

DIFFERENT DISPATCHES: JOURNALISM IN AMERICAN MODERNIST PROSE

by

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Abstract

Different Dispatches: Journalism in American Modernist Prose

by

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This dissertation examines how a group of influential American modernist writers from the inter-war period incorporated aspects of journalism into literary works that address pressing issues of culture and community. In going beyond strictly stylistic or biographical considerations, this dissertation describes how writers such as Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, Zora Neale Hurston, James Agee, and Robert Penn Warren incorporate references to journalism in their literary works, and it examines how these writers engage journalism's implicit appeal to a common ground as a means of imagining national communities and addressing pressing social concerns. In considering the reading practices of the time and the complex significance of journalism within networks of writing and communication, this study draws upon such theorists as Benedict Anderson, Pierre Bourdieu, Jürgen Habermas, Raymond Williams, and Slavoj Žižek.

As journalism became the basis for an expanding mass media, increasingly sophisticated groups of readers and critics, largely associated with the rise of influential small magazines and academic criticism, began to distinguish "high" from "low" culture, and writers became more aware of the professional aspects of their craft and careers.

Though the mass appeal of the newspaper would seem to run counter to the avant-garde experiments of modernism, this dissertation demonstrates how writers incorporate references to journalism in order to shape innovative works from accessible references and language. In this way, these writers mediate the demands of both sophisticated and popular audiences, examine expectations about objectivity and truth, and challenge conventional expectations about existing narrative strategies and genres. In developing these arguments, this dissertation refocuses debates about the defining features of American modernism in terms of both its stylistic and structural qualities and its dialogic engagement with contemporary social conditions and mass culture.

Though researching and writing this dissertation took me all around New York City, I found one center for my thinking and work, the office my adviser, Joan Richardson. Each chapter benefited from her wonderful powers of association, was transformed by our conversations, and completed with the help she gave me in sharpening my ideas and prose. I would like to give her my sincere thanks for her invaluable contributions in helping me complete my dissertation, and I would like to thank her as well for helping me to think about the way language affects not only what we do as critics but who we are as people

I would also like to acknowledge the contributions made by William Kelly. His ability to note telling details was matched only by his remarkable ability to put each chapter and indeed the dissertation as a whole into a broader perspective. In listening to his insightful comments, I not only got a better idea of what I wanted to say in my dissertation but also learned how to listen better myself, and in following his example, I have improved as a critic and teacher.

To Morris Dickstein, I offer my thanks for his generosity in sharing his encyclopedic knowledge. I benefited greatly from the connections he makes among literature and the other cultural trends that shape our lives and thinking, and his Mellon Seminar on Cold War Culture was one of the highpoints of my graduate career.

In writing this dissertation, I found myself in many of the libraries of the City University of New York: the Rosenthal Library of Queens College, the Mina Rees Library at the Graduate Center, the Newman Library at Baruch College, the LaGuardia

Community College Library, the City College Library, and the Hunter College Library. I also had many occasions to use the resources of the Bobst Library of New York University and the New York Public Library. I would like to thank the staffs of all these libraries for their professionalism and help.

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Introduction: Journalism in American Modernist Prose

"Reality is continually established, by common effort, and art is one of the highest forms of this process."

-- Raymond Williams

"It is one of the peculiarities of the imagination that it is always at the end of an era. What happens is that it is always attaching itself to a new reality, and adhering to it. It is not that there is a new imagination but that there is a new reality."

-- Wallace Stevens

This dissertation examines how a group of influential American modernist writers incorporated aspects of journalism into literary works that address pressing issues of culture and community. Though the everyday, pedestrian aspects of the newspaper would seem at first to be opposed to the avant-garde literary experiments of modernism, this study demonstrates how the evolving forms and issues of journalism offered writers the means of shaping original works from accessible references and language. In this way, journalism offered writers the possibility of meeting the expectations of both critical and popular audiences. While previous studies have either examined the stylistic influences of journalism or considered the ways writers distinguish their literary works from journalism, I describe how writers such as Willa Cather, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, Zora Neale Hurston, James Agee, and Robert Penn Warren use references to journalism to suggest the broad outlines of a national culture. The discussions in the following chapters outline a new understanding of the primary features of American modernism in terms of its dialogic engagement with contemporary social conditions and mass culture; together, they suggest how specific acts of imagination helped shape a new reality.

