asian American studies. This was motivated by the protests of each ethnic group and created within the universities a better contextualization of the socio, cultural and political history of the US.

In 1966, at Columbia University, it was created the Student Homophile League (SHL). In light of that, the gay and lesbian resistance for their rights began in the 1960s. Many students, though, did not see SHL as a legitimate form of fighting for their rights, but saw as a threatening action to heteronormativity. In a letter to the Columbia newspaper *Spectator*, an anonymous person wrote against gay and lesbians:

In editorially condoning homosexuality, *Spectator* has lowered itself into a slime of degradation. Homosexuality and lesbianism are

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<sup>194</sup> The data is based on the article “How UC Berkeley went from free speech to costly tuition,” by Barbara Garson, published on San Francisco Gate website: <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/openforum/article/How-UC-Berkeley-went-from-free-speech-to-costly-5775919.php>.

<sup>195</sup> These are numbers based on University of California, Berkeley’s tuition from the 1960s to nowadays’. The total amount may vary a lot according to each university, if public or private.

unnatural....To say homosexuality is justifiable because humans engage in it, is to justify stealing, lying, murder and like, because they too are tendencies of many people. Police records show that drug addition and homosexual forms are invariably linked. Furthermore, homosexuals and lesbians believe theirs is a higher form of life, and they subtly teach their disgusting, repulsive habits to children, before natural drives of the innocents can emerge. (2007, 51)<sup>196</sup>

David Eisenbach, in his book *Gay Power: An American Revolution*, explains that because of the creation of the SHL, many of the students of Columbia thought that the homosexual group would corrupt the others. This happened mainly because of the lack of information and prejudicial background. The hostility was huge, since the SHL was the first college students gay group officially recognized in the US. So, it was important to the SHL to work for the gay and lesbian rights, in order to try to change this reality.

In 1968, Bob Martin, considered the leader of the SHL, was elected to the university student council and considered his election a triumph for everyone knowing about his sexuality. In 1969, the SHL sent to the administration of Columbia some demands, which were a creation of an Institute of Homosexual Studies that “would offer a wide program of studies of sex, sexual orientation, the gay subculture, and the relationships between the oppressed subculture and the majority heterosexual society” (2007, 79). Even though the SHL was created and promoted gay studies before the Stonewall, they felt more than necessary at that moment. The Stonewall riots were violent reactions to the police by members of the gay community in New York’s Stonewall Inn.

Among these issues regarding the university in the 1960s, the freedom of the students’ speech was the most relevant, especially because of its achievements within the university and for the intersectionality of the youth political engagement. About the goals and achievements of the FSM, Annette Kolodny, in the text “Equivocal Legacies: A Personal Assessment of Berkeley in the ‘60s” (2013) said that

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<sup>196</sup> Quoted in the book *Gay Power: An American Revolution*, by David Eisenbach.

What the movement was really about was opposition to the hypocrisy of a nation that publicly espoused a glorious set of democratic and egalitarian ideals while propping up tyrannical dictators abroad for the benefit of United Fruit or Exxon Mobil; sent its young men to die in Vietnam for a domino theory that no one believed in; and at home sanctioned racial segregation, discrimination against a host of minorities, sub-standard pay and brutal working conditions for farmworkers, and differential pay scales along with limited employment opportunities for women. Even President Johnson's war on poverty was being eviscerated by the mounting war debt of Vietnam. (2013, 7)

One of the wings that arose from the FSM, and that later on expanded and became independent, was the women's movement. In the conservative 1950s, women, mainly, were expected to depend on men: the daughter, the wife, and the mother. However, it was in 1960 that the birth control pill became available for the first time to women in the country<sup>197</sup>. Kolodny explains her career as a woman within the context of the 1960s. In her case, she could not see any possibility to be promoted from the position of the Associated to the Editor in the *Newsweek* magazine office. After that, as a graduate student at UCB, Kolodny became one of the FSMers and a representative of the women on campus. Kolodny's experience showed in her paper<sup>198</sup> recounts the women's movement in the 1960s from her particular experience. Moreover, she also intersects the 1960s women's movement with the civil rights movement and the students' dissents. Ellen Willis, in the introduction of the book *No more nice girls: Countercultural Essays* describes the motivation of the women's movement in the 1960s within the historical context of the US.

For my generation, formed equally by the liberating exuberance of rock and roll and the imperial brutality of Vietnam, the question of where we stood on America was inescapable. Was

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<sup>197</sup> The birth control pill was available since 1957 in the US, but only for women who were attested to have severe menstrual disorder.

<sup>198</sup> This paper was presented in the Western American Literature Conference 2013, in Berkeley, and gently conceded by Kolodny for me for further research.

this nation (it!) the enemy, tyrannical abroad, hopelessly racist at home, and in the process of choking to death on a glut of consumer goods? Or were we (we!), however corrupted by various forms of power, still the source of a vital democratic impulse that fed cultural dissidence and subverted authoritarian values all over the world? I took the latter position, and through the 60s and 70s exploring its paradoxes was a central concern of my writing. (1992, xii)

The women's movement in the 1960s started as an attempt to represent women within the New Left groups (civil rights, FSM, etc.), since most of the movements at the moment had male leaders. Within women's movement social issues related to women's rights as well as related to their sexual and body freedom were discussed frequently in the meetings.

The issue of freedom within the women's movement is discussed in relation to individualism. Willis, in her essay "Feminism without freedom," reinforces the need to look at the basic issues of the movement.

(...) whether the demands for independence, personal and sexual freedom, the right to pursue happiness that have set the tone of feminism's second wave are the cutting edge of cultural revolution, or on the contrary, socially irresponsible and irrelevant to most women's economic and familial concerns. That there are self-proclaimed feminists and leftists on both sides of this debate is symptomatic of a larger division – the split between cultural radicals and left cultural conservatives that has been widening for years and is now taking on the proportions of a major political realignment. (1992, 151)

Willis writes it in response to the critiques against feminism. She says that the left criticism summarizes the movement as being an extension of liberal individualism, because it is identified as one created by white upper-and-middle-class women, which is also commonly related to counterculture for being white. But on the other hand, counterculture is more criticized for its *male* whiteness. This way of thinking counterculture can be only understood by the exclusion of many other ethnic socio-political and cultural manifestations in the

1960s. When seeing the relevance of many ethnic political and cultural manifestations in such decade, it is possible to consider counterculture differently than only blaming it for its whiteness. What makes it so white is the framing of counterculture with only one part of the history; it is necessary not to look only to the white history ignoring the American Indians and the specificities of each tribe, the African Americans, the Asian Americans, the Chicanos and the Chicanas' socio-political and cultural manifestations for freedom and their rights.

Because of that, it is important to mention other than white dissent from the 1960s. This is what argues Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior in their book *Like a hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* when explaining the thesis of the book.

Our focus is not on the U.S. government's failed policies or on police repression, but on how Indian people, for a brief and exhilarating time, staged a campaign of resistance and introspection unmatched in this century. It was for American Indians every bit as significant as the counterculture was for young whites, or the civil rights movement for blacks. (1996, VIII)

Smith and Warrior, who are American Indians<sup>199</sup>, attempt to deconstruct the victimization of American Indians before the common historical narratives. What they propose is to look at the three American Indian protests that happened in the long 1960s as a period of strength and fight for their freedom. The first protest was the occupation of the Alcatraz Island in the Bay Area in 1969. In the beginning of the occupation they were all students from UCLA, Berkeley and San Francisco State<sup>200</sup>, but later Indian Americans of all ages, from all over the country, joined the students to what they self-entitled the protest of "Indians of All Tribes." The young Indian Americans understood the

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<sup>199</sup> I am going to use the term "American Indians" instead of "Native-Americans" in order to follow Smith and Warrior's use of it. However, these two are general concepts that comprehend the total of tribes in the US. It is not the goal here to neutralize the specificities of each tribe, but in a certain way, to show the protests of specific tribes for the large group of people.

<sup>200</sup> This is well portrayed in the short documentary *Debate on the Rock: The American Indian Occupation of Alcatraz* (2011), produced by Antara Rao, Meghana Rao, Joselyn Takahashi and Megan Yen. It can be accessed on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NkRPZYV3DhU>.

occupation of the Alcatraz Island as a way to problematize the poor educational system in the U.S. that excluded them and their culture. Smith and Warrior describe the intention of the young Indian Americans in relation to the need of the inclusion of their culture within the higher education system.

