Stephen Fry's *Making History*: Another Adolf Hitler

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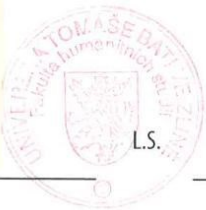Jazyk zpracování: **Angličtina**
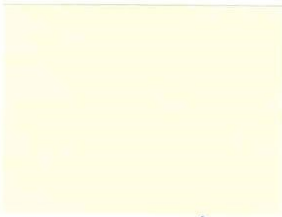
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McHale, Brian. *Postmodernist Fiction*. London: Routledge, 1987.

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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá románem Stephena Frye *Making History* ležícím na pomezí skutečnosti a fikce. Stephen Fry si v tomto díle pohrává s minulostí a přítomností, a proto se práce noří do problematiky historie psané jako vyprávění. Staví na skutečnosti, že dějiny jsou vždy do určité míry zkreslené a vykonstruované. Jelikož *Making History* spadá do žánru alternativní historie, vrhá práce světlo na tuto kategorii beletrie a zabývá se jejím postavením v literatuře. Definuje tento žánr a vymezuje jeho znaky. Vzhledem k jejich podobnostem srovnává alternativní historii s vědeckofantastickým žánrem a historickou fikcí. Práce využívá získané teoretické poznatky v analýze románu a ve vyprávění odhaluje prvky alternativní historické fikce a postmodernismu. Stephen Fry v *Making History* ‚přepisuje' Adolfa Hitlera, a místo něj se zde objevuje Rudolf Gloder. Tato alternativní verze Adolfa Hitlera se stane mnohem horší postavou dějin. Proto je příběh Adolfa Hitlera srovnán s příběhem Rudolfa Glodera. Jejich životy jsou vykresleny každý jiným způsobem, na což práce poukazuje. Následně se snaží určit příčiny stojící za vzestupem Adolfa Hitlera a jeho alternativní verze.

Klíčová slova: dějiny, vyprávění, alternativní historie, historická fikce, vědeckofantastický žánr, Stephen Fry, *Making History*, Německo, Adolf Hitler

ABSTRACT

The bachelor's thesis covers Stephen Fry's novel *Making History*, lying at the borderline of fact and fiction. Stephen Fry plays with the past and present in this piece of writing, thus the thesis delves into the issue of history written as a narrative. It builds on the fact that history is always, to some extent, distorted and constructed. Since *Making History* appertains to the genre of alternate history, the thesis sheds light on this category of fiction and deals with its position in literature. It defines the genre and delineates its features. Due to their similarities, it compares alternate history fiction with science fiction and historical fiction. The thesis makes use of the gained theoretical knowledge in the novel's analysis, and it uncovers the features of alternate history and postmodernism in the narrative. Stephen Fry 'rewrites' Adolf Hitler in *Making History*, and instead, Rudolf Gloder appears. This alternate version of Adolf Hitler becomes a far worse figure of history. Therefore, Adolf Hitler's story is compared with the story of Rudolf Gloder. Their lives are depicted each in a different

manner, which the thesis points out. Subsequently, it seeks to determine the reasons behind the rise of Adolf Hitler and his alternate version.

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INTRODUCTION

Stephen Fry in his alternate history novel *Making History* plays with the concepts of reality and history, which is indicated the title itself. His main focus is on the alteration of the real past and the creation of a different reality. History is a significant element of the novel. Therefore, to begin with, history and historical writing are examined at first. The thesis plans to deal, especially, with history as a constructed narrative. For that reason, one segment of the thesis is devoted to the explanation of narrative and its general features.

As Robert Scholes once said, "all writing is a construction."[1] Consequently, even writing about the actual past is only a construction. One of the most influential people who have dealt with the phenomenon of history writing is a historian, Hayden White. The thesis builds on the theory of history by Hayden White, who analysed historical writing of the 19th century. From his point of a view, historians construct past events into narratives to create meaning. Based on his assumption, there are distinct formal characteristics in the works written by different historians, and historians, therefore, write in various styles. This proves that history is a constructed narrative. It follows that all facts are shaped in a way. Thus, even historical figures are constructs. For instance, Adolf Hitler, who considerably affected the course of our history, has been contrived. The perception of him nowadays is quite clear: unchallenged dictator and tyrant. In the novel, Stephen Fry invents another Adolf Hitler. He creates another dictator who is far worse than Adolf Hitler himself. The thesis aims to look into the issue of history and fiction and to state why they do not differ as one would think.

Subsequently, the thesis concentrates on alternate history, which closely relates to the topic of history and historical writing. Alternate histories play with fact and fiction. Authors of alternate histories alter the past with, for example, a fictional character that changes the course of history and the present. This occurs also in Fry's alternate history novel as was mentioned above. Alternate histories have gained popularity among the general public especially since the 20th century, while they are still not so broadly discussed from the academic point of view. Therefore, the thesis aims to define alternate histories, delineate their general characteristics and classify alternate histories. The thesis compares distinct approaches to the genre. It targets the works by Elisabeth Wesseling, Kathleen Singles, Jon-K Adams and more. The classification of the alternate history genre differs from author to author. The alternate histories are usually presented as a genre of science fiction. In the

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[1] Robert Scholes, *Structural Fabulation: An Essay on Fiction of the Future* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1975), 7.

thesis, though, it is established that the alternate histories are a part of speculative fiction. Speculative fiction was firstly introduced by Robert Heinlein in his essay *On the Writing of Speculative Fiction*. In addition, it is vital to compare alternate histories with the genre of science fiction as well as with the genre of historical fiction, considering that alternate histories intertwine with these genres and they are frequently seen as a part of either science fiction or historical fiction.

The theoretical knowledge gained from the specialized literature is applied to analyse the novel. The features of alternate histories and postmodernism discovered in the novel are dealt with. The significant statements of the novel, describing the profession of historians and explaining the story, are put under examination. The analysis concentrates on the comparison of the real past with the imaginary one, especially on the comparison of the two Führers. As mentioned, Stephen Fry reinvents Adolf Hitler to demonstrate that history could have been much worse. He constructs a brand-new Führer, a new historical figure Rudolf Gloder. Rudolf Gloder is the reason why Jews are wiped out, the atomic bomb is invented much sooner and the entire Europe is under the influence of Germany. It leads to greater suffering than under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The thesis analyses the story of Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder to prove how narratives can be contrived. In this novel, Adolf Hitler is depicted unconventionally. He is perceived, mainly, as a victim of his abusive father and as a person who had a difficult childhood. On the other hand, Rudolf Gloder is displayed as a villain. This is achieved by the choice of only particular events to create Hitler's narrative and Gloder's narrative. Both are supposed to affect a reader in a certain way.

The concluding part of the analysis is devoted to finding out the reasons why Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder were able to rise and become leaders. From the novel, it is apparent that propaganda had its important place in winning the nation over. Consequently, the thesis clarifies the concept of propaganda and the propaganda recognized in the novel is looked at. It takes into account also the actual propaganda by Nazis and Adolf Hitler. The influential rhetoric, the character of a leader and the power of speeches are considered as other reasons behind Hitler and Gloder getting on top. In addition, the economic background of Germany and other nations should be kept in mind. Last but not least, German mentality is examined with the help of Hannah Arendt and her analysis of Adolf Eichmann's mentality. The concept of mentality and national identity is defined to comprehend it properly. The examples discovered in the novel and the instances found in the real past concur with the theory of leadership by Sigmund Freud. The theory of leadership throws light on the reasons behind Hitler and Gloder winning the nation over well.

1 HISTORY AS A CONSTRUCTED NARRATIVE

The chapter builds on the theory of history by Hayden White, who has brought literature and history closer together. Literature was explored as a verbal system by White and he indicated that history and fiction vary only in terms of levels, therefore they are not supposed to be considered distinct categories. The historiographer composes stories out of the historical data, otherwise the given historical data have no form.[2] White explains historical writing as a rhetorical arrangement that is shaped into a narrative.[3] It is vital to understand the impact of history and literature. Based on White, their power lies in educating us about the messages hidden in history. He finds it crucial to discover what is authentic in the past instead of what is truthful, since he says that discovering the truth in the past is not so significant. It is better to distinguish what is genuine and what is only imaginary.[4] In order to explore history as a constructed narrative, firstly, there must be a focus on two terms, which are *history* and *narrative* themselves and their characteristics. From their individual attributes, it is visible how similar they actually are. They are closely related and talking about history, it basically cannot exist without narration.

1.1 History

Burckhardt claims that history could be understood as the departure from nature that is provoked by the activation of cognizance. More precisely, we talk about history when humans start to contemplate time, not with regard to nature, but with regard to a sequence of particular occurrences, which they can deliberately affect and which they are a part of. In addition, history is connected with man's comprehension of his surroundings and his subsequent actions connected to it. However, the definition has been widened in the contemporary world since humans are not only able to comprehend their surroundings and react based on that but they are also able to reflect on themselves. Humans in the contemporary world are understood as subjects that are aware of themselves and as subjects that are aware of the past, which caused the addition of a new meaning to history as such.[5] Therefore, history has undergone changes as new discoveries have been made and the field of history has been the point of discussion since then.

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[2] Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 13-15, Kindle.
[3] White, *Metahistory*, 29.
[4] White, *Metahistory*, 13-15.
[5] Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* 2nd ed. (London: Penguin Classics, 2018), 140, Kindle.

Before the twentieth century, history was treated as a clearly defined "mode of existence" and history as such had its important place in the range of the natural and moral sciences. In the last century, though, well-known philosophers of Europe such as Valéry or Sartre have begun to be sceptic about history because they emphasized the fictional aspect of its representation. Therefore, a question was raised. Should history be considered a science or not?[6] Interestingly, the earliest historiographers, Tacitus and Thucydides, saw history even as a category of oratory art.[7] This closely relates to White's approach to historical narratives for the reason that he himself saw historical writing as a rhetorical arrangement.[8] Based on these claims, it appears that the concept of history has been unclarified.