This dissertation follows Raymond Williams in placing journalism at the center of an increasingly expansive, if contentious, understanding of culture. As Williams notes in The Long Revolution (1961), modernist critics often focus on inaccessible art from "the frontiers of knowledge." Williams, however, stresses that "great art" can be found "near the centre of common experience" and argues that art is best understood as a particularly important part of a broad, inclusive system of communications (47). His perspective stresses the ways in which art contributes to shaping communities:

The individual creative description is part of the general process which creates conventions and institutions, through which the meanings that are valued by the community are shared and made active. This is the true significance of our modern definition of culture, which insists on this community of process. (55)

In this context, the artist is best understood not as "the lonely explorer" but rather "the voice of the community" (47). As this study shows, an engagement with journalism allowed this group of American literary modernists to produce works from "the frontiers of knowledge" which also give voice to the community. Since journalists are involved with commerce, generally write in a plain style, act as representatives of the community, and record history in the making, the strategy of featuring journalism was especially useful to writers during the tumultuous inter-war period when many accepted values and ideas of community were being contested and transformed.

In examining these works, this dissertation reflects changes in the profession of journalism and considers the reception and reading practices of different audiences. During the earlier periods of "new" journalism, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century, newspapers were transformed from commercial and political journals aimed at select audiences into mass produced and consumed products aimed at the

broadest audience possible.¹ At the same time, the professions of journalism and fiction writing were both redefined. While Benjamin Franklin, in his Autobiography (1788, 1886), described a career in journalism as a means of education, advancement, and even an exploration of identity, works like Fanny Fern's Ruth Hall (1855) and Mark Twain's Roughing It (1872) portray journalism as a means of achieving individual transformation specifically in terms of authorship and implicitly in terms of fame and celebrity. By the end of the nineteenth century, journalism was increasingly dominated by nationally syndicated star columnists, publicity agents, and sophisticated advertising campaigns, and journalism offered writers a means both to explore identity and participate in a new celebrity culture. Though former journalists such as William Deans Howells and Henry James portrayed journalism as a threat to privacy and seemed to differentiate their literary works from journalism written for a mass audience, other writers, most notably Stephen Crane, embraced journalism as a means of reaching and shaping a broader audience and becoming celebrity icons themselves.²

Yet as journalism became the basis for a national mass media and offered writers the possibility for reaching larger audiences, increasingly sophisticated groups of readers, largely associated with the rise of influential small magazines, academic criticism, and avant-garde art movements, began to distinguish "high" from "low" culture. As the chapters here demonstrate, these writers of the inter-war period did not simply accept this critical distinction between "high" and "low" but engaged the figures of journalism and

¹ See Frank Luther Mott's American Journalism: A History: 1690 - 1960 for a thorough history of American journalism.

² See Thomas Strychacz's Modernism, Mass Culture, and Professionalism and Michael Robertson's Stephen Crane, Journalism, and the Making of Modern America.

the journalist to mediate the differing demands of elite, discriminating readers and a broad, popular audience. While trained readers might identify journalism as a form of mass culture, incorporating journalism into literary works provided writers with the means of shaping formal literary experiments that such readers would find appealing. For example, developments in popular forms of journalism, such as the newsreels, radio, and photo-essays, placed different demands on perception and interpretation that writers could explore in terms of varying perspectives, evolving definitions of time, and non-traditional narrative forms.