They were young people whom the educational system neglected and, increasingly, they desired for themselves the same opportunities others had. They wanted programs, Indian faculty slots, and course offerings that highlighted the contributions of American Indians to knowledge and culture. They rallied to the suggestion of using Alcatraz as a way to dramatize their issues. (1996, 3)

The occupiers of the island had the intention of retaking the land to the Indian Americans. They wanted to buy the island for twenty-four dollars' worth of beads as well as turning the island into an Indian cultural and educational center, since the Alcatraz prison was disabled and was not being used at the moment. This was a way to ask for the self-determination<sup>201</sup> of the Indian Americans in the country and to raise their voice in the 1960s, when many other protests were happening for similar causes for different ethnicities. This was a reply to the government's policy of determination that forced Indian Americans to leave their lands to the city to find jobs with the promising that would be opportunities for them. However, this policy did not ensure their rights, and instead of opportunities the Indian Americans saw themselves marginalized in slums within the cities.

Francis Paul Prucha tells in his book *The Indians in American society* (1985) that the federal government rejected the Indian Americans proposal, offering that the island became a national park with an Indian

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<sup>201</sup> The movement towards self-determination began in the 1920s with the Indian American advocate John Collier, who served as Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the president Roosevelt administration. He was responsible for the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), which rapidly advanced during the 1960s after the Indian Termination Policy (1953-1968), which was the government's effort to eradicate the tribes that had people living in extreme poor conditions. As a reflection of the 20<sup>th</sup> century history of Indian Americans and the US government, they search for their "autonomy and Indian heritage by skillful use of Anglo-American forms and agencies, while at the same time they promote the revival of tribal sovereignty," as Prucha writes in his book. (1984, 81)



theme and Indian employees. However, the occupiers did not give in of their original offer and kept in the island from 1969 until 1971. The action of not returning the island to the Indian Americans' self-determination, but instead, maintain it in the US government's hands to create jobs for them in a touristic theme national park was a way not only to reject the heritage of the Indian Americans with the land, but also to exoticize and commodify them and their culture. After president Nixon has announced that the government would listen to the Indian Americans and try to negotiate, they did not reach an agreement. On January 1970, the government cut electricity and water supply in the island, making many of the occupiers leave it. Because of that, after some days, fire broke on historical buildings of the island and the condition of occupation there became difficult. On June 1971, Nixon decided that it was time to end the occupation, even without coming into an agreement with the protesters, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> the FBI and police agents arrived in the island in order to remove the only fifteen occupiers that were in the island at that time.

Even though the occupation of Alcatraz did not end as the Indian Americans wanted, having their land back to build an educational system — especially university — for them, it encouraged other protests to happen and not completely silence their voices. Even though they still do not have an Indian American university in the country, departments of Native American studies have grown in the US universities. However, the percentage of Indian American students in the universities is compelling in relation to other ethnicities. At UCB, for example, they embitter a number of 1percent of the total amount of the students in the university.<sup>202</sup>

Another relevant protest during the 1960s was the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, also known as *El Movimiento*. During Lyndon Johnson's campaign for president, he evoked the importance of include socially and politically the Mexican Americans in the US, since they were at the time, the second largest minority community in the country. By doing that, Johnson became the first president of the country who considered the Mexican Americans as important constituencies for getting elected. In the text "From hope to frustration: Mexican

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<sup>202</sup> According to the UCB demographic announcement of the students' enrollment in 2011 and 2012. It can be accessed on <http://newscenter.berkeley.edu/2012/08/23/uc-berkeley-2012-13-entering-class/>.

Americans and Lyndon Johnson in 1967”<sup>203</sup>, Julie Leininger Pycior says how Lyndon Johnson used the Mexican Americans in favor of his presidential campaign and years.

Lyndon Johnson knew firsthand that Mexican Americans experienced second-class citizenship. As president he pulled out 1928 photograph of himself surrounded by his students at a segregated “Mexican” school in Cotulla, Texas, to make the point he considered them the authors of his 1965 Voting Rights speech. In that address, he told a joint session of Congress and a nationwide television audience that his students “knew...the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw in their eyes.” (...) Johnson realized that Mexican Americans constituted an important segment of his political support. (1993, 468)

In the long 1960s, the relationship between Lyndon Johnson and the Mexican Americans was the closest the US had had until then. Bilingual education initiated, health programs, adult education and job training served millions of Mexican American neighborhoods, the *barrios* residents. However, by 1967, the government started to think minorities only in relation to the black people due to the civil rights movement and its non-violent protests and leaders, excluding from the fight the Mexican Americans, Indian Americans and Asian Americans. However, Pycior says that president Johnson scheduled many conferences and discussions with Mexican American activists over the years and that he

(...) championed the interests of Mexican Americans as one part of the coalition he had forged over the years. His political appointments and social programs offered unprecedented opportunities, galvanizing barrio activists. Members of LULAC and the GI Forum were getting their foot in the door, with the president reminding his own aides that “minority” meant more than “Negro.” (1994, 493-494)

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<sup>203</sup> Published on The Western Historical Quarterly, v.24, n.4, Nov. 1993.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), together with many Mexican American associations during the 1960s created a varied vanguard that gave voice and fought for social and political equality in the US. Because of that, the Mexican American people and culture started to be recognized in the 1960s, with many difficulties and problems, though. In 1942, the US government persuaded about 4.6 millions of Mexicans to work in the US' agribusiness as low-cost workers under the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program, the Bracero Program. The Mexican workers lived in poor conditions in the US and did not have the rights the US-born citizens had. This is because the Bracero Program was created to only beneficiate the US agribusiness. After that, in 1954, the US government announced a large number of Mexican workers deportation.

In 1962, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta founded the National Farms Workers Association. It was the first successful association in the US, helping its members to obtain their rights in relation to their wages, better working conditions and fair medical coverage. Farm workers were considered mere products for the capitalism, with no right for education or any possibility to exit from the conditions they were living with. The Bracero Program only ended in in 1964, and as a consequence to the imperialist history of the US on Mexican people, the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, in the 1960s, promoted many protests for the Chicano rights in the US. As the other protests, the Chicano Movement also had the youth as protesters who fought to achieve social and legal equality in the US.

One of the most relevant protests of the Chicano Movement was the one in the Washington state. It was mainly organized by Chicano youth, some students of the University of Washington and also from other states. On May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1968, the students of the Black Student's Union (BSU) together with the Mexican Americans occupied the offices of the UW and organized a four-hour sit-in. The sit-in voiced demands such as to make the University a place relevant not only to whites, but also to people of color, to improve the recruitment of minority students, to double black enrollment, to increase funding for minority student programming, and creating black studies courses. However, mainly, the sit-in was preoccupied with the black civil rights movement. On the other hand, it was the beginning of the activism in Washington, for later on the Chicano youth created autonomous activist groups in High Schools and colleges.

Education, then, became the most important issue for the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement, as the only way to change

their panorama in the US. In Los Angeles in the 1960s lived about 100,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans, segregated in barrios from the others. The largest Chicano community in the US had a very different reality from the “American Dream” sold in the US cultural productions for exportation. Only twenty-five percent of the Mexican American in the 1960s completed High School.<sup>204</sup> The center of the Chicano Movement was in Southern California, though.

Because of the large concerns for higher education, the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement organized a walk out in 1968 in Los Angeles, where the largest Chicano community lived during the 1960s. The walk out resulted in a conference to discuss the issues of Mexican American rights, and they planned the “*El Pan de Santa Barbara*” as a final attempt to achieve the goals of the movement. The plan consisted mainly in changes in the education system of the US. Access to higher education, implementation of Mexican American departments, and the problematization of the role of the University in the community and in issues of social justice.

Moreover, the Vietnam War has also impacted the Mexican Americans in the 1960s, since they were sent to the war and even though were not recognized as US citizens regarding equality. They were fighting in the war for a country that still did not see them as a priority. Basically, as Martin Luther King Jr. said, they were fighting for a country in which did not fight for them.