Since history lies at the borderline of science and art, the problem has been especially about its position in the fields of science, which caused criticism of history.[9] Historiographers have decided to use the strategy of the Roman general called Fabius against the criticism of history for more than one hundred years. Thanks to this strategy, history was considered as a golden mean between the two disciplines called science and art. Based on this approach, historians can combine two manners in which we perceive our surroundings. Otherwise, these two manners are distinct and it is not possible to combine them. When history was dispraised by scientists for its figures of speech or equivocalness, historiographers protested that history should not be assessed as a science because it has never been a classic science. On the flip side, when history was judged by writers for its artistic depiction, historians claimed that history is considered to be half a science.[10]

Hayden White in his essay *The Burden of History* states that the purpose of history, in contrast to science and art, is delivering a particular element of time to human consciousness. One of the duties of a historiographer is to utilize the past and show how it could be applied to influence the present time and the future of the humankind. History leads mankind to better comprehension and acknowledgement of their accountability for the future of the world and also for the future of themselves.[11]

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[6] White, *Metahistory*, 35.
[7] Karen Hellekson, *The Alternate History: Refiguring Historical Time (*Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2001), 43.
[8] White, *Metahistory*, 29.
[9] White, *Metahistory*, 35.
[10] Hayden White, "The Burden of History," *History and Theory* 5, no. 2 (1966): 111.
[11] White, "Burden of History," 132-133.

1.2 Narrative

To narrate is like an instinct for human beings. A narrative might be explained as the transformation of thoughts into talks.[12] More precisely, a narrative could be understood as a method of rhetoric, thanks to which our experiences are constructed into a unit with a meaning. By virtue of narratives, we can express our thoughts to other individuals.[13] A discipline that concentrates on a variety of narratives is called narratology. It focuses on narratives of all types, which differ based on their distinct characteristics and goals.[14] In order to explore narratives properly, it is vital to understand some terms which are associated with them, such as *an agent*, *an event*, *a fabula* or *focalization*.

Behind every narrative, an agent exists that narrates something to us. Based on how much the character of "the narrative agent" is expressed in the narrative and the matter in which it is expressed, the narrative is characterized and it gains its unique position among narratives. This element of a narrative is associated with the concept of focalization.[15] It is critical to understand that every occurrence is shown from a particular point of view. The manner of viewing and understanding events differ, no matter if we talk about imaginary situations or actual past events. Even though particular authors try to be as unbiased as possible, their narratives are unavoidably subjective due to the fact that the way they view and understand things varies. Perception changes depending on various circumstances. It takes into account the literacy of the author, his skills and it depends also on his own approach to a particular thing and many more circumstances. Objectivity could be explained as an effort to show a certain object based on how it is perceived without any implied meanings and without being subjective, while perception is a subconscious action. According to this evidence, focalization could be clarified as the link between observing and perceiving.[16]

Talking about narratives, it is vital to introduce the term fabula as well. A fabula could be understood as a sequence of occurrences, which is structured in a specific way. The fabula consists of components, such as an actor and an event. These are the components that are transformed into a narrative based on the reason of occurrences. The components that

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[12] Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 5, https://doi.org/10.1086/448086.
[13] White, *Metahistory*, 15.
[14] Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 3, Kindle.
[15] Bal, *Narratology*, 11-12.
[16] Bal, *Narratology*, 132-133.

are acting in a story are called actors and when a condition is transformed into another, it is called an event. The components are formed into a story in order to achieve the coveted outcome. This indicates that a story explained by a variety of authors can differ also because of the fabula. [17]

These factors, especially the fabula and focalization, indicate that every narrative is subjective depending on the author and also constructed in a certain way to bring about a particular effect. This is explored further in the following subchapter.

1.3 History as a Constructed Narrative

It is practically impossible to write about historical events without narrating. Since only with the help of narrating, it is possible to change historical data into a succession of occurrences, which can be understood as a system consisting of subjects with their own fixed characters and only essences of these subjects can vary throughout time.[18] The historian has to construct the story from the events of former times because otherwise, the past has no form. The given data of the past have no verbal structure, therefore, the significance of the data is missing until the historian creates a story out of the data.[19]

Some historiographers, though, decided to reject narrativization, for instance, Braudel or Burckhardt. To create a story out of the actual situations is challenging for the reason that the real-life situations do not display themselves as narratives. Consequently, they decided not to narrate about the past, or to be more precise, they chose not to create a narrative with a definite stages, such as the beginning of the story and the end of the story.[20]

There are at least two types of depictions of the past, in which authors do not narrate, and they are called *the chronicles* and *the annals*. The annals miss the characteristics of the narrative. Happenings are simply arranged in the order of their occurrence and they are presented with no story behind them. On the other hand, the chronicles aim to narrate, but they usually do not accomplish that. The chronicles typically lack the ending. There is usually no conclusion, they simply stop, events remain open and questions remain unanswered. The chronicle writers present the data in the mode of narratives, which are not

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[17] Bal, *Narratology*, 5-8.
[18] Hayden White, "Historical Discourse and Literary Writing," in *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History / Literature Debate*, ed. Kuisma Korhonen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 30.
[19] White, *Metahistory*, 15.
[20] White, "Value of Narrativity," 6-8.

complete. Based on Hayden White, the annals and chronicles could be explained as specific kinds of interpretations of the past.[21]

Getting back to White's *Metahistory*, historical writing is understood by him as a rhetorical composition that is shaped into a story. Historical works incorporate historical information to a certain extent, clarification of the information and a certain composition of the narrative is required. Historical works consist of mainly lyrical and particularly rhetorical subject matter. And although history lies at the borderline of art and science, the focus on the lyrical and rhetorical elements of a historical work have been only minimal. White decided to change that approach to historical works and he analyzed them from different points of view. He explored them based on their structure and linguistic and poetic features.[22]

Historical works composed by individual historical writers have distinct formal features. The manners in which these historians describe the series of past events vary. White has characterized historical writings based on the degree of how much they are conceptualized and he has categorized them into five different modes. The first degree is called *a chronicle,* which has been already mentioned. The following level is *a story*. The next three modes are *"a mode of emplotment," "a mode of argument,"* and also *"a mode of ideological implication."*[23]

A chronicle presents data that are chronologically ordered. By additional organizing of a chronicle and giving the chronicle its detectable points where the chronicle starts and finishes, a story is created. Data in a story are usually complemented by *motifs*. The motifs in a story, which indicate the beginning of a story, are called inaugural motifs. The motifs might indicate a transition, therefore these are called transitional motifs. The last type of motif is called the terminating motif, which is interconnected with the termination of a story. Behind one identical situation, there might be different motifs. For instance, the decease of a sovereign in a story would be considered a terminating event if the death indicated the end of the story and the story would not continue. On the contrary, it could be seen as an inaugural event if the story were about the sovereign's son becoming a king. The difference between a story and a chronicle is that stories are incorporated with motifs and they have a conclusion, while chronicles do not have any conclusion.[24]

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[21] White, "Value of Narrativity," 9.
[22] White, *Metahistory*, 29-30.
[23] White, *Metahistory*, 37-38.
[24] White, *Metahistory*, 38-39.

Based on how are the data organized into a story and based on the link between the story and historical data recorded in the chronicle, there exist other three levels. The first level is called "a mode of emplotment," the second level is "a mode of argument" and the final one is "a mode of ideological implication."[25]

Story can be distinguished by the type of a story. This is realized by "the explanation by emplotment." Story can be explained in not less than four ways of emplotment. It can be structured as a tragedy, as a romance, as a satire or as a comedy. It is vital to understand that every narrative of the past is arranged in a certain way and has its specific plot. Stories about history are always structured in a specified manner to deliver a particular meaning. A kind of story such as romance is characterized, especially, by a heroic protagonist in a narrative and his individuality, the concept of triumph is important. The winning of kindness over sinfulness is usually displayed in this type of a narrative. For instance, Christ's awakening from death is considered romance. On the other side of the spectrum, there is a satire. In this kind of a narration, the protagonist does not win over the world, in fact, he is like a prisoner of the world. Comedy is characterized by celebratory events happening in a story. On the flip side, there are tragedies, which do not contain any celebratory events. The hero's failure is usually depicted in tragedies. However, the hero's failure displayed is not seen as something so affecting that would endanger others. [26]

The fourth stage is characterized by "the explanation by argument." In this case, the historiographer clarifies the reason for writing about an event. The historian tries to clear up why the past occurrences happened with the help of argumentation. [27] For instance, almost every historian wants to come up with a reason for why World War II has happened.

The last level is realized by "the explanation by ideological implication." Four ideologies mentioned in White's work are called Liberalism, Radicalism, Conservatism and Anarchism. Every ideology mentioned would take different actions in order to change society but all of them want the change as such. Conservatives and Liberals are less open to a radical change. Based on their approach, changes should happen rather naturally or based on the society's wishes. On the other hand, Anarchists and Radicals think that a radical

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[25] White, *Metahistory*, 38-39.
[26] White, *Metahistory*, 39-41.
[27] White, *Metahistory*, 43.

alternation is necessary. And based on the historian's approach, his writing differs. It depends if he considers himself a Liberal or, for instance, a Radical. [28]

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[28] White, *Metahistory*, 53-55.