However, this engagement with the figure of the journalist and aspects of journalism did more than allow writers to negotiate critical questions of "high" and "low" culture: It also opened up the question of how culture should more broadly be defined as a set of lived ideas and beliefs. Since journalism implicitly seeks a common ground, incorporating journalism into works of literature was a particularly effective way to mediate social tensions. During this tendentious period, the effects of the Great War rippled through the culture; the Johnson Reed Act of 1924 limited immigration even as earlier waves of immigrants and black migrants from the South continued to redefine American culture; the use of the assembly line and innovative techniques made overproduction the biggest threat to the economy and advertising crucial to increase demand; technology transformed the basic rhythms of everyday life and fundamental means of communication; physicists, philosophers, and anthropologists redefined fundamental concepts of time, space, and the process of recording observations; and the Great Depression forced many to reconsider received notions of American identity and values. In this context, the figures of journalism and the journalist allowed writers to

address these issues directly through historical references and allusions and indirectly through innovations in literary form. Thus, this examination of journalism in American modernist literature examines both the defining stylistic and structural qualities of this literature and the importance of its social engagement.

This period that falls between two World Wars also falls more specifically between two notable periods of American journalism, the era of the Progressive muckrakers around the turn of the century and the rise to prominence of the "second" New Journalism in the 1960s. The muckrakers, who exposed terrible social conditions and widespread corruption, offered a view of the journalist as a politically motivated observer who nonetheless maintains a position of objectivity and remains an outsider. As Jacob Riis' book, How the Other Half Lives (1890), suggests, muckraking writers assumed that their readers all lived on "the same half," and they unapologetically approached readers as social tourists to be guided through alien, even exotic worlds. While the muckrakers emphasized the gritty realism of journalism in both their non-fiction and fictional works, the New Journalists who emerged after World War II, including Norman Mailer, Thomas Wolfe, and Hunter S. Thompson, produced reporting focused almost exclusively on individual responses and developed the "non-fiction novel." While further challenging the bounds of fact and fiction, these New Journalists internalized and refashioned their observations until they seemed to become inseparable from their subjects.

The literary works considered in this study occupy a place between these two extremes, and the journalists who appear in these works are participant-observers who consider their roles in relation to ideas of community even as they reflect on their own

desires. In this way, these reporters share many characteristics and concerns with others who were at the same moment recording the lives of the "folk," particularly anthropologists whose methods as "participant-observers" were being redefined by Franz Boas and others. As Janet Malcolm notes in The Journalist and the Murderer (1990), the term participant-observer applies as much to the fieldwork of journalists as to that of anthropologists and sociologists; it indicates the complexity of representing an unfamiliar event or group to an audience by acknowledging one's conflicting loyalties and roles in the scene at hand (161-162). These issues began to rise to prominence during the Great War and came to the forefront during the Great Depression as the figure of the journalist underwent a popular transformation. Paul Fussell, in The Great War and Modern Memory (1975), argues that journalists during World War I conformed to older models of reporting and were ineffective in portraying the horrors of modern warfare. This created an irreconcilable split between the insiders, the soldiers, and the outsiders, the journalists and their audience (115, 316). As these attitudes precipitated by the war spread throughout the culture, journalists who abandoned an objective stance and acted as participant-observers did not necessarily lose their claim to an ethical position but rather connected more strongly with their audience and gained a position of authority by focusing on specific, first-hand observations.

During the Great Depression, the democratic overtones of such individual reporting were later reinforced by a collective engagement with journalism in such forms as the WPA sponsored "Living Newspaper," in which participants staged public performances by acting out selections from the newspapers. William Stott, in Documentary Expression and Thirties America (1973), notes that as the Depression

deepened, the public came to distrust mainstream corporate journalism and government statistics. No story or generalization seemed capable of capturing the reality of the widespread hardships -- this reality had to be seen to be believed (79). To counter this perception, many journalists concentrated on revealing social ills in their horrific specificity so that they might be rectified. Unlike the earlier muckrakers, however, they often tried to identify with the groups about whom they were writing (163, 178). As Alfred Kazin notes in On Native Ground (1942), a general feeling that reality was overwhelming the imagination brought journalists and documentary writers to the forefront of the literary world and the popular imagination during this time (490).