It was also during the 1960s that the Asian Student Movement began in the San Francisco Bay Area. Also influenced by the black civil rights movement, especially by the Black Panthers<sup>205</sup>, the Asian Student Movement called for more Asian American representation in the universities. I started at UCB but it was spread through the Bay Area in the San Francisco State College, for example, and UC Santa Barbara, with the student activist Jack Wong and others. The Asians were the first immigrant group to arrive in the US, according to Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar, in his article “The formation of Asian American nationalism in the age of Black Power 1966-1975” (2001, 30). The Asian American

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<sup>204</sup> This and other data can be found in the documentary *Chicano!* (1996), available on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NL4rQHKza9Y&list=PLA2388B69344F6262&index=3>.

<sup>205</sup> The Black Panthers (1966-1982) was a black organization from Oakland, California. They are considered one of the most influential black movement groups from the late 1960s.

Political Alliance (AAPA) announced their intention of allying themselves with the African American and Chicano students.

We Asian-Americans believe that heretofore we have been relating to white standards of acceptability, and affirm the right of self-definition and self-determination. We Asian-Americans support all non-white liberation movements and believe that all minorities in order to be truly liberated must have complete control over the political, economical and educational institutions within their respective communities. (2001, 31)<sup>206</sup>

In San Francisco State College, in 1969, the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a multi-ethnicities alliance group that included African American, Asian American, Indian American and Mexican American students held a strike demanding the establishment of a school of ethnic studies. In the book *Chains of Babylon: The rise of Asian America*, Daryl J. Maeda says what were the demands and what succeed in the strike.

The TWLF demanded the establishment of a school of ethnic studies with a faculty and curriculum to be chosen by people of color, along with open admissions for all non-white applicants. The strike mobilized thousands of students and at times succeeded in shutting down the college. Appointed acting president during the strike, Hayakawa was the public face of opposition to the strike. He banned many student political activities, invited a substantial police force to campus, and cracked down harshly on strikers. (...) The confrontation between Asian American radicals and Hayakawa at San Francisco State represents a pivotal moment in Asian American politics, for radicals advocated multiethnic and interracial solidarity, while Hayakawa argued that

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<sup>206</sup> Reference found in Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar's "The formation of Asian-American nationalism in the age of Black Power 1966-1975," *Souls*, 2001, 29-38.

Asian Americans should strive to assimilate into the mainstream. (2009, 40-41)

Similarly to what was happening at UCB, the Asian Americans radicals suffered a large repression from the university's representatives. Maeda's book reveals that Hayakawa, a linguistic professor who became administrator of the San Francisco State University, "clung to his faith of the falsity of racial distinctions" (2009, 72), while the students operated to a creation of a multiethnic foundation that "gave voice" to nonwhite people from Asia, Africa and Latin America through militant fights for a social, economical and educational equality within the US.

To sum up, this section in the appendix had the main objective to situate the reader of this dissertation into the US historical context in the long 1960s. Bearing that in mind, relevant discussions for a deeper understanding of the US 1960s counterculture were brought into light, such as: the free speech movement, the civil rights movement, the ethnic movements, etc. The following section continues the discussion on the context of the US, but focusing on the 1960s cultural panorama.

### 8.3 Drugs, sex, rock 'n roll and the reduction of counterculture to these elements

For me, a foreign-raised person who likes America, one of its great curiosities is this: that those who have the most reason for dissent are those least allowed dissent.

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie<sup>207</sup>

In this section I intend to discuss and problematize the stereotypical US counterculture of the long 1960s as complement to this dissertation's previous chapter "Rebels with a cause." In the previous chapter I focused on problematizing the stereotypical counterculture in order to defend the argument that countercultural agents rebelled for political causes. In this section I will continue this discussion, however,

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<sup>207</sup> In her thank-you not for Michelle Obama "To the First Lady, With Love," published in *The New York Times*, on October 17, 2016. Available on: <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/17/t-magazine/michelle-obama-chimamanda-ngozi-adichie-gloria-steinem-letter.html?smid=tw-share>.

focusing not specifically on J.D. Salinger or on the counterculture canon, but on the motto of counterculture, which was “Sex, drugs, and rock ‘n roll.”<sup>208</sup> Because of that, this section is separated into subsections for a better organization of the thoughts.

## Music

Music, and specially rock ‘n roll, can be understood as a very controversial part of counterculture. In one of the comic strips of the book *The days are just packed: A Calvin and Hobbes collection* “Calvin and Hobbes,” by Bill Watterson, Calvin exposes the critic many scholars have made to rock:



(1993, 40)

The argument presented by the comic strip character Calvin criticizes the music industry, as being part of the capitalist hegemonic industries, and that because of that, cannot be fully political. Unlike literature, and particularly poetry, the music business can make a lot of money, especially after 1945, when the music industry became very powerful with the production in series of vinyl albums. Because of that, people did not need to wait for their favorite songs to play on the radio anymore; they could buy the album and listen to it whenever they felt like. In addition, the way musicians, singers and bands use to produce music also changed: the productions were not focused only on one or two songs per release, but on a coherent concept for the entire album and its compositions such as cover, pullover, back cover and their graphics and photographs. Therefore, music became not only an art based on musical techniques, but also one that could represent a concept, a critique of the world, from its lyrics to its cover. Music, then,

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<sup>208</sup> The first draft of the chapter “Rebels with a cause” also included part of this section. However, it put the reader away from Salinger’s narrative, since there were too many other authors I was discussing in it. Thus, this part was included in the appendix, in order to continue the discussion on counterculture for the readers who are interested on it.

could express political engagement through a conception recorded in an album and, therefore, rock the genre that represented that change. However, some critics affirmed that because of the wage rock stars usually did in the long 1960s, they could not be as political as activist, poets, writers, etc. Which is a very problematic argument, since there are many examples of musicians that were also activists, independently from their wages.

Joy and Goffman, in their book *Counterculture through the ages*, give specific emphasis to rock 'n roll. They state that in the 1950s, rock was not an explicit form of anti-authoritarian behavior and art expression:

Suffice it to say that while rock and roll wasn't precisely countercultural or explicitly anti-authoritarian in the way that, say, a Voltaire essay was, it did establish a separate rebellious youth identity that erupted into full-fledged counterculture revolt in the latter part of the following decade. (2004, 245)

The representation of rebellion Joy and Goffman write about the 1950s rock is not necessarily the same of the 1960s rock, for example. However, the rock of the 1950s initiated a Teddy boy behavior, which was later erupted in the 1960s. This can be listened in representative songs of the 1950s rock such as in Chuck Berry's "Johnny B. Good" (1958) and Elvis Presley's "Jailhouse rock"<sup>209</sup> (1957). In both, there are not subversive ideals or incitement to rebellion, but they praise the music genre within youth contexts<sup>210</sup>. In the case of Chuck Berry's song, Johnny B. Good is a young boy who plays guitar and rock very well, however, not as a subversive form against adulthood as in the case of the films *Rebel without a cause* or *The wild one*<sup>211</sup>, for example. The verses "His mother told him someday you will be a man/And you would be the leader of a big old band" of

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<sup>209</sup> *Jailhouse rock* is also the title of a film starred by Elvis Presley and directed by Richard Thorpe. In the film, Elvis is Vicent Everett, a man who is serving a one-year sentence in jail for manslaughter. The film was released on November of 1957 in the US.

<sup>210</sup> Other examples of the same theme in famous and celebrated rock songs of the 1950s, by other authors, are: "Rock around the clock" (1955), by Bill Haley & His Comets, "Tutti-Frutti," by Little Richard (1955) and "Whole lotta shakin' goin' on" (1957), by Jerry Lee Lewis.

<sup>211</sup> Both films are also mentioned in the previous chapter "Rebels with a cause."



“Johnny B. Good” song show that rock was not used as a mean to rebellion or youth alienation, but rather as another mean to see, understand and live the future.<sup>212</sup>

Rock is, maybe, the only part of counterculture that could be a very profitable business and, at the same time, raise politically engaged music to question the patterns of society. However, the question once raised by Bill Watterson through Calvin’s character, in the comic strip before mentioned, may also keep in the scholars mind when studying countercultural music: how can oneself be politically engaged when it is possible to profit a lot with it and, therefore, coopt with the capitalist system? This question is not here to be answered, but to demonstrate the urgency of political change even through the very profitable industry of music – one that could have been used in reverse.