2 EXPLORATION OF ALTERNATE HISTORY FICTION

"History is the sum total of the things that could have been avoided."[29] This quotation made by Konrad Adenauer depicts the purpose of alternate history fiction quite precisely considering the fact that writers of alternate histories generally alter the past in order to change the outcomes of the past. Needless to say, it is not always the change for the better. In some cases, writers of alternate histories decide to take a different course and transform history for the worse. These literary works in which authors ask themselves "What if?" became widely recognized approximately 60 years ago. Today, if individuals are interested in alternate histories, it is possible to explore particular internet sites to find the novel of their liking such as www.uchronia.net. This is one of the online databases of alternate histories, where readers can pick a book based on the preferred language, an occurrence that is altered later on or based on their favourite writer and more. The existence of various internet databases focused on alternate histories and the presence of bountiful alternate history novels written by well-known authors, for instance, the novel 11/22/63 by Stephen King, only confirm that alternate histories became generally accepted and trendy.[30] This part of the thesis is concentrated on the exploration of alternate history fiction as such, with the main goal to define and classify it. Furthermore, the focus is on the characteristics of the genre and its position among the fields of literature, such as science fiction and historical fiction.

2.1 Characteristics of Alternate History Fiction and its Classification

"Allohistories, alternate universes, uchronias, alternate or alternative histories"[31] - all of these names are used in connection with alternate history fiction. The term allohistory was used and explained for example by Waugh and Greenberg in their work *Alternate Histories*. Based on their approach, allohistory concentrates on the history and how it could have looked like.[32] Academics lean towards the term alternative history, although there is already a different definition of the expression coming from historians: "histories that approach their subject from a nonstandard position."[33] An example of alternative history could be a historiographer studying life in Italy in the fifteen century from a perspective of a woman.[34] Women in Middle Ages weren't equal to men. Hardly any attention was paid to them at that

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[29] Connie Robertson, ed., *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Quotations* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1998), 3.
[30] Kathleen Singles, *Alternate History: Playing with Contingency and Necessity* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 1-2.
[31] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.
[32] Singles, *Alternate History*, 19.
[33] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.
[34] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.

time. The women's perspective in connection with history as such is unconventional. This corresponds exactly to the approach from a nonstandard position, which is why this example is called alternative history. Historiographers prefer to call alternate histories counterfactuals. Jörg Helbig uses rather the expression parahistory, which is noticeable, for instance, in his work *Der parahistorische Roman* from 1987.[35][36] In France or Germany, the term Uchronie can be frequently heard regarding the genre. As stated by Christoph Rodiek in 1987, this expression for alternate histories was used for the first time by Charles Renouvier, who wrote a novel and gave it the title *Uchronie* in 1876. The work by Charles Renouvier belongs to counterfactual histories and it is focused on the past of the Western world from approximately 161 AD to 814 AD, ending with the reign of Charlemagne.[37] In this bachelor's thesis, the term alternate histories is used the most.

Alternate history could be found at the borderline between science fiction and historical fiction.[38] Alternate histories are based on the assumption that a certain historical moment has altered and is distinct from the one of the real past. Therefore, even the current world differs because of the changed course of history.[39] Such a genre aims to foreground and explore the questions of time and history.[40] Writers of alternate histories blend together the actual past with their imagination, which is how they alter history. There is a non-fictional basis, which agrees with the actual past based on the evidence. Then, the writer includes individuals or situations, which are only made-up to create a story out of given data. Interestingly, the same thing is done also by historiographers.[41]

Speaking of alternate history, it is vital to familiarize oneself with the terms such as *history* and its specification in alternate history fiction, "*the point of divergence,*" *the element of eventuality* and *the element of inevitability*.[42]

History under these particular conditions could be explained as a writing in which a story is created out of non-fictional historical data. The actual occurrences of the past are put together in order to create a narration. In the case of alternate histories, authors usually

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[35] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.
[36] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 17.
[37] Elisabeth Wesseling, *Writing History as a Prophet: Postmodernist Innovations of the Historical Novel* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991), 101-102.
[38] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6.
[39] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 8.
[40] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 28.
[41] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 33.
[42] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6-9.

choose historical happenings, which are widely known among the general public. History is not rejected in alternate history fiction, in fact, alternate history writers work with the actual historical events.[43]

Alternate histories join together the reality with the fictional world.[44] The point in which the non-fictional part of a story changes into an imaginary one is called "the point of divergence". This change of the real historical data is usually fixed, and since then, history takes a new and unexpected turn. The event in the past is altered and therefore, the present is transformed as well, and the contemporary fictional world is distinct from the one that we are aware of.[45]

"The point of divergence" depends on the element of eventuality, whereas the alternate version of reality following this altered moment is characterized by the element of inevitability. "The point of divergence" is based on its possibility. It is an event, which is possible but not certain. This event can occur but not necessarily. However, after "the point of divergence," a different direction of history is unavoidable.[46]

Alternate history fiction is a remarkable genre that is recently being more explored.[47] Alternate history is being associated with more than just one field of literature. Some scholars classify alternate history as a subgenre within science fiction, others classify it as a category of historical fiction[48], as will be mentioned in the next subchapter. In recent times, alternate history is included as a genre in so-called speculative fiction.[49]

2.1.1 Speculative Fiction

Speculative fiction was originally presented as a category of science fiction, whose focus is on mankind instead of technology. This classification of science fiction deals with reactions of individuals, or reactions of the entire mankind, regarding technological inventions, innovations and changes. The definition was introduced by Robert Heinlein in his essay *On the Writing of Speculative Fiction* in 1947.[50]

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[43] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6-7.
[44] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 20.
[45] Singles, *Alternate History*, 7.
[46] Singles, *Alternate History*, 9.
[47] Singles, *Alternate History*, 1.
[48] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6.
[49] Marek Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature* (March 2017): 1, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.78.
[50] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 4.

However, there is currently more than just one definition of speculative fiction.[51] Speculative fiction could be seen as a contradictory genre to science fiction as well. Margaret Atwood came up with this speculation. Based on Margaret, the main difference between the two terms is that speculative fiction is focused on events that could perhaps come about. On the other hand, science fiction portrays situations that cannot occur in real life by any chance. However, this speculation has not been especially credible.[52]

Currently, speculative fiction can be understood as a separate category of so-called "non-mimetic fiction". In "non-mimetic fiction" authors consciously deviate from reproducing reality that is generally agreed to be true.[53][54] In a simplified way, speculative fiction usually takes place in an invented world and contemplates on things that are only imaginary.[55] When reading speculative fiction, one often speculates about how the world could have been different or how his life could have been different.[56] Speculative fiction differs from other types of fiction with fanciful elements that are usually found in this kind of literature. This category of non-mimetic fiction, though, is quite broad and it is difficult to determine the boundaries of this category. However, it is generally divided into the three next subcategories. The first subcategory is called science fiction, the next one is fantasy fiction and the last one is horror. It is possible to list numerous genres of this category.[57] And one of many genres contained in speculative fiction is the already described alternate history.[58]

2.2 Alternate History and Science Fiction

First of all, what is science fiction? Science fiction could be understood as "a sister-genre" of postmodernism. The genre itself attempts to solve existential questions, which is one of their shared characteristics with postmodernism. Postmodernism is considered ontological as well as the science fiction genre. Darko Suvin has characterized science fiction as a genre, that challenge our world and its known facts and truths with things that are unknown.[59]

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[51] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 2.
[52] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 5.
[53] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 1.
[54] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 6.
[55] Kim Wilkins, "Genre and Speculative Fiction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Creative Writing*, eds. David Morley and Philip Neilsen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 39.
[56] P. L. Thomas, "Introduction: Challenging Science Fiction and Speculative Fiction," in *Science Fiction and Speculative Fiction: Challenging Genres*, ed. P. L. Thomas (Rotterdam: Sense, 2013), 4.
[57] Wilkins, "Genre and Speculative Fiction," 39-40.
[58] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 1.
[59] Brian McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction* (Milton: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2004), 59, Kindle.

Interestingly, though, science fiction literature was often considered low-quality literature in the past and sometimes it is even today regarded as substandard literature. This is why some postmodernist writers did not want their novels to be associated with science fiction.[60]

In both types of fiction, fictional worlds appear and the alternate reality of the world is created.[61] Both, science fiction writers and alternate history writers ask the same question: "What if the world were somehow different?"[62] This implies that both of them deal with alternate realities and they are not necessarily realistic. They could be looked at as two types of fiction focusing on fictional realities, which are tightly linked. Works of science fiction and alternate history are both considered self-referential. The links to reality and tenseness built by the narrative are significant in self-referential writing. Despite the fact that they are fictional, they commonly attempt to look convincing. All types of fiction inherently incorporate departures from reality. And these departures are found the most in the works of science fiction as well as in the works of alternate history, which makes them even more alike. These departures can be found at the narrative level or they can be found in the invented reality as such.[63]

As was already mentioned, alternate history is regularly classified as a subgenre of science fiction. For instance, Karen Hellekson in her work *The Alternate History: Refiguring Historical Time* claims that alternate history is a part of science fiction.[64] Likewise, Giampaolo Spedo in his dissertation *The Plot against the Past* mentions that alternate history fiction is often seen as a category of science fiction.[65] Jon-K Adams examines works, which are, in his opinion, the most outstanding novels regarding speculative history within science fiction. Since alternate history fiction is included in speculative history, Jon-K Adams is another scholar who has classified alternate history as a subgenre of science fiction.[66]

Nonetheless, science fiction focuses on potential versions of reality that are usually taking place in the future or that are happening in the remote worlds. On the other hand, alternate history fiction shows a hypothetical form of the real past. The new interpretation

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[60] McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction*, 65.
[61] Singles, *Alternate History*, 104.
[62] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.
[63] Singles, *Alternate History*, 104.
[64] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 9.
[65] Giampaolo Spedo, "The Plot against the Past: An Exploration of Alternate History in British and American Fiction" (PhD diss., The University of Padua, 2009), 7.
[66] Jon-K Adams, "Science Fiction in Pursuit of History," in *Historiographic Metafiction in Modern American and Canadian Literature*, eds. Bernd Engler and Kurt Müller (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1994), 149-150.

of the past is displayed as the real history in the story, even though it differs from the actual historical data. Science fiction typically focuses on the future, while alternate history always concentrates on the past.[67] Thus, literary works of alternate history fiction should not be classified as a subgenre of science fiction. They relate closely to each other, but they should be considered distinct categories since they focus on dissimilar domains.