Writers of the inter-war period who incorporated the figures of the journalist and journalism into their literary works did so, then, not simply to add a note of realism but rather to reshape their writing to reflect these historical issues and contribute to the debates in defining the key terms of culture and community. These writers depict individual journalists as being central to specific communities through their roles as committed participant-observers and embodied storytellers in the scenes they describe. In depicting changing aspects of journalism, such as new forms of reporting and an increasing reliance on advertising, publicity, and celebrity, these writers also portray journalism as being central to considering new means of perception and the need to imagine more abstract communities like the modern nation-state. These two means of portraying journalism -- through the experience of individual journalists and through broader changes in the forms and institutions of journalism -- correspond to the divergent strands within modernism: nostalgia for the pre-modern, pre-technological world, and enthusiasm for the innovations made possible by modernization. For some critics, such

as Walter Benjamin, the newspaper's ties to mechanization imply a negative kind of abstraction or alienation among individuals. According to Benjamin, the storytellers physical proximity to their listeners allowed them to create local communities from the shared act of communication, while the mechanically reproduced newspaper erases such connections and alienates information from meaningful, individual experience (Baudelaire 158-159). The modernist writers considered in this argument, however, often depict individual reporters as participant-observers and storytellers who help define local communities through their interaction with their subjects. In this way, these reporters mediate against the alienating effects of modernization and offer a means of local response to abstract economic and social relations.

Unlike Benjamin, more recent cultural critics have demonstrated that abstract relations are not simply a matter of oppressive market relations or alienating systems of production but a fact, more simply, of the size and shape of communities in modern nation-states. As demonstrated in these readings, writers who engage broad aspects of journalism as an institution also address issues related to the existence of such abstract communities. In this regard, the argument in this study draws on the work of Jürgen Habermas and Benedict Anderson, among others, to examine how the literary works under consideration here explore issues of national culture and community. In The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1962, 1991), Habermas demonstrates that print culture is crucial for the creation of a public sphere in which all private individuals are, in theory, able to use reason to shape public debate (43). Though the public sphere mediates between state and society in a way that can overcome an earlier reliance on domination and violence, Habermas claims the rise of welfare states and new

means of shaping public opinion in the late nineteenth century undermined the distinction between private and public identities and led to a withering of an effective public sphere (231-232). According to Habermas, this decline of the public sphere was marked by the replacement of reasoned, debated public opinion with manufactured publicity; this decline increased with changes in mass culture, and particularly journalism, in this period between the wars. However, as Habermas has made clear, the public sphere itself depends to a certain extent on the blurring of high and low cultural forms (249; "Further Reflections" 438-439).

The influence of journalism in American literary modernism reflects many of the features Habermas attributes to the liberal public sphere. In small magazines and other journalistic venues, cultural critics such as Van Wyck Brooks, Randolph Bourne, and Waldo Frank, among many others, helped to shape literary criticism that engaged political discourse and attempted to define American culture. In the literary works considered here, the figures of journalism and the journalist allowed writers to participate in these debates while mediating the boundaries of high and low culture in ways that made the issues in their works more accessible to a wide audience. These works show how the public sphere was transformed, rather than simply erased, as American modernist literature helped to create a public sphere in which a broad group of readers could participate in open debates about the course of the nation.

While Habermas shows how the print media makes it possible for individuals to shape abstract communities, Benedict Anderson, in Imagined Communities (1993), shows how the regularly printed newspaper and the print media actually help to create such communities. Anderson argues that in a community as abstract as "the nation,"

where it is impossible for all of the community members to have any direct contact, it is the act of reading serially produced newspapers that forms an important basis for imagining communities; in reading the same things at the same time over a defined geography, readers imagine themselves participating in a common project and sharing common concerns (33-36). Anderson's analysis contributes greatly to the argument developed here by demonstrating how the newspaper can facilitate individual participation in forming and shaping communities.

The following chapters demonstrate how key texts from interwar period use the figure of the journalist and aspects of journalism to depict imagined local and national communities and to help shape a more inclusive and participatory sense of culture. As my readings of these works show, journalism allowed writers to mediate among the expectations of different audiences by creating works that are at once accessible in their language and references and experimental in their form and challenges to perception. This study shows how a group of influential writers engaged, rather than rejected, mass culture, and how in doing so they spoke from the frontier of literary innovations to the questions of community and culture at the center of this period.