In the 1960s, the most known countercultural event was Woodstock. Woodstock Music & Art Fair<sup>213</sup>, that happened from August 15 to 17, 1969, in the hamlet White Lake, in the town of Bethel, New York, is the most relevant rock event of the 1960s, one that embraced the countercultural activism in relation to the Peace Movement, that attempted to fight for the end of the Vietnam war, and with the ideal of freedom of the time. The slogan of the festival was “3 days of peace & music,” which was an invitation for those who were trying to engage for a different form for the US society and politics in the 1960s. In the book *Woodstock: The oral history*, Joel Makower collected many testimonials by musicians, politicians, music businessmen, and attendees that had stories to tell about Woodstock.

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<sup>212</sup> Here I do not intend to analyze the songs, but rather use them to illustrate the argument presented by Joy and Goffman in the excerpt above. It is not the intention either to generalize the 1950s rock music through only one or two examples. I am here following the argument, once more, given by Joy and Goffman in *Counterculture through the ages*. For further reading on the subject, I would suggest works that have as the main aim to analyze rock and roll in the US, such as Yonghong Zhang’s “Analysis of the rock and roll phenomenon in the USA” (2013), and Philip Auslander’s “Good old rock and roll: Performing the 1950s in the 1970s.”

<sup>213</sup> The following rock bands and singers played in the festival: Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, The Who, Santana, Creedence Clearwater, Tim Hardin, Richie Havens, Incredible String Band, Ravi Shankar, Sly and the Family Stone, Bert Sommer, Sweetwater, Arlo Guthrie, Joan Baez, Canned Heat, Grateful Dead, Keef Hartley, Jefferson Airplane, Mountain, Quill, The Band, Jeff Beck Group, Blood Sweat and Tears, Joe Cocker, Crosby Stills Nash, Iron Butterfly, Ten Years After and Johnny Winter.

The story told in the book, through many different voices, is that the event — publicized in magazines, newspapers, on television and radio and with flyers and posters — gathered young people from all over the US and Canada, mainly. Rick Gavras, one of Woodstock’s attendees, described the dimension that the event had after the advertising, one that was planned by the organizers Michael Lang, John P. Roberts, Joel Rosenman, Artie Kornfeld.

“It was overwhelming because there were so many people. It was like something kind of colossal. There was a stage. And the stage from where I was for the first couple of days was real far away because I was way, way in back. (...) And I never really got up close to the stage until the third day, the very last day.” (1989, 11)

The documentary *Woodstock* (1970), directed by Michael Wadleigh, opens with the testimonial by Sidney Westerfeld in which he says that the people from around White Lake city expected fifty thousand people per day, however, he says, “there must have been a million” (0:01). In the film, Michael Lang declares that they worked for nine months, full time, to make Woodstock happen and that the real expectation was that two thousand people could go. However, they did not expect so many people there and food and water started to be rare around White Lake and the roads were all with traffic jams with people still arriving, so they could not go out easily. Because of that, and mainly due to the inadequate medical supplies for the number of people there, the chief of security contacted the New York State Police in order to ask for a declaration that Woodstock was considered a disaster area, as it is stated in the book *Woodstock: An Encyclopedia of the Music and Art Fair* (1989, 46). The Republican governor of New York, then, Nelson Rockefeller (1959-1973), made that declaration regarding security, but Woodstock managed to reinforce the medical supplies and basic needs. Woodstock was already too big to be cancelled, even with the precarious conditions. The Republican government did not want to have thousands of young people to rebel against it (1989, 46).

The music was what took so many young people to Woodstock and the purpose of it connected with the communication of a political engagement in it, through the lyrics, the ideal of freedom and the Peace Movement against the Vietnam War. Michael Wadleigh says in the documentary that the communication through music had ever happened,

however, the connection to society in the 1960s was more than only a communication.

Music has always been a major form of communication. Only now, the lyric and the type of music is a little bit more involved in society than it was. (...) [the music] is about what is happening now, and if you listen to the lyric and you listen to the rhythm and what is in the music, then you will know what is going on with the culture. (00:17:07-00:17:42)

The music Wadleigh was talking about was rock and roll, but not the same one as in the 1950s – that used to praise the genre and not rebel oneself from the society patterns. In relation to the musicality of the rock presented in Woodstock, and therefore during the 1960s, the guitar solos and the blend with other unusual instruments in rock until then, such as percussion, as it was presented in the songs “Purple Haze,” by Jimi Hendrix, and “Soul Sacrifice,” by Santana, respectively. On the other hand, the lyrics were mainly a collage of psychedelic ideas, the theme of spiritualization and explicit and implicit references to the use of drugs – or the effects of it.

In one of the announcements during the days of Woodstock, there is a warning about a not-so-good LSD that was circulating there.

The warning that I have received, you may take it with, however, many grains of salt you wish, that the brown acid that is circulating around us is not specifically too good. It is suggested that you stay away from that. Of course, it is your own trip, so be my guest, but, please, be advised that there is a warning on that one, okay? (00:22:00-00:22:16)

Drugs, in Woodstock and during the long 1960s, represented one way to reach the ideal of freedom and Timothy Leary was the scholar who pioneered on the research of it. In the article “The fifth freedom: the right to get high” published in *The Harvard Review*, in 1963,<sup>214</sup> Timothy Leary writes about the ideal of freedom within the socio-political relations and patterns comparing them to the freedom achieved by drug use.

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<sup>214</sup> Published later as a chapter in the book *The Politics of Ecstasy* (1980).

In totalitarian states the use and control of instruments for external freedom – the automobile, the private airplane- are reserved for the government bureaucracy and the professional elite. Even in democracies the traditional means for expanding or contracting consciousness (internal freedom), such as the printing press, radio transmitter, motion picture, are restricted by law and remain under government control. Now consider psychedelic drugs. No language to describe the experience. No trained operators to guide the trip. Lots of blacksmiths whose monopoly is threatened. A few people who do see an inevitable development of a new language, a transfiguration of every one of our social forms. And these few, of course, the ones who have taken the internal voyage. (1980, 68-69)

Leary bases his discourse on a totalitarian government as example of his comparison between its ideal of freedom and the one as an effect of the use of psychedelic drugs. Therefore, by extending the example to democracy societies — and considering where he speaks from — it seems Leary is criticizing the US long 1960s socio-political context. In the 1950s, one could not reach freedom due to McCarthyism and also because of the manipulation of the press and mass media, one that can be extended to the 1960s on. The manipulation of the media by the government — or by the political choices based on governmental ideals — give a false impression of consciousness freedom, according to Leary. Moreover, he explains that the individuals are under government control even when they have a feeling of freedom, especially regarding the individual's relationship with the machinery in the modern times.

The political issue involves control: “automobile” means that the free citizen moves *his* own car in external space. Internal automobile. Auto-administration. The freedom and control of one's experiential machinery. Licensing will be necessary. You must be trained to operate. You must demonstrate your proficiency to handle consciousness-expanding drugs without danger yourself or the public. The fifth freedom – the freedom to expand your consciousness – cannot be denied without due cause. (1980, 69)

Both governmental and the individual feel the ideal of freedom through control and possession, which jeopardize the individual's ability of expanding the consciousness, according to Leary. Due to the impossibility of freedom within the socio-political context the one faces, the exit showed by Leary is through psychedelic drugs. If one experiences LSD, no one else could interfere in this ability to move – the trip – and one can feel 'truly' free. However, this ideal of freedom that Leary develops is based on individualism and does not comprehend the ideal of freedom for a specific group or community. The ideal of freedom through drugs, then, could be problematized as one that attempts to solve the necessity of freedom of some specific individuals, but hardly would apply for all in a so-unequal of class, race and gender society as the 1960s US.

The ideal of freedom during the 1960s in music was not only expressed through the manifestations of psychedelic drugs use. Many musicians, composers and singers used to produce sound and lyric that were politically engaged to the social movements that were happening at the time. These songs are called "songs of protests" and can be found in many different genres such as rock, blues and soul. Maybe, the most known are Bob Dylan's classic album *The Freewheelin'* (1963) and John Lennon's albums in his solo project. Songs such as "Blowin' in the wind" (1962), by Bob Dylan, and "Give peace a chance" (1969), by John Lennon, are examples of anti-war songs considered anthems of the Peace Movement against the Vietnam War. Dylan's lyric is constructed with many questions that one once could make during the 1960s in relation to the wartime and the ideal of freedom towards peace. In the last stanza of the lyrics, the questionings are especially in relation to how humankind could be anesthetized before a war situation.