2.3 Alternate History and Historical Fiction

As Singles states, alternate history fiction commonly falls into a genre of historical fiction. Nonetheless, in the latest works analyzing alternate history fiction, alternate histories are not considered to be purely in a genre of historical fiction, but they are associated, for example, with science fiction as well. One of the academics seeing alternate history lying at the borderline of science fiction and historical fiction is, for instance, Michael Butter.[68]

As the name *alternate history* implies, history and fiction are intertwined in this type of narrative. Authors write alternate histories essentially in the form of a historical narrative. The actual past is shown and the narration about the real past is combined with individuals or situations which are partially or fully fictional. The narratives of alternate history are understood as fiction only. Conversely, writers and readers of historical narratives generally consider historical novels true to life, as was mentioned, for example, by Spedo in his *The Plot Against the Past*.[69]

In both cases, writers try to be truthful and faithful when talking about past events. However, alternate histories are supposed to adjust the real past and change the course of history. In historical fiction, the author also comes up with situations or individuals that are invented in order to create a narrative out of given data. Nevertheless, historical fiction tries to be utterly genuine. Writers of alternate histories choose an actual historical event and write about the past in accordance with the historical records. Later on, they alter the event with the help of their imagination and fiction comes into play. The plot begins to diverge from historical data, which is distinct from historical novels. In historical narratives, the outcomes of historical events remain the same as in the actual past, while alternate history fiction alters the event as well as its outcome.[70]

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[67] Spedo, "Plot against Past," 7.
[68] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6.
[69] Spedo, "Plot against Past," 7.
[70] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 33-34.

Historical fiction in which the past is fixed and cannot be changed contradicts alternate history fiction. Since writers of alternate histories usually return to the past event, which society is still aware of, and change that event causing a stir. In order to demonstrate how distinct the course of history and the world might have been.[71]

The main difference between the two genres can be found in the relation between the cause and its consequence. The historical writer usually comes up with an explanation for the consequence. The consequence itself is based on evidence. The explanation will be founded on evidence as well, therefore the relation between them is presented as a clarification at all times. On the other hand, the writer of alternate histories invents the relation between the cause and its consequence. Historical writers try to clarify the past. In contrast, alternate history writers show how the past could have been different.[72]

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[71] Spedo, "Plot against Past," 45-46.
[72] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 34.

3   STEPHEN FRY'S *MAKING HISTORY*

This chapter aims to briefly introduce the alternate history novel *Making History* written by Stephen Fry, especially with regard to its complicated plot. In addition, the chapter encompasses the latest interview given by Stephen Fry about his novel published in 1996, *Making History*. It sheds light on what was his motivation behind writing the book and it concentrates on his thoughts and feelings connected to publishing the piece of writing.[73] It is vital to comprehend the author's motivations behind writing the novel as well as his emotions, not only to familiarize oneself with the plot. It is essential to look at the narrative also from a different angle in order to carry out a proper analysis.

3.1   Introducing *Making History*

The novel *Making History* was published for the first time in 1996.[74] The novel appertains to the genre of alternate history fiction, which deliberately reshapes the course of history and alters the present times.[75] The novel targets the history of World War II and the life of Adolf Hitler.

Speaking about present times, the narrative is set partially at the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom and Princeton University in the USA. The storyline of the past takes place in Germany and Austria in the time between the wars and during World War II.[76]

The protagonist Michael Young is a student of history at the University of Cambridge. He pays regard, particularly, to the completion of his thesis about Adolf Hitler's life in order to get a doctorate.[77] Nonetheless, an unanticipated meeting with professor Leo Zuckermann changes it all.[78] Michael Young and Leo Zuckermann make a decision together to reshape the course of history. Their goal is to make the world a better place by erasing Adolf Hitler from history.[79] However, they succeed just partway. They create a world with no Adolf Hitler in it but the world is not a better place. In fact, it is worse than it was previously. Instead of Adolf Hitler, a new dictator appears, Rudolf Gloder. Rudolf Gloder is far worse

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[73] "Stephen Fry on What It Was Like Making History," Penguin Books, last modified July 1, 2021, https://www.penguin.co.uk/articles/2021/july/stephen-fry-making-history-interview.html.
[74] "Makin History," Goodreads, accessed March 4, 2022, https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/41014989-making-history.
[75] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 8.
[76] Stephen Fry, *Making History* (London: Arrow Books, 2011).
[77] Fry, *Making History*, 7-11.
[78] Fry, *Making History*, 46.
[79] Fry, *Making History*, 218-225.

than Adolf Hitler himself. Under his dictatorship, the atomic bomb is invented, the Jews are completely wiped out and entire Europe is under the influence of Germany.[80]

The novel is intertwined with fragments of the past. The chapter *Making Breakfast*[81] in the narrative describes, for instance, the relationship between Alois and Klara Hitler. The segment *Making Free*[82] narrates the birth of Adolf Hitler, and his childhood and growing up is well depicted in the chapter *Making Threats*.[83] When the course of history is altered, though, the fragments of the past are simultaneously remade as well. Adolf Hitler had never existed. As a matter of fact, he is 'rewritten' and Rudolf Gloder occurs in place of him.[84] Since that moment, the actual past described in the novel is intertwined with fiction.

The novel is based on real historical records regarding the life of Adolf Hitler and World War II. When the course of history changes, though, the inventions come into play. Rudolf Gloder, who replaces Adolf Hitler, is merely invented. Although, interestingly, the speech of Rudolf Gloder at the meeting of the German Worker's Party matches the actual oration that was given by Adolf Hitler. In reality, Adolf Hitler delivered the same talk at the same meeting and at the same time. The novel contains real historical figures, such as Hans Mend or Hugo Gutmann. The only character from the past that is imaginary is Rudolf Gloder, as was mentioned by the author in the acknowledgements.[85]

3.2 Stephen Fry on *Making History*

In summer 2021, Stephen Fry was interviewed about his alternate history novel *Making History* by Sam Parker for Penguin Books UK. The interview was done in connection with the publishing of *Making History* in its audio version looking back on the writing of the narrative as such. Fry's motivation behind writing the book is revealed together with his memories and feelings about the novel.[86]

Stephen Fry, in his childhood, figured out quite soon who Adolf Hitler was when his mother revealed the truth about his grandfather and his family that deceased in World War II to him. Little Stephen, putting two and two together, realized that Adolf Hitler was the one accountable for this. Therefore, he started asking himself a question: What if Adolf Hitler had never existed? Would it change anything? This childhood memory together with

[80] Fry, *Making History*, 384-386.
[81] Fry, *Making History*, 15-18.
[82] Fry, *Making History*, 66-68.
[83] Fry, *Making History*, 80-84.
[84] Fry, *Making History*, 356.
[85] Fry, *Making History*, 574.
[86] Penguin Books, "What It Was Like Making History."

Stephen Fry's Hebrew origins motivated him to write an alternate history novel in which Adolf Hitler is erased.[87]

For the reason that the novel encompasses humorous elements, even though it narrates about Jews during World War II, Fry found it quite hazardous to publish the work. It combines comedy with the terrors of the war, which makes the narrative provocative to a certain extent. Fry did not mention his Jewish origins when publishing it, and also for that reason, some negative reviews have occurred. He considers it as one of his slip-ups because, for that reason, readers of the book often thought that Fry took advantage of World War II and the Jews and poked fun at that.[88]

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[87] Penguin Books, "What It Was Like Making History."
[88] Penguin Books, "What It Was Like Making History."

4 ANALYSIS OF THE NOVEL *MAKING HISTORY*

The core of this chapter is the analysis of the alternate history novel written by Stephen Fry called *Making History*. It aims to examine the elements of alternate history fiction uncovered in the novel. At the same time, its postmodernist characteristics are taken into account since according to indications of the novel, it could be considered postmodern. Facts discovered in the novel and its fictional elements are compared in order to ascertain if fact and fiction actually differ from each other or not. Considering the novel explores the reality with reinvented Adolf Hitler, a substantial part of the analysis is devoted to it. Adolf Hitler's story and Rudolf Gloder's story are set side by side to demonstrate how the depiction of their stories varies and how narratives sometimes can be constructed. Last but not least, the reasons behind Hitler and Gloder winning the whole nation over are analysed. The thesis looks into the causes found in the novel, which are complemented by the analyses of the actual past that were carried out. The findings of Hannah Arendt have their important role, for instance, her findings of the German nation during World War II. In the end, Sigmund Freud's theory of leadership throws light on the reasons why Hitler and Gloder managed to win the nation over.

4.1 At the Borderline of Fact and Fiction

In the introductory chapter, the protagonist attempts to present the story to us. He comes up with several remarkable quotes in his description of the narrative, on which the analysis builds. The main character Michael is a student of history and in his talk, he refers to a remark made by Friedrich von Schlegel, who defines a historian as "a prophet looking backwards."[89]

This quote made by Schlegel could be perceived as the figure of speech called oxymoron because a contradiction appears there. The expression *a prophet* is combined with the word *backwards*. *A prophet* usually stands for an individual who predicts the future. Nonetheless, based on this quote, *a prophet* who looks back into the past and predicts exists as well. As was mentioned in the theoretical part of the thesis, the historian suggests an explanation for a particular historical occurrence happening, and the explanation is based on the evidence.[90] Based on White, one of the duties of the historian is to utilize the past to influence the present times and also the future.[91] This facilitates the comprehension of the remark made by

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[89] Fry, *Making History*, 8.
[90] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 34.
[91] White, "Burden of History," 132.