Chapter One: The Journalist, the Immigrant, and the Family: Willa Cather's Popular Modernism

In Willa Cather's early story "The Count of Crow's Nest" (1896), Harold Buchanan, an artistic young man in search of an occupation, lives in a Chicago boardinghouse with struggling artists, novelists, and the fallen aristocrat, Count de Koch. Among the Count's few possessions are letters from other aristocrats that contain compromising, and hence potentially valuable, revelations. The Count's daughter, Helena de Koch, hopes Harold can convince the Count to publish the letters and help bring them out. She assumes, from Harold's manner, that he is a journalist, though Harold tells her that he is not, yet: "That is one of the many things I would like to be" (462). Harold refuses to help Helena and tells her, "I doubt my own ability to either gauge the popular taste or fill its demands" (465).

Though the idea of an aspiring journalist being defiantly out of touch with popular taste seems rather odd, Harold's aspirations and reactions in the "The Count of Crow's Nest" point to the evolving significance of journalism throughout Cather's fiction. While Cather often focuses on aspiring artists in her fiction, these artists are not removed from popular demands and contemporary conditions. Rather, journalism, in the form of reporting, criticism, and advertising, links individual artists with popular audiences and their concerns. Yet, Cather's artists, like Harold, do not use journalism simply to gauge and meet existing tastes and demands. Rather, like Cather herself, they pursue artistic innovation and an individual sense of integrity even as they try to reach as broad an audience as possible, and in this way, transform and improve the expectations of popular taste. With this ideal of a "popular modernism," art takes on a crucial role in defining

culture. Rather than being isolated as "high culture," art should ideally help to determine the shape of culture as it is defined in every day life.¹ In order to achieve such a lofty ambition, then, the role of journalism is not only to link artists with their audiences but provide them with a conduit for their ideas and aspirations.

Though Cather repeatedly shows that harnessing the power of journalism is necessary if artists are to influence their audiences, journalism alone is not enough to achieve these lofty ambitions. Thus, in many of Cather's stories, immigrants appear as another means for artists to reach and influence a broad, popular audience. In her early work, she often shows artists using a nurturing, appreciative core audience of immigrants to supplement journalism as a means of engaging a mass audience. Like the Count in "The Count of Crow's Nest," immigrants can provide a sense of artistic value counter to the commercial values more typical of a popular American audience. The way journalism and immigrants function in Cather's fiction as mediating links between artists and audiences and between artistic culture and lived culture points to a more crucial engagement with social issues in Cather's work than has been previously recognized. The way she brings together individual immigrants ignored by the newspapers and notable artists normally written up in their society columns implies a pluralistic view of culture as it exists, but, even more importantly, she creates a view of a distinctly American culture evolving through collective contributions and the leadership of artists.²

¹ Cather refusal to appeal exclusively to either an elite or popular audience helps explain why she has sometimes been characterized as a "middle-brow" writer despite the innovative qualities of her work.

² In commenting on Cather's basically inclusive vision of American culture, Guy Reynolds acknowledges, "Cather's heterogeneous, pluralist immigrant culture is, nonetheless, essentially white and of North European descent. The culture described in

As these artists adopt elements from different traditions and defer a conclusive definition of American culture to the future, they suggest that anyone who contributes to American artistry can become an American. In this way, Cather's artists call attention to the continuities established by cultural traditions even as they offer the means of reevaluating these traditions and redefining culture itself.

However, given the potential opposition between an art and a commerce implied in "The Count of Crow's Nest," the more powerful and impervious Cather sees commercial culture, the more pessimistic she becomes about the role of artists. As the links between artists and a popular audience, journalism and immigrants come to serve, then, as an index of Cather's hopes for the broad influence of artists. While in her early work Cather often depicts journalists and immigrants helping artists shape popular conceptions of culture, her later works show a growing anxiety about the overwhelming influence of a commercial culture in which journalism is defined by advertising and immigrants embrace existing values of financial success. In The Song of the Lark, the artist's disappearance into newspaper reports testifies to her success; in the stories of the 1910s, Cather came to see such a disappearance as a form of drowning; and in The