How many times must a man look up  
 Before he can see the sky?  
 Yes, 'n' how many ears must one man have  
 Before he can hear people cry?  
 Yes, 'n' how many deaths will it take till he  
 knows  
 That too many people have died?  
 The answer, my friend, is blowin' in the wind  
 The answer is blowin' in the wind. (1962)

Bob Dylan was a close friend with Allen Ginsberg, and

participated actively in sharing similar ideals with him. Ginsberg's poetry was the first one in which Dylan identified himself with, and then with Jack Kerouac's too, especially "Mexico City Blues," a poem from 1959, and then William Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1959)<sup>215</sup>.

"I came out of the wilderness and just naturally fell in with the Beat scene, the bohemian, Be Bop crowd, it was all pretty much connected," Dylan said in 1985. "It was Jack Kerouac, Ginsberg, Corso, Ferlinghetti ... I got in at the tail end of that and it was magic ... it had just as big an impact on me as Elvis Presley." (2010)<sup>216</sup>

Dylan, then, was influenced by the beats just as much as by Elvis. It is possible to say that his music follows the rock genre and style, as Elvis did years before, but he includes in his lyrics a beatnik tone, as facing the US socio-political context with resistance through culture. John Lennon also had bonds with some of the beat writers. Lennon composed "Give peace a chance" after he married Yoko Ono, during their bed-in<sup>217</sup>, a non-violent protest against the Vietnam War. Their protest endured two weeks, one spent in Amsterdam and the other in Montreal. In the latter city, they recorded the song in the presence of people who they mention in the song. Among them were there Allen Ginsberg, Timothy Leary, Dick Gregory — a civil rights comedian —, Norman Mailer and others. The song, as well as their protest, has a clear message: to give peace a chance. Lennon sings the chorus of the song with a choir behind his voice, which gives the idea of a group engagement and not an individual demand. The choir was actually

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<sup>215</sup> In *The New Yorker*, there is an excerpt of the book *Bob Dylan in America*, by Sean Wilentz, entitled "Bob Dylan, the Beat Generation, and Allen Ginsberg's America," published in the magazine in August 13, 2010. In this chapter, Wilentz writes about the relationship between Dylan and the beats and how he first found himself connected to the style and themes that the beat writers — mainly the triumvirate — had. The chapter can be read through <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/bob-dylan-the-beat-generation-and-allen-ginsbergs-america>.

<sup>216</sup> This quotation is from the chapter by Sean Wilentz published in *The New Yorker*.

<sup>217</sup> Bed-in is an expression that follows the concept of the 'sit-in' protests that happened during the 1960s, when the protesters used to sit in front of an institution — or a place — in order to show discontentment.

recorded at the second Vietnam Moratorium Day in October 1969 in Washington, D.C., by about half million people who were protesting against the Vietnam War.

All we are saying is give peace a chance  
 All we are saying is give peace a chance  
 Everybody's talking about, John and Yoko  
 Timmy Leary, Rosemary, Tommy Smothers  
 Bobby Dylan, Tommy Cooper, Derek Taylor  
 Norman Mailer, Alan Ginsberg, Hare Krishna,  
 Hare Hare Krishna. (1969)

Both John Lennon's song and his protest with Yoko Ono praise love over war in order to have a peaceful world. By 1969, Lennon was one of the most successful men in the music industry, which allowed him to achieve a great number of people with his songs and political discourse. Hence, the repercussion on his work and life was tremendous. On the one hand, if considering how Lennon influenced many young people during the 1960s with his peace discourse towards the political wars that were happening at the time, his legacy was huge. On the other, if considering on the effectiveness of his bet-in protest one could say that there is none. He does deliver the aimed message to the world through the press – that basically would give him space for whatever he wanted to say – but he does not leave his privileged position (who else in the world could bed-in effectively if not famous and wealthy?). Anyway, despite his social and class position, his work had a great impact in the 1960s youth with protest songs about not only peace, but also class, gender and race. The song “Working class hero” (1970) says “As soon as you're born they make you feel small/By giving you no time instead of it all/Til the pain is so big you feel nothing at all/A working class hero is something to be” and recognizes the struggles and the oppression the working class people suffer through life. “Angela,” from the same album of “Give peace a chance,” released in 1972, is about the case of the Angela Davis, who had relations to communism and the Black Panther Party, and who got in prison for political conspiracy in 1970.

Nevertheless, rock was not the only genre of music to be credited as having protest songs. Blues, jazz, soul and funk are some examples of genres that also had political engaged singers and composers during the long 1960s. Related to the civil rights, the song “We shall overcome” (1963), by Pete Seeger, from the homonymous

album, became an anthem of the movement for some people. Nina Simone in the 1960s was one of the AfricanAmerican artists who engaged in the civil rights movement. Because of that, she became close to writers, singers, poets and activists such as Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, Martin Luther King Jr.,

In 1965, Nina Simone played “Mississippi Goddam” with her band at the Selma march in Montgomery, Alabama. The song was strong for the time, as it is mentioned in the documentary *What happened, Miss Simone?* (2015), since by the time of 1965, curse words were not played neither on radio or television. The song projects a rebellion feeling of the black community from the way they had been seen by the white community. The lines of the song are ironic and sarcastic and music played goes up and down fast, representing the choking words the black community could then speak. The song starts with the line “Alabama’s gotten me so upset,” exactly the South estate in which the march happened in 1965.

Picket lines  
 School boy cots  
 They try to say it's a communist plot  
 All I want is equality  
 for my sister my brother my people and me

Yes you lied to me all these years  
 You told me to wash and clean my ears  
 And talk real fine just like a lady  
 And you'd stop calling me Sister Sadie

Oh but this whole country is full of lies  
 You're all gonna die and die like flies  
 I don't trust you any more  
 You keep on saying "Go slow!" (1965)

Nina Simone speaks out through music to say what the civil rights movement was trying to achieve: social equality. The song became one of the anthems of the movement, and Simone’s career modified after her engagement with the civil rights movement. She was, then, a commercial singer that became a civil rights singer and performer, which reflected in the reception of her albums and songs. Many of them were not accepted in the radios and the records returned for containing inappropriate content, which resulted in a boycott of the mass media for her career. In “Backlash Blues,” a few years later



released in *Nina Simone Sings the Blues* (1967), she continues her political engagement through the composition of protest songs regarding African Americans' struggles in the US 1960s. Langston Hughes, who was also engaged in the civil rights movement, composed the "Backlash Blues" for her.

Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash  
 Just who do think I am  
 You raise my taxes, freeze my wages  
 And send my son to Vietnam

You give me second class houses  
 And second class schools  
 Do you think that all colored folks  
 Are just second class fools  
 Mr. Backlash, I'm gonna leave you  
 With the backlash blues

When I try to find a job  
 To earn a little cash  
 All you got to offer  
 Is your mean old white backlash  
 But the world is big  
 Big and bright and round  
 And it's full of folks like me  
 Who are black, yellow, beige and brown  
 Mr. Backlash, I'm gonna leave you  
 With the backlash blues

Mr. Backlash, Mr. Backlash  
 Just what do you think I got to lose  
 I'm gonna leave you  
 With the backlash blues  
 You're the one will have the blues  
 Not me, just wait and see. (1967)

In the first stanza of the song it is possible to connect it to the discourse of Martin Luther King from April 1967<sup>218</sup> when he mentions the fact of the black youth — as well as the lower class one — being wrecked due to their exit of the country to the Vietnam War. And moreover, how the external politics in relation to war jeopardized the

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<sup>218</sup> Already mentioned in the previous section entitled "From within the university to the margins: Dissent and the liberal causes."

domestic struggles the US was facing in the 1960s.<sup>219</sup> “We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem.” (King Jr., 166). Hughes’s song is written in first person and directed to Mr. Backlash, one who can be understood as an aggressive person against civil rights and probably with political and social power. The self of the song is also accomplice with other ethnicities – either by immigration or by diaspora to the US.

In 1959 the label Motown was formed in Detroit, Michigan and incorporated to Tamia Records as Motown Record Corporation, in 1960. The label was an important one in the music business not only because of its relevance in musical quality, but also because of its racial integration within the business. Berry Gordy Jr. founded Motown and made it not only the most successful record-company owned by an AfricanAmerican businessman, but also the one that most sold records and released singles at the time. Among the singers, composers and musicians that released albums with Motown label were Marvin Gaye, Steve Wonder, Dinah Washington and The Supremes. Songs such as “What’s going on” (1971), by Marvin Gaye, “Big Brother” (1972), by Steve Wonder were ones very much engaged in the civil rights cause and show how other genres in music despite rock were also critically speaking about the political moment of the US.