Schlegel to a greater extent and it supports the saying used by the protagonist to describe the story. Historians can make predictions about the future based upon the past and have an impact on the future. Regarding the protagonist's opinion, the protagonist supposes that he cannot fully apply the quote to the narrative. Consequently, the protagonist attempts to delineate the novel based on the following contradictory statement: "A: None of what follows ever happened. B: All of what follows is entirely true."[92]

The formulation reveals that the novel is located at the borderline of fact and fiction. Again, there is a contradiction, in this instance, even more visible. Statement A utterly contradicts claim B. On one side, it claims that the story is, in essence, only fictional and nothing happened in reality. On the other side, it declares that the story occurred in real life. This contradictory formulation relates to the concept of alternate history fiction. In alternate history fiction, the real historical events are displayed. Meanwhile, invented individuals enter the story, and at the same time, made-up occurrences are included in the narrative.[93] Readers of alternate histories need to distinguish what is reality and what is only fiction. Generally, the differentiating between reality and fiction is not colossally demanding because authors of alternate histories choose historical events which are known to the general public.[94] In this instance, Stephen Fry decided to focus on the history of World War II and the life of the dictator Adolf Hitler.

The novel's "point of divergence" is the birth of Adolf Hitler. "The point of divergence" appears commonly on the basis of the element of eventuality.[95] This signifies that the event might have intrinsically happened but not necessarily. To illustrate this, Adolf Hitler might have been born, but something else could have happened on the contrary. In this case, Adolf Hitler is not born whatsoever. This is the point in which the non-fictional part of the story transforms into a fictional one and a direction of history is changed since that moment.[96] In the novel, Adolf Hitler is 'rewritten', and instead of Adolf Hitler, the new dictator enters the picture, Rudolf Gloder. The different course of history containing Rudolf Gloder is built on the element of inevitability.[97] This indicates that when one point of history changes, a dissimilar course of history is unavoidable.

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[92] Fry, *Making History*, 8.
[93] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 33.
[94] Singles, *Alternate History*, 6-9.
[95] Singles, *Alternate History*, 9.
[96] Singles, *Alternate History*, 7.
[97] Singles, *Alternate History*, 9.

Alternate histories are a part of so-called speculative fiction,[98] and Fry, in the novel, speculates how the world would have been in the absence of Adolf Hitler. In speculative fiction, authors intentionally deviate from reality.[99] The narrative generally takes place in an invented world and theorizes about things that are products of the writer's imagination.[100] In this respect, the reality regarding Adolf Hitler is altered and everything that follows is simultaneously transformed. Fry deviates from the actual past with Adolf Hitler, and the new reality in which Adolf Hitler had never lived is presented.

In the narrative, the question: What if Adolf Hitler had never existed? is explored. Thus, the novel concentrates on showing the world in which Adolf Hitler had never lived. Readers, as well as the protagonist of the story, would have thought that the new course of history taken would be better. Ironically, the opposite happens. The new course of history and the present times are a whole lot worse than before. The fictional version of reality is associated with the concept of fabulation, which was defined by Robert Scholes in his writing, namely, *Structural Fabulation*. The fabulation is defined as a narrative that happens in an environment that is inarguably distinct from the one that is recognized by readers. However, the writer keeps the commonly accepted reality in mind and challenges it.[101]

Throughout the story, the protagonist repeats one more statement relating to the novel. It can be considered a significant claim of the narrative, which can be repeatedly discovered in the novel. This formulation should have not been forgotten, and likewise, it should be analysed in the thesis:"…it is like a circle, approachable from any point. It is also, like a circle, unapproachable from any point."[102]

The protagonist plays with this thought from the very beginning of the novel. The protagonist notes that the story is like a circle, it can begin anywhere and nowhere and it hinges purely on the decision of the narrator. Hence, the narrative can be approached from any point but also it can be considered unapproachable. This saying could be connected with the so-called Möbius strip, which relates to postmodernism.[103] The Möbius strip is a ceaseless surface that represents endlessness.[104] The Möbius strip, in some depictions, can remind us of a circle. The Möbius strip, as well as the circle, can be accessed from anywhere

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[98] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 1.
[99] Oziewicz, "Speculative Fiction," 1, 6.
[100] Wilkins, "Genre and Speculative Fiction," 39.
[101] Adam Roberts, *Science Fiction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), 10.
[102] Fry, *Making History*, 237.
[103] McHale, *Postmodernist Fiction*, 109-111.
[104] Vesna Petresin and Laurent-Paul Robert, "The Double Möbius Strip Studies," *Nexus Network Journal* 4, no. 2 (November 2002): 54-55.

and nowhere, which is associated with the concept of infinity. This element mentioned in the novel several times suggests that this piece of writing is related to postmodernism. Postmodernist literature is generally deemed ontological, which distinguishes it from modernist literature since modernist literature is considered epistemological. The postmodernist type of literature forces readers to ask themselves questions about their own existence or questions about the existence of the world.[105] The novel itself pressures readers to ask questions. Readers have to consider the possibility of the two completely dissimilar realities existing. They need to take into account the reality regarding Adolf Hitler and the reality regarding Rudolf Gloder. Owing to that, the reader of the novel may question the realness of the past, which is another postmodernist element of alternate history fiction. There is the possibility that the direction of history could have been completely distinct from the one that is generally known. This emphasizes the formability of the past. Since postmodernist writers are aware of the historical formability, they want to point it out to readers as well. Interestingly, the authors are rather indirect in expressing it. Speaking about alternate history writers, they commonly imitate the course of the past and then interrupts it with fictional events and characters, creating a parody.[106]

Another common characteristic of postmodernism is the disorderliness of time. The postmodernist novel plays havoc with history as well as with the present times. The disorderliness of time is to a great degree realized by "historiographic metafiction."[107] The novel itself could be considered a historiographic metafiction. The writers of this genre commonly reject the distinction between truths and fiction. They do not agree that the facts are found only in the field of history, but they believe that fiction, as well as historical writing, is altered in a way by the author.[108] Both fiction and history writing have their boundaries and limitations, which make them distinct from each other. "Historiographic metafiction," at first, displays the boundaries of the two seemingly contrasting fields and later on violates the set boundaries to demonstrate the refusal of fact and fiction differentiation.[109] This presents the novel itself. Throughout the narrative, facts and fiction are intertwined. Two realities appear, one of the realities is the actual one and the other

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[105] Brian McHale, "Change of Dominant from Modernist to Postmodernist Writing," in *Approaching Postmodernism*, eds. Douve W. Fokkema and Hans Bertens (Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins, 1986), 60.

[106] Wesseling, *Writing History as Prophet*, 113-114.

[107] Barry Lewis, "Postmodernism and Literature," in *The Routledge Companion to Postmodernism*, ed. Stuart Sim (London: Routledge, 2001), 124.

[108] Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (Milton: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2004), 93, Kindle.

[109] Hutcheon, *Poetics of Postmodernism*, 109-110.

reality is just hypothetical. The actual reality is founded on the general knowledge of history combined with real historical data. On the other hand, the second reality is only fictional and is not based on historical data. Nevertheless, these worlds intertwine in the novel. Consequently, the boundaries of factuality and fiction are violated. The environment in which Adolf Hitler exists is disturbed and the environment in which Rudolf Gloder lives comes into sight. The narrative indicates that the actual history could be constructed.

Regarding the endless struggle defining what is fact and what is fiction, some strong theories have emerged, such as that facts are not truthful or real because they are always, to some extent, contrived. For instance, addressing the general truths about the social environment, it is certain that they are products of human doings, goals and human faith.[110] Talking about historical records, every truth mentioned in the narrative about the past can be considered fiction since the narrative must be logically organized and consistent. Historical writing would be regarded as real and truthful only if the historian managed to include all of the events that had happened. To incorporate all of the occurrences is virtually unattainable. In addition, the historian creates a narrative out of the historical events. However, a narrative is a literary unit and not the objective depiction of reality.[111] Therefore, based on this claim, a historical writer decides what to mention in the story and what to omit. Out of the selected events only, a narrative about history is constructed. It is impossible for the historian to incorporate all of the happenings. This theory is applied to the novel, which is demonstrated in the following examples in the subchapter below.

4.2 Story of Two Hitlers

If history is constructed, one can assume that also every individual of the past is altered in a way. The people of the past are thought up by the historical writer, so they fit into their version of the narrative.[112] This implies that the well-known figures of history are, in a sense, invented. Even such an individual as Adolf Hitler is, in a way, adjusted. The readers are affected by the way in which his story is narrated. That is noticeable also in Stephen Fry's novel *Making History*. Fry depicts the story of Adolf Hitler from a certainly different perspective than it is common. In the narrative, the journey of Adolf Hitler is portrayed. His childhood is displayed, especially his family background, the story of his parents together

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[110] André Kukla, *Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Science* (Milton: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2002), 24-25, Kindle.
[111] Martin Bunzl, *Real History: Reflections on Historical Practise* (London: Routledge, 1997), 27-28.
[112] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 32-34.

with the relationship with his parents as well as his school years. The description of his struggles and his rough childhood exposes why he became the person who he became. Fry does not concentrate exclusively on Hitler's years of tyranny but he takes into account also his journey that led to it.