the letters, the speeches and the novels overlooks the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. It also omits the Chinese and the Jews who made up so much of the immigrant population... there is extensive evidence in Cather's work of indifference to, if not hostility towards certain ethnic groups -- notably, America's Jews." He goes on to note Cather's "developing self-consciousness about this issue" (80). In defending Cather in this regard, many other critics note that her anti-Semitic descriptions are contradicted elsewhere in her writing and in her own behavior and friendships. James Woodress argues that her attitudes are no worse, if no better, than the common conceptions of her day, and he notes that when The Professor's House was published no critic found Cather's portrayal of Louis Marsellus to be anti-Semitic, though many later critics have found it to be so (284, 377). Woodress speculates that Cather's portrayal of Stein and Poppas, two characters considered below, may originate in her reaction to Jan Hambourg, the Jewish violinist who married Isabelle McClung, the woman with whom Cather had the strongest emotional attachment of her adult life.

Professor's House (1925), Cather's modernist masterpiece of the 1920s, she explores how journalism and literary writing work at cross purposes, leaving open the question of how a writer can reach a large audience while meeting her obligations to her individual integrity and ideas of art as well.

Cather's early optimism about the influence of journalism was in keeping with her own experiences as a journalist.³ As she was writing "The Count of Crow's Nest," newspapers were being transformed by new ideas about the importance of advertising; yet even as urban newspapers were contributing to an incipient consumer culture, Cather's early work as a journalist affirmed her sense of the critical and cultural functions of journalism. In fact, her first published pieces in the Nebraska State Journal were on Shakespeare and Carlyle, and her early success as a journalist in Nebraska was as a drama and literary critic (O'Brien 119, 157-158). Though her editors found her work economically valuable, Cather, at this point, used journalism as a means of creating and influencing her audience's taste and exploring the role of the artist. Through her journalism, "as early as 1896 Willa Cather had written nearly a half million words of criticism, self-analysis, and explorations into the principles of art and the work of the artist" (Nebraska 4). Just as she used her journalism to explore and proclaim her developing sense of aesthetics and the role of the artist, she suggests in her fiction that a career in journalism could provide budding artists, like herself and her character Harold, with training as a writer.

³ Though Cather worked as a high school teacher in Pittsburgh for several years, journalism was her main occupation from her early college years until her late thirties, when she was at last able to support herself through her creative writing.

Similarly, in her earlier works, Cather presents journalism as a means for artists to examine societal conditions. After Cather moved on as a journalist, editing a women's magazine in Pittsburgh and then becoming an editor for the muckraking magazine McClure's in New York, she continued to see journalism as being concerned with both cultural and social conditions and affording the artist the ability to understand and reach a mass audience. Even as journalism put increasing demands on her time and creative energies, this conception of journalism persisted as an important element in her fiction. Even after she largely quit working as a journalist and came to make increasingly negative comments about its value, her comments more accurately reflect her increasing pessimism about the artist's ability to engage and transform a popular audience rather than her estimation of the importance of journalism. The fact that Cather nonetheless remained committed to reaching such a popular audience meant that she felt dependent on journalism even as she questioned whether she, or any artist, could control its influence.⁴ In worrying that journalism does not afford artists the ability to lead culture but rather forces them to follow its existing demands, Cather, in her later works, often portrays journalism as a threatening, sensationalist form of advertising.

It would be wrong, then, to take these changing attitudes at face value and downplay the importance of journalism to her fiction. Even in a much later work, My Mortal Enemy (1926), the protagonist, Nellie Birdseye, questions her cultural development in relation to journalism. Interestingly, Cather sets My Mortal Enemy in 1904, "which for her had been a time of opening possibility, initiating her wonder years

⁴ Indeed, journalism's threat to artistic autonomy and personal privacy is present even in "The Count of Crow's Nest": One of the reasons the Count left Europe was because of a scandal involving his daughter that made the headlines of Figaro (470).