However not in Motown, Aretha Franklin was a relevant voice of the 1960s for the civil rights cause and also for the women’s liberation movements. Songs such as “Respect” (1967), “Chain of Fools” (1967) and “Think” (1968) were examples of the protest songs Aretha Franklin recorded in the 1960s. In the case of the song “Think,” there is the ideal of freedom as a main theme in it, that can be understood within the civil rights context “Oh freedom (freedom)/(...)/ You better think (think) think about what you’re trying to do to me/Yeah, think (think, think), let your mind go, let yourself be free.” Regarding the women’s liberation movements, Aretha Franklin sang about the imprisonment of women in a patriarchal society in the song “Chain of Fools.”

For five long years  
I thought you were my man  
But I found out

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<sup>219</sup> In the case of the civil rights, a struggle that started with slavery and since then never stopped.

I'm just a link in your chain

You got me where you want me  
 I ain't nothin' but your fool  
 Ya treated me mean  
 Oh you treated me cruel. (1967)

“Respect” is considered one of the anthems of the women’s liberation movements, even though Aretha Franklin mentions she is not a representative of the movement.<sup>220</sup> The song calls for the attention to the neglected women’s rights before men in relation to their profits. The right to have a job<sup>221</sup> and have their own salary is claimed in song in Aretha’s voice, one that, then, associates respect to the women’s rights.

Ooo, your kisses (oo)  
 Sweeter than honey (oo)  
 And guess what? (oo)  
 So is my money (oo)  
 All I want you to do (oo) for me  
 Is give it to me when you get home (re, re, re ,re)  
 Yeah baby (re, re, re ,re)  
 Whip it to me (respect, just a little bit)  
 When you get home, now (just a little bit)

R-E-S-P-E-C-T  
 Find out what it means to me  
 R-E-S-P-E-C-T  
 Take care, TCB. (1967)

By the end of the 1960s Gil-Scott Heron appeared in the countercultural scene in the US also producing songs of protests as a

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<sup>220</sup> In the article “Aretha Franklin on Feminism, Beyonce and Who Should Star in Her Biopic,” by Patrick Doyle, published in *Rolling Stones*, December 11, 2014, they quote her “I think that’s Gloria Steinem’s role. I don’t think I was a catalyst for the women’s movement. Sorry. But if I were? So much the better!” Gloria Steinem is an US journalist and political activist that lead the feminist movement during the long 1960s. She co-founded the Women’s Media Center in 2005 with Jane Fonda and Robin Morgan. Link accessed <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/features/aretha-franklin-on-feminism-beyonce-and-who-should-star-in-her-biopic-20141211?page=2> on May, 2015.

<sup>221</sup> In the song the word job is replaced by the slang “TCB,” which is an acronym for “Take Care of Business.”

spoken word performer.<sup>222</sup> His most known piece of work, “The revolution will not be televised,” was recorded in the beginning of the 1970s and release in the homonymous album in 1974, by the label RCA. The song blends styles such as soul and jazz and rap. The lyric accompanies the music, in a way that it seems to be a spoken word by Scott-Heron. “The revolution will not be televised” has a tone of calling people to political engagement instead of watching it within their commodity at home – as a televised spectacle.

You will not be able to stay home, brother.  
 You will not be able to plug in, turn on and cop  
 out.  
 You will not be able to lose yourself on skag and  
 skip out for beer during commercials,  
 Because the revolution will not be televised.  
 (...)  
 The revolution will not be right back  
 after a message about a white tornado, white  
 lightning, or white people.  
 You will not have to worry about a dove in your  
 bedroom, a tiger in your tank, or the giant in your  
 toilet bowl.  
 The revolution will not go better with Coke.  
 The revolution will not fight the germs that may  
 cause bad breath.  
 The revolution will put you in the driver's seat.  
 (1974)

After WWII the television covered most of the historical facts in the US and had a great range of houses.<sup>223</sup> The social and political events that are characterized as within the counterculture context were, most of them, televised. Martin Luther King Jr., John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard Nixon’s speeches, as well as president Kennedy assassination, the protests such as ones by the civil rights activists, UC Berkeley students, the Indians occupation in Alcatraz and others were all covered by the press, but mainly watched on television.

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<sup>222</sup> Gil Scott-Heron’s work is the main objective of the research conducted by Matias Corbett Garcez in his dissertation entitled *Gil Scott-Heron: Resistance Through Rhythm and Poetry*, advised by Maria Lúcia Milléo Martins, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil.

<sup>223</sup> By the end of the 1960s, ninety-six percent of the US households had at least one television set, as mentioned before in in previous section of this appendix.

At the same time that the society was aware and was watching the struggles the country was facing through the television, they were consuming made-up realities based on the media ideals. The television was indeed a mean that spread out the word of the protests, however, at the same time, contributed to the ‘cop-out’ of the protests and political engagement, as Scot-Heron says.

To sum up, this section about the music of counterculture in the US has the aim to explain a little more the music industry scenery of the context of the long 1960s. As discussed, it was not the intention to analyze the compositions or the countercultural agents of the music industry, since it is not the focus of this dissertation. However, this section is relevant in order to situate the reader who is not so familiar with the long 1960s US counterculture.

### **Sex and sexuality**

Sex and sexuality are as relevant to discuss as music and rock for the study of the long 1960s counterculture in the US. In the long 1960s, the beatniks usually used the term “queer” to define themselves sexually. It did not mean an interchangeable term for homosexuals, but rather a broader term that encompassed different sexualities. This use of the term preceded the queer theory, though. So, in this section I intend to discuss the beats’ discourses on sexuality and sex. For that, I will focus on the beats’ texts that are presented in the book *Queer Beats: How the beats turned America on to sex* (2004), edited by Regina Marler. Again, in this section I do not intend to analyze the beats’ works through a queer perspective, but rather illustrate to the beats’ perspective onto sex-uality to the reader who is not so familiar with the US 1960s counterculture.

Regina Marler’s book contains excerpts of literary texts by writers such as Allen Ginsberg, Herbert Huncke, William Burroughs, Alan Ansen, Norman Mailer, Gore Vidal, Diane Di Prima, Jack Kerouac, Neal Cassady, Elise Cowen, Brion Gysin, John Wieners, Harold Norse, Peter Orlovsky, Jane Bowles and John Giorno. Some of them are not exactly considered beat writers, which is the case of, for instance, Gore Vidal and Norman Mailer. The latter is considered one of the most encouragers of the beat generation, and perhaps, because of

that, he is included in the collection<sup>224</sup>. In the book *The Beats: A Literary Reference* there is a quote from the book *The Beat Generation*, by Bruce Cook, which says: “Norman Mailer proved to be a good friend to the beats. An articulate and energetic defender of the faith, he appeared often on television talk shows and usually made a point of identifying himself with Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Burroughs and promoting their work.” (2001, 176)

Mailer, then, is not considered a beat writer, but one that defended them as relevant writers of the time, since the criticism was controversial at the time. Marler does not define what a beat is, and includes Norman Mailer and Gore Vidal, for example, as beat, but does not say why – if only based on the ‘queer’ theme of their works, or if based on other ones.

Moreover, Marler does not mention queer as a theoretical perspective. Even though during the long 1960s the word queer was not related to queer theory, as it was here mentioned before, it is problematic to select those many beat writings within a queer theme without, at least, contextualize it with the perspective of queer theory, one that has been very relevant to the cultural studies. In the introduction of the book, Marler refers to queerness as a life style and also as a synonym for homosexuality, which is a problematic way to, currently, after the development of the queer theory, work with this concept.