The excursion into the life of Adolf Hitler in the novel begins with his father, who is delineated as an alcoholic and a tyrant. The relationship of the parents is shown and it is made clear that Alois, father of Adolf, beats his wife Klara. Their born children always die very early.[113] Klara, eventually, gives birth to a dream child, who survives, Adolf Hitler.[114] Adolf, in the novel, is depicted as a child who desperately wishes to be capable of protecting his mother and saving her from his abusive father, Alois.[115] The depiction of Adolf Hitler's life at the beginning of the novel represents how the facts and history can be constructed. Based on the author's description of Hitler's journey, readers do not perceive Hitler as a despot, but he seems to be a victim, leastwise at the beginning of the story. This is achieved as a result of the author selecting only particular events in order to depict the historical figure in a certain way, with a certain purpose.

The emerging theories that facts are constructed and White's theory of history possibly led Fry to the creation of another Adolf Hitler in his narrative. Adolf Hitler is 'rewritten', so to speak. Fry has thought outside the box and he has come up with an alternate version of Adolf Hitler, called Rudolf Gloder. Rudolf Gloder is portrayed in the novel as a perfect Aryan with his fair hair and athletic figure. Similarly to Hitler's story, Rudolf Gloder's parents affected his development. To illustrate this, Gloder assumes that he is of noble origin since it was inculcated to him by his mother. Therefore, he considers himself to be an extraordinary human being. While Adolf Hitler is perceived by readers as a disliked youngster, Rudolf Gloder is depicted as a child favoured by all. He is cherished even by pedagogues at his school since he is exceptionally clever and he seems to be a class act. He is presented as a man of many talents that is working his way up but not always (or ever) in an appropriate way.[116]

While Adolf Hitler is certainly shown from a different perspective than he usually is, Rudolf Gloder is constructed as a villain. It is crystal-clear from the very beginning of his story. He is portrayed as a person who works his way to the top by lying. From the

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[113] Fry, *Making History*, 15-17.
[114] Fry, *Making History*, 66-68.
[115] Fry, *Making History*, 80-84.
[116] Fry, *Making History*, 356-360.

perspective of a reader, Rudolf is seen as a manipulator that does everything to his own advantage. He is admired by individuals in his circle, who would bend over backwards to help him to become a number one. He tells people what they desire to hear, and the characters in the narrative assume that he is a good-natured person. However, Rudolf Gloder is bad to the bone. His true character is well-depicted, for instance, in the chapter called *Personal History*, in which one of the characters named Hans discovers Rudolf Gloder's diary. Supposing he would find a chapter about himself as an incredible colleague of Rudi, he starts going through the diary. Instead, there is the element of surprise when Hans unearths who Rudi is in reality and what his actual nature is like. Gloder writes about his hatred of Jews. Gloder assumes that a Jewish officer attempts to befriend him just in order to get into the favour of an Aryan. Since the Jewish officer seems to be beneficial, he lets him believe that they are companions. This depicts his self-seeking personality. By dint of his high position and his charming nature, he has no difficulties removing people who are not suitable for him. When Gloder has a quarrel relating to Jews with Gutmann later on, Gloder inconspicuously suggests to the colonel to send Gutmann back on a battlefield. Gloder also turns himself into a hero by manipulating others. Gloder manipulates one of the soldiers to go, virtually, on a suicide mission to save their colonel's helmet from French soldiers. The soldier ends up dead and Gloder becomes a hero by taking his corpse to safety from the French soldiers. He takes the helmet as well and pretends to cry, even though the crying is just the effect of the smoke.[117] This indicates the real character of Rudolf Gloder, who is sheer evil.

One of the features of an alternate history novel is that a different course of history after "the point of divergence" is inevitable.[118] Hence, it is vital to heed the hypothetical version of the past in which Rudolf Gloder exists and compare it with the actual past. In the fictional version of reality, Gloder becomes a far worse figure of history than Hitler himself. Under Gloder's leadership, an atomic bomb is invented and it is used against Russia.[119] Fortunately, under Hitler's leadership, an atomic bomb was not invented, which is mentioned in the narrative as well and it is marked as one of Hitler's mistakes.[120] As a consequence of the attack, Stalin dies and the Soviet Union is occupied by Germany.[121] In the actual past, the Soviet Union had survived the German invasion and it had existed until its dissolution in

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[117] Fry, *Making History*, 270-290.
[118] Singles, *Alternate History*, 9.
[119] Fry, *Making History*, 384.
[120] Fry, *Making History*, 170.
[121] Fry, *Making History*, 384-386.

1991.[122] The Jewish question is handled differently by Gloder. There are no concentration camps but Gloder presses Jews to leave Germany and Jews are moved to the so-called "Jewish Free State" in the area of the Balkans. Thereafter, Jews completely disappear from the surface and there are talks about the Jewish massacre. The entire European continent is under the influence of Germany and German is unexpectedly announced as the official European language. Not only has Rudolf Gloder won the whole German nation over, but he has won the whole world over. The only potential enemy is the United States.[123] In contrast, Adolf Hitler's leadership was not so fruitful and Hitler was defeated in the actual past. Hitler did not seize total control of Europe and Germany needed to face serious repercussions.[124] In the hypothetical past, Rudolf Gloder lives to the year 1966. Gloder survives World War II and he remains the leading figure of Germany and the whole European continent.[125] However, Adolf Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945, in the shelter in the capital of Germany prior to the Russian troops entering it.[126] Gloder defeating the Soviet Union in the imagined past causes a turn of events and Germany, later on, wins over entire Europe,[127] while Hitler is defeated also by the Soviet Union in the actual past.[128]

4.2.1 Tampering with Time

Fry, in the novel, plays with the past as well as with the contemporary world, which is achieved with the help of another element that appears, now and then, in alternate histories, namely "time travel."[129] This element includes a disruption of the temporal order,[130] as a result of which an alternate version of reality is created. The protagonist Michael and the professor Leo Zuckermann alter the course of history by erasing Hitler from existence. This is accomplished by means of advanced technology, which also indicates the science-fictional character of this piece of writing. Since Zuckermann owns a state-of-the-art device, which enables the transfer of objects to particular periods of time, and Michael gets hold of the male contraception pills, they decide to take advantage of the situation and change one

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[122] Edward W. Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 172.
[123] Fry, *Making History*, 385-387.
[124] Richard Holmes, *World War II: The Definitive Visual History from Blitzkrieg to the Atom Bomb* (London: DK Publishing, 2009), 342.
[125] Fry, *Making History*, 356.
[126] Holmes, *World War II*, 57.
[127] Fry, *Making History*, 385-387.
[128] Holmes, *World War II*, 290.
[129] Hellekson, *Alternate History*, 8.
[130] David Lewis, "The Paradoxes of Time Travel," in *Science Fiction and Philosophy: From Time Travel to Superintelligence*, ed. Susan Schneider, 2nd edition (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 357.

particular historical event.[131] They tamper with time before the birth of Adolf Hitler, and as a consequence of using male contraception pills, they contaminate water in a part of the wells in Braunau am Inn. This causes infertility of a number of citizens, including Klara and Alois Hitler. Therefore, Adolf Hitler is never born.[132] In this manner, Fry targets two possible realities. He targets a reality, regarding Adolf Hitler, and a hypothetical reality, which appears after the element of time travel is applied to the narrative.

4.3   Reasons Why Hitler and Gloder Won the Whole Nation Over

The thesis examines the reasons behind Hitler and Gloder coming to power from Fry's point of view, which is complemented by analyses of that particular historical era. Throughout the novel, Fry engages in the concept of propaganda, and he devotes one complete chapter of the novel to it. The chapter *Making Smoke* brings us to the battlefield, directly to the troop and its soldiers. A discussion between Adi and Hans is observed. Adi is undoubtedly preoccupied with the propaganda techniques and he supposes that he discovered the error in the German ones and the cause why they do not function properly. Adi indicates that the other nations may lie, nonetheless, their falsehoods are balanced, which signifies that they, at least, make their troopers ready for the battles and the obstacles they need to overcome. For instance when Great Britain describes Germans as savages. A negative connotation is constructed, considering Germans and the war. Possibly nearly every soldier on the battlefield is a little savage, therefore, the lies of the British government are only partial. On the flip side, Germany makes use of falsehoods only. To illustrate this, Germany claims that the British soldiers are weaklings and they can be defeated effortlessly. Later on, German soldiers discover that the British are not gutless, nor are they easy to defeat. They ascertain that nothing could be further from the truth and that Germany deceives them, which causes issues with their determination and obedience.[133] Adi raises a hypothetical question: "If your own side does not believe your propaganda what hope is there that the enemy might?"[134] He emphasizes the importance of being united. During the conversation, it is confirmed that Adi started a fight by virtue of his beliefs that were just mentioned.[135] In this version of reality, Adi represents young Adolf Hitler. His thoughts and beliefs are well-depicted in the chapter. Owing to the propaganda in the second version of reality, Rudolf Gloder gets to power and

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[131] Fry, *Making History*, 211-225.
[132] Fry, *Making History*, 424-426.
[133] Fry, *Making History*, 172-173.
[134] Fry, *Making History*, 174.
[135] Fry, *Making History*, 174.

he becomes a mighty political leader of Germany and later on, of whole Europe. His Aryan looks, charming personality and thought-through falsehoods facilitate the taking over the whole continent.[136] Propaganda can be found in any type of policy.[137] In this case, it could be explicated as introducing the best possible governmental model to the public with a hidden intention.[138] The hidden intention might be to promote this best possibility, or actually, to weaken this best possibility.[139] In addition, it was fairly significant for the dictator of the actual past, Adolf Hitler. The Nazi practices were considerably studied by Victor Klemperer. Nazis aimed to divest Germans of their unique characteristics in order to create a new nation filled with Germans who are obedient, follow the rules without hesitation and without a thought about it. The main idea was to create a mass in which every single person obeys the rules.[140] It is recognized that Nazis, together with Hitler, accomplished the desired goal and they altered the whole German nation to their advantage. This verifies that one of the main reasons behind Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder working their way to the top is thought-out and well-executed propaganda.