Another interesting, and most relevant, issue regarding the queerness of the beat writers is that some of them did not identify themselves as queers. Jack Kerouac was the most reluctant with the term, and identified himself as straight, even though his documents show that he had been sexually related to other men. This is not given information in order to define who is who in the beat generation, regarding their sexuality. However, it is to inform and problematize in what level the beat writers can be a representative group of queerness in the long 1960s. About this issue, in her book, Marler says that “Of the three principal Beat writers, only Kerouac identified as straight. ‘I never was, nor wanted to be, homosexual,’ he wrote in protest to an early piece of Beat criticism. (...) He wanted the behavior clearly, but not the identity.” (2004, xxii-xxiii) By the same time that Kerouac did not want to compromise the privilege of identifying himself as a heterosexual

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<sup>224</sup> In Marler’s introduction of the book, she does not mention the reason why she also included Mailer’s excerpts in the collection too. This may let the reader infer that she considers all the writers included in the book beatniks.

person, Burroughs was reformulating ideas about the politics of the US that, as Marler puts “was no such thing as criminal behavior, only acts declared illegal by a particular society” (2004, xxv). This observation by Burroughs was relevant at a time when acts of homosexuality were considered either a crime by the sodomy laws of the United States or pathology in the long 1960s. However, as Marler continues in her introductory text “The problem was that Burroughs, as self-professed ‘manly type’ and gun freak, could not find a model for male homosexuality that didn’t sicken him.” (2004, xxv) This argument on the limitations of the gay stereotypes that Burroughs found may be true for the time, but his reaction to that shows intolerance to the diversity and by that he creates the impossibility of other forms of performativity of genre such as masculinity. Instead of adding gay masculinity to the queer agenda of the time, he distances himself to it and declares that he does not belong within the gay community. By that, Burroughs does not compromise his privileged status such as Kerouac.

The excerpt “It was a strange, nondescript kind of orgy...” from Diane di Prima’s autobiography, also included in the book *Queer Beats*, is one of the examples that the beats’ literature was more concerned with sex than with sexuality.

But Jack was straight, and finding himself in a bed with three faggots and me, he wanted some pussy and decided he was going to get it. He began to persuade me to remove the tampax by nuzzling and nudging at my breasts and neck with his handsome head. Meanwhile everyone else was urging me to join in the games. Allen embarked on a long speech on the joys of making it while menstruating: the extra lubrication, the extra excitement due to a change of hormones, animals in heat bleed slightly, etc. (2004, 48-9)

This scene described in the narrative from the book *Memoir of a beatnik* (1969) brings intimacy confidences from the group of writers with explicit sexual movements together with sexual liberation discourse. However, di Prima does not express in her text whether she agrees or not with what the men beats in the scene were trying to make. As she describes, they were trying to persuade her and although she was there with them, she does not mention *her* sexual intentions. Because of that, even though she is narrating sexual liberation scene and includes herself in it, the scene pretty much reinforces the sexual patterns

regarding women oppression. The narration of the scene goes on to the point in which her consent is not taken into consideration during sex.

We finally got loose of the bedclothes: Jack, with a great cry, heaved himself upwards and dumped them all on the floor, then fell heavily on top of me and entered me immediately. My momentary surprise turned to pleasure, and I squirmed down on his cock, getting it all inside me, feeling good and full. (2004, 49)

As a woman, di Prima does not problematize the fact she did not know about the sexual intentions of Kerouac towards her. Even though she writes that she – after her surprise – had pleasure with Kerouac’s act, she never writes *her* intentions or what *she* wanted during the conversation with the beat writers in the scene, or, more important, during sexual intercourse with them. This situation does not represent any subversive act in the 1960s, but on the contrary, reinforces an old pattern. In their discourses, it is possible to understand a tone of sexual liberation, but not exactly specifications of whom were benefiting the privilege of their sexual liberation. Through di Prima’s narration, one can say that women were not well represented in this sort of sexual liberation.

Because of that, it is problematic to say that the beats were a representation of queer people in the long 1960s. It may not be possible to say that they represented sexual identities in their writings, or even in their lives, however they have represented homosexual sex. The concept of queer related to the beats is problematic due to their actions and discourses, or even how critics look at them, as Marler says in her book title the ones who “turned America on to sex.” The beats in the long 1960s see queerness as a way of living and as individualistic sexual liberation, detached from identities of queer that are not similarly to theirs, women, trans and not masculine gays. Teresa De Lauretis, in her text “Queer theory, gay and lesbians sexualities: An Introduction” mentions how queer sexualities may not be understood.

In other words, [queer] is no longer to be seen either as merely transgressive or deviant vis-à-vis a proper, natural sexuality (i.e., model, or as just another, optional “life-style,” according to the model of contemporary North American pluralism. Instead, male and female



homosexualities – in their current sexual-political articulations of gay and lesbian sexualities, in North America – may be reconceptualized as social and cultural forms in their own right, albeit emergent ones and this still fuzzily defined, undercoded, or discursively dependent on more established forms. (...) In this perspective, the work of the conference was intended to articulate the terms in which lesbian and gay sexualities may be understood and imaged as forms of resistance to cultural homogenization, counteracting dominant discourses with other constructions of the subject in culture. (1991, iii)

Therefore, the pluralism Lauretis mentions, may be understood as one similar to what some of the beat writers represented to queer studies. To be a queer or to describe queer scenes in literature in the 1960s are not necessarily transgressive, but *how* one articulates it politically within one's context that it makes it transgressive. However, by reinforcing old heteronormative patterns, the beats may escape from a politically engaged conceptualization of queer. Also, the beats, mostly, feel uncomfortable with their struggles of sexual identity in queerness; however, they do not solve the problem and still reinforce normativity. Nonetheless, not only the beat writers have used the queer theme based on personal experience in their writings in the long 1960s. Scholars have considered James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* (1956) a queer/gay/trans novel. Matt Brim, in *James Baldwin and the queer imagination* (2014), writes that the novel Baldwin's novel provoke in 1956 what – now – is understood as queer theory.

Astonishingly, for the novel was published in 1956, Baldwin chooses to stake his (now-queer) claim about the stultifying effects of sexual identity categories on a story of failed love between two men (...) *Giovanni's Room* represents a sustained effort to consider men's sexual and erotic relations queerly, that is, beyond prescribed sexual identity categories and, perhaps most surprisingly, against homosexuality. (2014, 51)

Brim's articulation on Baldwin's novel dialogues with the non-homosexual-identity that some of the beats mention in their literature.

However, it seems that some of the beats do not look for an identity, but reject queer gender identities by reinforcing the sexual liberation discourse.

To sum up, this section was concerned with demonstrating in general terms how sex and sexuality worked in some of the beats' works, as well as to problematize the use of the term queer then and now when referring to the long 1960s US counterculture. It was not the intention, though, to analyze the beats' works deeply, but rather illustrate the theme of sex and sexuality to the reader who is not so familiar with the long 1960s US counterculture.

### **Literature and Ethnicity**

Ethnicity plays a relevant role in the long 1960s US counterculture. Many different ethnic groups in the US had specific agendas for their people to protest on. The ethnic groups' struggles and their need to speak out for their rights is usually left aside when discussing the long 1960s US counterculture, since its canon is composed, mainly, by Caucasians, such as the beats. So in this section I intend to demonstrate the relevance of studying ethnic authors when referring to the long 1960s US counterculture.

The beat writer Gary Snyder was concerned with environmental causes within the Indian American articulations about it in his 1960s publications. Snyder is considered a beat writer, and therefore, a countercultural author. In the afterword of the book *He who hunted birds in his father's village* (2007), Snyder explains when and how he began his studies in Indian American tales and myths. He started studying Indian Americans cultures in the beginning of the 1950s, when the only sources about it were anthropological linguist ones, from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (2007, 139). By that time, scientific, and academic publications on Indian American culture in the US hardly ever existed. With the implantation of Ethnic Studies Departments in the US universities in the 1960s, writers became more familiar with the theme and concerned about Indian American rights and culture.

In 1968, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was established and gave to the Indian American population a chance to reformulate their *aims* for the Indian rights and self-determination. It was the first organization that had only Indians board and staff, in contrast with other Indian organizations that were run by whites. Dennis Banks, one of the AIM's leaders said that – after months in solitary

spent in jail – he had seen in the 1960s all different peoples trying to straighten the US. In the narration from the book *Like a Hurricane*, he mentions the impact that other movements from the 1960s had on him and, consequently, in the AIM.