This is bound up with so-called demagoguery. Rudolf Gloder in the novel is considered a demagogue[141] as well as Adolf Hitler in the actual past.[142] A demagogue is an individual who presents themselves as an ordinary human being in opposition to the upper class and tries to influence the working class.[143] It is someone charming who rises to power by the dint of lies, who takes advantage of the differences of people and abuses the class system.[144] In the narrative, Rudolf Gloder tries to appeal to the proletariat,[145] which was done by Hitler himself in reality. The goal of such figures is to come to power. Their intentions are purely self-seeking, even though they promote themselves as human beings who want to nurture the common good.[146] Intriguingly, even the political leaders of today exploit demagoguery. For instance, Donald Trump, who was once elected as the president of the United States,

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[136] Fry, *Making History*, 360.

[137] Jason Stanley, *How Propaganda Works* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 61, Kindle.

[138] Stanley, *How Propaganda Works*, 196.

[139] Stanley, *How Propaganda Works*, 73.

[140] Victor Klemperer, *The Language of the Third Reich*, trans. Martin Brady (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 23.

[141] Fry, *Making History*, 359.

[142] Michael Signer, *Demagogue: The Fight to Save Democracy from Its Worst Enemies* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 22.

[143] Signer, *Demagogue*, 34-35.

[144] Eric A. Posner, *The Demagogue's Playbook: The Battle for American Democracy from the Founders to Trump* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2020), 11, Kindle.

[145] Fry, *Making History*, 359.

[146] Posner, *Demagogue's Playbook*, 166.

took advantage of it.[147] The poor situation in the country suited Trump, considering that every issue of that time could have been reproached to the authorities. Since the twenty-first century, social media have been booming. Every individual there can express themselves and influence others, which is extremely beneficial for demagogues. Speaking about Trump, he capitalized on Twitter during the presidential campaigns and the presidential years.[148] Trump was not afraid to play dirty pool and be offensive towards other candidates, he put blame on the authorities and the elites, which are indicators of demagogic behaviour.[149]

It is vital to familiarize oneself with the fact that in both versions of reality, the dictators were affected by other individuals, and they had their accomplices who helped them to rise. Rudolf Gloder is, for instance, impacted by Karl Mayr. Karl Mayr is the head of the propaganda unit, and Mayr entrusts Gloder with particular responsibilities, which causes Gloder's growing interest in politics.[150] Fry does not think this up in the novel since he depicts the actual past with only 'rewritten' Adolf Hitler. Adolf Hitler was, in fact, involved in Karl Mayr's procedures.[151] The establisher of the German Worker's Party, Anton Drexler, is another substantial figure in the novel who influences Gloder's journey and participates in it. Drexler's political party appears to be ideal for Gloder promoting the importance of unity, so Gloder decides to take advantage of the party and later on alters the party into the Nazi party.[152] This story, again, copies the actual Adolf Hitler's path to power. Gloder's significant partner in crime in the narrative is Josef Göbbels,[153] who became a minister of propaganda in 1933 in actual Germany.[154] In this piece of writing, Josef Göbbels advocates for the Aryan race to be the standard, and he is strongly antisemitic.[155] In reality, it wasn't any different. Göbbels, and his antisemitic radio talks, were heard over the whole country of Germany. It is remarked that Göbbels was one of the most influential and significant accomplices of Hitler. He was the mightiest orator following Hitler and Hitler would perhaps not succeed in his rise to power in the absence of Göbbels.[156] This proves that neither Gloder

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[147] Posner, *Demagogue's Playbook*, 162-164.
[148] Posner, *Demagogue's Playbook*, 168-170.
[149] Posner, *Demagogue's Playbook*, 174-175.
[150] Fry, *Making History*, 358.
[151] Reginald H. Phelps, "Hitler and the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei," *The American Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (July 1963): 980.
[152] Fry, *Making History*, 358-359.
[153] Fry, *Making History*, 360.
[154] Jeremy Roberts, *Joseph Goebbels: Nazi Propaganda Minister* (New York, NY: The Rosen, 2000), 103.
[155] Fry, *Making History*, 360.
[156] Roberts, *Joseph Goebbels*, 5-7.

nor Hitler would come to power without certain individuals. With those particular people missing, Hitler and Gloder would not be able to take control over the whole German nation.

Rudolf Gloder in the novel is a powerful orator, which is what they share with Adolf Hitler. Gloder convinces most of the Germans to join him in the battle by means of the propaganda and demagoguery mentioned above and with his ingeniously chosen words. In his oration in the novel, he unequivocally defines what is the key to victory over other nations. The key is unity. In unity, there is power. The issue of Germany of that time was an abundance of political parties and that the nation was not unified but torn. With a speech in this manner, Rudolf Gloder manages to draw the attention of an entire German political party, he gradually wins over the majority of Germans, unites the German nation and works his way up to the top.[157] Intriguingly, Fry states in the acknowledgements of the novel that Gloder's talk in the chapter called *Political History* faithfully matches the one given by Adolf Hitler. It depicts the speech of Adolf Hitler made at the meeting of the German Worker's Party on 12th September 1919.[158] This suggests that Hitler himself was a powerful speaker and it is confirmed that he was able to accomplish a lot owing to his influential rhetoric. In the beginning, Adolf Hitler grew in popularity, especially by virtue of his talks concerning World War I and the blame put on the German nation. Germans felt aggrieved that blame was put only on them as a state and that they, as the only country, were obliged to pay to compensate it.[159] Adolf Hitler was viewed as a compelling speaker who considered words as a powerful tool.[160] Rudolf Gloder is, in fact, portrayed in the same manner. His persuasive orations relate to the actual ones given by Adolf Hitler. Being a mighty orator is certainly one of the other reasons why Hitler and Gloder managed to win the whole nation over.

Additionally, it is essential to take into consideration the nature of Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder, which affected their journey of becoming leaders as well. The main focus is on the negative traits of their character. Curiously, Rudolf Gloder is perceived as a charming man by characters in the novel, which helps him to get on top virtually effortlessly.[161] Nonetheless, Gloder earns his position, particularly, through scheming and betraying. Gloder befriends, especially, people of higher circles in order to rise to power. When disliking an individual, Gloder has no difficulty sending the person to death. To illustrate this, Gloder

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[157] Fry, *Making History*, 350-353.
[158] Fry, *Making History*, 574.
[159] Mir Zohair Husain and Scott Liebertz, "Hitler, Stalin, and Authoritarianism: A Comparative Analysis (Part 2)," *The Journal of Psychohistory* 47, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 104.
[160] Husain and Liebertz, "Hitler, Stalin, and Authoritarianism," 110.
[161] Fry, *Making History*, 359.

convinces one of his companions on a battlefield to go and save their colonel's helmet from French soldiers, even though Gloder is aware that this is going to end up with the soldier's death. Gloder even manages to turn himself into a hero.[162] When his true personality is exposed by Hans, Gloder murders him in cold blood.[163] Gloder has no issue with betraying his companions and scheming to become a German leader. On the contrary, Hitler had no alluring character but rather an intriguing character which is why many personality assessments were performed. Carl Gustav Jung assessed Hitler's temperament as one of the first critics. Jung has noted that Hitler evoked in others feelings of being afraid. In the course of the assessment, Hitler was compassionless and serious at most, and he had never expressed any feelings of joy.[164] Similarly to Rudolf Gloder, who is convinced that he is of an aristocratic origin,[165] Adolf Hitler was convinced that he had been entrusted with a prominent vocation.[166] Being entrusted with a higher mission, Hitler believed he is allowed to do anything it takes to achieve the mission including betrayals and scheming or even murdering people. It is astonishing that with his mental condition, Hitler managed to win the whole nation over. Henry Murray has focused on Hitler's mental state and analysed it. Murray stated that Hitler was mentally unstable, disbelieving and hysterical, and his psychological health was getting worse during World War II. Even so, Hitler remained focused on achieving his higher mission and taking control over the German nation. When the higher mission was not achieved, Hitler killed himself.[167] His character, as well as his state of mind, caused Hitler to be capable of anything just to become a national leader or, inside his head, even a leader of the whole world.

Moreover, the actual economic background should be considered. The state of the national and world economy influenced the governmental decision-making process.[168] Uncertainty of the economic situation with the obligation to compensate for the damage of World War I caused that a right-wing political party won in Germany. More precisely, the Nazi Party led by Hitler began to administer Germany. In addition, the Great Depression which started in the year 1929 affected the nation.[169] The economic circumstances following

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[162] Fry, *Making History*, 276-290.
[163] Fry, *Making History*, 313.
[164] Frederick L. Coolidge, Felicia L. Davis, and Daniel L. Segal, "Understanding Madmen: A DSM-IV Assessment of Adolf Hitler," *Individual Differences Research* 5, no. 1 (2007): 31.
[165] Fry, *Making History*, 356.
[166] Coolidge, Davis, and Segal, "Understanding Madmen," 31.
[167] Coolidge, Davis, and Segal, "Understanding Madmen," 32.
[168] Richard Overy, *The Origins of the Second World War*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 2017), 5.
[169] Holmes, *World War II*, 12-13.

World War I facilitated Gloder's rise in fictional Germany as well. In the narrative, Fry mentions that due to the Wall Street Crash the Nazi party succeeds since the current leading political party is not capable of handling the crisis well.[170] Therefore, the economic background should be kept in mind considering the reasons why Hitler and Gloder managed to win the whole nation over.

Likewise, it is vital to focus on the characteristics of the German nation itself. At first, it is necessary to familiarize oneself with the concepts of *identity*, regarding the members of the nation, and their *mentality*. These two concepts are intertwined and some scholars consider them as equivalents. The concepts are still not clearly defined, and their commonly agreed explanation is still missing.[171] The term mentality began occurring in the late seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the meaning of the word during this era deviates from the one that we are familiar with nowadays. In the past, the concept was understood as a "mental action." However, since the end of the nineteenth century, the term has been understood as "a mental character."[172] The mentality of inhabitants of the nation is associated with mutual standards of people, their daily routines and patterns of their behaviour. It is constructed by the conceptions of oneself and conceptions of their own collective. The notions of oneself are fluid. Despite that, one question is persistently present and fixed. People ask themselves what the purpose of their lives is. This is answered, in most cases, with the help of their own collective, which is how the ideas of oneself and the ideas of one's own collective are intertwined, and therefore why they are a part of the mentality. "The national identity" consists of a non-objective part and an objective part that are grouped together. The non-objective part depends on a person and the objective part is connected with collective standards and demands.[173] An analysis of the German nation influenced by Adolf Hitler was carried out by Hannah Arendt. Hannah Arendt concentrated especially on Adolf Eichmann in her analysis. Arendt clarified some of her findings in the interview done by Joachim Fest in 1964. She claimed that one of the attributes that are quite typical among Germans is their incompetency to think in the place of someone else and react subsequently because they do not pay attention by any means. She stated that another quality that Germans have in common is their sort of enthusiasm for duty. Germans seem to idealize obedience and a sense

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[170] Fry, *Making History*, 365.
[171] Gulnaz K. Gizatova, Olga G. Ivanova, and Ekaterina V. Snarskaya, "National Identity, Mentality and Character," special issue, *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (August 2016): 44-46.
[172] "Mentality," Online Etymology Dictionary, accessed April 4, 2022, https://www.etymonline.com/word/mentality.
[173] Gizatova, Ivanova, and Snarskaya, "National Identity, Mentality and Character," 44-46.

of duty. In this regard, Arendt claimed that even though obedience is significant for humans, it is supposed to terminate no later than when a person is fifteen. At the time, when a person is leaving childhood and is becoming an adult. However, Germans usually carry it to adulthood as well.[174] When these two qualities that they share are combined, a German becomes somebody who is predestined to obey, without any hesitation since they do not give much attention to the position of others. As a consequence of the analysis, one could guess that German mentality plays a role. And when a tendency to obey is present among Germans, it is nearly effortless for dictators to rise in reality as well as in its hypothetical version. However, it is vital to realize that one should be cautious when dissecting the characteristics of the German nation as a whole, especially regarding the generalization and stereotyping. One often tends to pigeonhole humans into categories of individuals who, according to them, share comparable qualities. Individuals are sorted into distinct groups in a sense that is overly shallow and often based on prejudices.[175] Concerning nations and the traits of their inhabitants, this phenomenon is recognized as a "national stereotype."[176] Hence, this particular reason behind Hitler and Gloder taking over the whole nation should be taken into account with caution.

The dissection of the reasons why Hitler and Gloder won the whole nation over could be completed by Sigmund Freud's *Group Psychology*. Freud analysed the bond between the leader and his followers. Freud's theory is built on LeBon's findings which suggested that the mass of people led by the leader often becomes unaware of their own actions, and it simply follows the rules implemented by the leader. The individuals stop contemplating and they become senseless. Freud reached a decision to discover what are causes of it. One of the reasons, mentioned by Hannah Arendt as well, is the sense of duty among the group members. A person that is a part of a group desires to have a leader and follow their rules. This is a sort of an impulse that is natural for human beings.[177] From the previous paragraph, it is recognized that this sense of duty occurs considerably among Germans. Therefore, their wish to be led by the leader is greater and more probable in comparison to other nations. Only a person with a strong character can become a leader of others since individuals won't

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[174] Philosophy Overdose, "Hannah Arendt on Eichmann, Banality, Guilt & Obedience (1964)," YouTube video, 6:39-8:25, July 4, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QpPMmOe3jI4

[175] Joachim Krueger, "Probabilistic National Stereotypes," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 26, no. 6 (January 1996): 961-963.

[176] Krueger, "Probabilistic National Stereotypes," 967.

[177] George R. Goethals, "The Psychodynamics of Leadership: Freud's Insights and Their Vicissitudes," in *The Psychology of Leadership: New Perspectives and Research*, eds. David M. Messick and Roderick M. Kramer (Mahwaw, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005), 98-99.

respect just anybody. The leader's determination is of the utmost importance. Their beliefs should be fixed and mighty, so they can influence the whole group to believe in one and the same thing. They are often considered to be obsessed with their faith. In order to persuade the group, influential speeches are required. The reiterations of their beliefs are the key to their rhetoric.[178] These indicators are easily detected in the novel. To illustrate this, the obsession with a person's own belief is discernible in the chapter, where Adi picks a quarrel because of his opinion of what the right propaganda should look like.[179] It is clear that Adi is obsessed with his conviction, and he is willing to risk a lot. The repetition is well-depicted in the segment, describing Rudolf Gloder's oration in which he repeats the importance of unity several times and emphasizes the concept of unity to a great extent.[180] Throughout the novel, the charming and strong character of Rudolf Gloder is indicated. Even though, Rudolf Gloder is an entirely different person beneath the mask. The examples discovered agree with Freud's theory of leadership and support it. The theory of leadership throws light on Hitler and Gloder winning the whole nation over and aptly concludes the analysis of the reasons.

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[178] Goethals, "Psychodynamics of Leadership," 99-100.
[179] Fry, *Making History*, 174.
[180] Fry, *Making History*, 350-353.

CONCLUSION

Stephen Fry's alternate history novel *Making History* lies at the borderline of fact and fiction. Fry plays with the actual past to construct an alternate version of reality. Consequently, the thesis aimed at delving into the concept of history and the concept of narrative. It dealt with the exploration of the enlarged definition of history, the purpose of history and the duties of a historian. It looked into the matter of history lying at the borderline of science and art. With the help of the Fabian strategy, history was considered as a golden mean between the two disciplines. Subsequently, the art of narrating was examined. The thesis concentrated, especially, on defining the main elements of the narrative. The terms fabula and focalization have been employed to stress that narratives are unavoidably subjective, even though their authors try to be at times as objective as possible. Since the perception of each author varies. Besides, the components are formed into a story to create the outcome required by the author, which signifies that a story told by various authors differs.

The theoretical part was built, especially, on the theory of history by Hayden White, who examined the reality of nineteenth-century historical writing. According to his approach, historical writing is, at every turn, slanted and constructed in a way. The historian is required to think up a story out of real historical data, otherwise, the historical data have no form and therefore they lack meaning. White has come to an awareness that historical writings written by various historians have distinct formal features, which confirms the theory that history is contrived in a way. White analyzed historical writings based on their structure and lyrical and rhetorical features, which had never been done before. The different styles were distinguished in the thesis for a deeper comprehension of White's theory.

The genre of alternate histories was explored. Since this newly noted genre is worthy of a profound examination, the thesis investigated its characteristics along with its classification in the right field of literature. The classification of the alternate histories varies from scholar to scholar. Elisabeth Wesseling and Jon-K Adams have classified alternate history as a part of science fiction. Alternatively, Kathleen Singles has stated that alternate history fiction frequently falls into a genre of historical fiction. Recently, though, alternate history is included in so-called speculative fiction. A reader of speculative fiction often hypothesizes how the world or his life could be different. Speculative fiction relates to non-mimetic fiction in which authors deliberately digress from imitating generally agreed reality. Taking into consideration that alternate histories are often seen as a category of science fiction or even historical fiction, their similarities and differences were analyzed in the thesis.

The features that characterize the alternate histories, such as the point of divergence or time travel, have been discovered in the novel. The point of divergence in the novel is the birth of Adolf Hitler since history takes a different course afterwards, and the protagonist tampers with this historical period. Alternate histories commonly ask the question: What if? The novel asks what if Adolf Hitler had never existed and plays with the thought of how the world would have been if Adolf Hitler had never lived, which forms the hypothetical version of the real past. The analysis dealt with significant statements that Fry has come up with, for instance, the formulation that defines the story from a postmodernist point of view. The postmodernist features of the novel were brought to light. The statement relates closely to the postmodernist phenomenon, the Möbius strip. The Möbius strip is an emblem used for the depiction of endlessness and postmodernist narratives beginning anywhere and nowhere. The novel could be considered historiographic metafiction, while writers of historiographic metafiction usually trust that fiction as well history is constructed by the author.

This was indicated in the following subchapter setting out the story of Adolf Hitler and another Adolf Hitler. The subchapter aimed to compare the depictions of the two Führers, of Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder. Fry in the novel 'rewrites' Adolf Hitler and thinks up another dictator who is far worse than Adolf Hitler himself. The point was to demonstrate how narratives and even historical figures can be constructed. Fry portrays Adolf Hitler from a certainly different perspective than it is common. Adolf Hitler is perceived, mainly, as a victim of his abusive father. In contrast, Rudolf Gloder becomes the villain of the novel. This was achieved by choosing only particular events to form Hitler's story and Gloder's story.

The main goal of the analysis was to probe into the reasons why Adolf Hitler and Rudolf Gloder managed to win the whole nation over. One of the primary arguments discovered was the use of propaganda and demagoguery by Rudolf Gloder as well as Adolf Hitler. Consequently, the concept of propaganda was clarified and it was complemented by the look at the actual Nazi propaganda. Its significant role had also the powerful rhetoric, the character of the two leaders and other influential individuals. The economic background should not be forgotten. Finally yet importantly, an analysis provided by Hannah Arendt throws light on why Adolf Hitler was capable to manipulate the Germans and managed to get on top. German enthusiasm for duty and their tendency to obey made it easier for Hitler and Gloder to rise to power. The instances discovered in the novel complemented by the analyses were supported by the theory of leadership by Sigmund Freud.

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