“It had a tremendous impact on me, what was going on outside of prison that year,” he said. “Sitting in that jail cell I began to understand there was a hell of a goddamn movement going on that I wasn’t part of, the antiwar movement, the Black Panther movement, the civil rights movement, the Students for a Democratic Society. I began to see that the greatest war was going to go on right here in the United States, and I began to realize that there was a hell of a situation in this country – all these different kinds of people trying to straighten this country out.” (1996, 129)

The Indians self-determination in the long 1960s worked for Indian rights in many levels. Issues regarding the environmental causes were constant, especially in relation to water resource. It was not a matter to live in harmony with nature anymore, but to find ways to maintain the Indian population with an average amount of water for their agriculture and basic needs. According to Francis Paul Prucha, because of the growing of white population in the arid West of the US, Indian water rights became an important issue for Indian rights “The activism of Indian in the 1970s was strongly reflected in strident demands that Indian water rights be protected, although no final quantification of Indian water was made.” (1985, 87) As the Indian tradition in the US is known, the aboriginal societies “that the Indians had developed in relation to their environments — whether hunting and gathering societies or semi-agricultural communities — worked on a reciprocal and self-sustained basis” (1985, 34). Due to the white contact, Indian economies have been changed or destroyed, which reflected not only in the way their communities deal with their self-maintenance, but also in the environment. In the long 1960s the debate grew with the AIM’s demands before the national presidential election in 1972, which would elect Nixon, in order to ask for tribal sovereignty.

Bearing that in mind, Gary Snyder chose to “join” the Indian Americans and their concerns especially to the environment. Snyder did not politically engaged into the Indian Americans politics and activism, but he “adopted” the Indians philosophy regarding nature and

environmental causes. In an interview, published in the book *The beats: A literary reference*, Snyder comments his influences for his formation as an author and reinforces his admiration for the American Indians.

On the one hand I identified with the I. W. W. and the frontier, and all those good old feelings about the American West. And on the other hand I had a deep admiration for the American Indians. It was a very interesting conflict, while it lasted. But I finally kicked the whole thing and joined the Indians. (2003, 414)

The WWI in which Snyder mentions is the Industrial Workers of the World, created in 1905 and that is still going on with aims within the workers agenda. In the interview, Snyder mentions the influence of the Indians in his work, one thing that is indeed relevant for his poetry and prose. In the 1975 Pulitzer Prize winner book for poetry "Turtle Island," Gary Snyder reveals in the introductory note the meaning of its title and the reason for choosing it: "Turtle Island – the old/new name for the continent, based on many creation myths of the people who have been living here for millennia, and reapplied by some of them to 'North America' in recent years" (1974, 1). Four parts compose the book: the first three are poem sections and last one is prose. The text "The Wilderness," a transcript of a lecture made at The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions seminar, in Santa Barbara, California, exposes Snyder's activism on environmental issues and by that says that the knowledge from religion and the Indian Americans might be the solution for both Western and Eastern societies. He starts the text with the sentence "I am a poet. My teachers are other poets, American Indians, and a few Buddhist priests in Japan." (1975, 106) By that he positions himself with his aim of being a spokesman for the wilderness in search of harmony between civilization and the environment. He says: "You would not think a poet would get involved in these things. But the voice that speaks to me as a poet, what Westerners have called the Muse, is the voice of nature herself" (1975, 107)

Snyder criticizes how Western and Eastern societies have been deforested and destroyed the planet and emphasizes the need to look at the primitive peoples in order to establish a better contact to nature. "I think there is a wisdom in the worldview of primitive peoples that we have to refer ourselves to, and learn from" (1975, 107). For a better conciliation between civilization and nature, Snyder suggests, as escape

from the environment's degradation that the civilization should learn with the Indians by explaining how they, specifically The Pueblo Indians, from New Mexico, relate to nature.

The Pueblo Indians, and I think probably most of other Indians of the Southwest, begin their hunt, first, by purifying themselves. They take emetics, a sweat bath, and perhaps avoid their wife for a few days. They also think not to think certain thoughts. They go out hunting in an attitude of humility. They make sure that they need to hunt, that they are not hunting without necessity. Then they improvise a song while they are in the mountains. They sing aloud or hum to themselves while they are walking along. It is a song to the deer, asking the deer to be willing to die for them. They usually still-hunt, taking a place alongside a trail. The feeling is that you are not hunting the deer, the deer is coming to you; you make yourself available for the deer that will present itself to you, that has given itself to you. Then you shoot it. After you shoot it, you cut the head off and place the head facing east. You sprinkle corn meal in front of the mouth of the deer, and you pray to the deer, asking it to forgive you for having killed it, to understand that we all need to eat, and to please make a good report to the other deer spirits that he has been treated well. One finds this way of handling things and animals in all primitive cultures. (1975, 109-10)

This long quotation is to show how a beat writer – considered countercultural by the critics – has developed an argument on the environmental issues and the harmony between nature and humankind. Moreover, it is also to understand counterculture within its multiple forms of activism in politics and culture. If Snyder, who brings up mainly in his works the Indians and the environmental concerns, is considered a countercultural writer, why not think Indian writers of the long 1960s who also bring those issues in their literatures, countercultural too?

Pulitzer Prize winner for fiction in 1969, N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* is a narrative that shows the relationship between Indians and nature in the US. The novel is marked by its calendar, the

event of the WWII and the relationship of the main character, Abel, with it: the plot of the first part of the book starts on July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1945 and ends on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, the same year. The context of the story occurs during the end of the WWII, after Abel returns from service the war, and the next decade after the end of it. There is a time gap in the novel between what happened after the war and the beginning of the 1950s. So the second part of the book is dated to January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1956 and the following two parts of the book go on until February the same year. The plot of the novel is about the relationship the characters Abel and his grandfather Francisco have with nature. Nature and landscapes become characters of the novel too, not only in the characterization of the places, but also part of the human characters' consciousness, as a comparison between nature, rural landscapes and the city. Long descriptions of the landscape start the book in the prologue and also in the first chapter.

The river lies in a valley of hills and fields. The north end of the valley is narrow, and the river runs down from the mountains through a canyon. The sun strikes the canyon floor only a few hours each day, and in winter the snow remains for a long time in the crevices of the walls. There is a town in the valley, and there are ruins of other towns in the canyon. In three directions from the town there are cultivated fields. Most of them lie to the west, across the river, on the slope of the plain. (1968, 9)

When the description of the landscape starts the novel, it says to the reader that nature, in this story, will play an important role. More than that, it shows the respect to the land as permitting it to be first introduced to the reader. The other chapters of the book follow the same structure and introduce either the landscape or the weather.

Momaday looks at the Indians in relation to the historical context of the US. It legitimates the Indian storytelling and culture through an Indian perspective. That is what differentiates Momaday's work from Snyder's: both work with the theme of environmental issues through the Indians thoughts and perspective, but only Momaday – who is an Indian – have experienced it. Also, both of the writers have worked with these issues within the post-war context. The elaboration of such works during this period is relevant because of the protests and the attempt of adapting the US legislation for the Indians and Indian culture benefits.

Not only N. Scott Momaday was writing during the long 1960s in the US, but Indian author Leslie Marmon Silko was also part of the Native American Renaissance. In her book *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of Spirit* (1996), a collection of essays, she also defines a strong relationship between nature and humankind: “In the early 1980s, as I was beginning to write *Almanac of the Dead*, I began a series of short prose pieces about the desert area around my house, and about the rocks, and about the rain that is so precious to this land and to my household, which still depends on wells for all its water.” (1996, 13) It is as if for writing, or any other labor act, the Indian American had to first think of their environment, nature. It seems almost as an act of permission, of showing admiration and respect for it, with the consciousness of dependence and collaboration. In another essay from *Yellow*, Silko continues developing her ideas about the relationship between nature and humankind.

The people and the land are inseparable, but at first I did not understand. I used to think there were exact boundaries that constituted “the homeland,” because I grew up in an age of invisible lines designating ownership. In the old days there had been no boundaries between the people and the land; there had been mutual respect for the land that others were actively using. This respect extended to all living beings, especially to the plants and the animals. (1996, 85)

The respect to the living beings and the land Indian Americans pass from generation to generation is extended to their literature, either through spoken word, the storytelling, or the written word in novels, short stories and poetry published in books. Silko also shows respect to the Indian activists of the long 1960s say that the media simplified the narrative of these facts to the US society. (1996, 73)

Snyder, Momaday and Silko work with similar issues in their literatures and, therefore, they can be understood as part of the counterculture agenda since they develop a non-technocratic view of the US during the long 1960s. Hence, to think nature, and the landscape in harmony with the humankind from a countercultural perspective may not only be a reference to transcendentalists and romantics such as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Walt Whitman, but

also a political criticism in relation to nature and, consequently, the Indian rights.



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