in magazines" (Stout 216). In this short novel, Nellie's elderly acquaintance, Myra Henshawe, considers possible careers for her and asks, "Why not journalism? You could always make your way easily there." Unlike Harold, Nellie replies, "Because I hate journalism. I know what I want to do, and I'll work my way out yet" (562). Many critics have taken Nellie's disavowal of journalism as Cather's own, citing the advice of her important mentor and friend, Sarah Orne Jewett, who told her to put journalism behind her in order to follow a literary career and the life of the artist (Brown 140). In reality, raising this issue of journalism in My Mortal Enemy, fifteen years after Jewett's famous letter, obviously points to its continuing presence in Cather's thinking; in fact, Cather does not dispense with the topic quite so easily in this story. Nellie, whose name recalls the famous female journalist Nellie Bly, encounters her double, a young, nameless female journalist, who is similarly pursuing knowledge of the world and the fruits of culture; like, Nellie, she is a double for Cather's younger self (569, 575; Stout 219). Interestingly, Nellie has reversed roles with Harold in terms of her imaginative perspective. While Harold, a potential reporter, retains a romantic view of art and the Count, Nellie, despite her disavowal, casts aside her "romantic ego" and actually functions as a kind of reporter. She "is a highly sensitive recorder rather than a creator, and she is telling Myra Henshawe's story rather than making her own" (Rosowski 155).

The fact that Cather can plausibly be found in these characters suggests the complex ways in which her journalism affected her development as a writer. It clearly provided her with the opportunity to make her way in the complex world beyond Red Cloud, Nebraska and to find her place as a woman writer in the male-dominated world of culture and art. While in her reviews and interviews, she almost "never confused her

journalism with her art and always made a clear distinction between what she did to make a living and what she did for literature," she incorporated her knowledge of journalism into her fiction as she made the passage from a tentative writer to a master of her craft (Woodress 95).⁵ Though Cather came to see journalism increasingly limiting, she used it in fiction to explore the relationship between the artist and society and to pursue complicated questions of culture and community. Furthermore, journalism offered her the means to explore innovations in form and perspective while remaining grounded in language and issues accessible to a popular audience.

In "Behind the Singer Tower" (1912), Cather links journalism, immigration, and the development of American culture quite explicitly. In this story, the newspaper reporter serves to bring together artists, high society, and normally nameless immigrants in ways that reveal their common interests in shaping a new understanding of culture.⁶

⁵ Besides those works discussed here, Cather includes references to journalism in "The Burglar's Christmas" (1896), "The Willing Muse" (1907) and "Ardesa" (1918). Not much attention has been paid to the important ways Cather used journalism in her fictional works during the phase when she was attaining her distinct place in American literature, largely because she wanted it that way. Cather's formative years lasted much longer than most accomplished writers, and she later worked hard to suppress the republication of much of her early writing. In recounting these early years, Cather downplayed her early work and created falsely absolute distinctions between her journalism and fiction (Woodress 194). Recent critics, however, have examined two of her longer journalistic works, the biography of Mary Baker G. Eddy, which she wrote from the notes of Georgine Milmine, and the autobiography of S.S. McClure, My Autobiography, which she ghost-wrote, and note how Cather used these works to develop her sense of voice as a woman writer (O'Brien 296-297).

⁶ In this story, Cather's Italian and Jewish characters seem linked to her earlier work as managing editor of McClure's Magazine, when, she "either acceded to or actively participated in the publication of a series of articles written by fellow editor and *McClure's* staffwriter George Kibbe Turner." These articles "were directed at exposure of urban corruption but repeatedly targeted Italians and Jews, which were the two most

Like Heart of Darkness, "Behind Singer Tower" begins on a ship in a harbor, is told in the first person by a nameless narrator, and contains a grim story recounted by one of the narrator's shipmates (Hall 84). The narrator tells us that on board are six men, "two newspapermen -- Johnson and myself; Fred Hallet, the engineer, and one of his draftsman; a lawyer from the District Attorney's office; and Zabrowski, a young Jewish doctor from the Rockefeller Institute" (44). The narrator's direct address includes the reader in this small group that acts as an intermediary between the artist and a broader audience.⁷

This group is concerned with the enigma of the city: "Those incredible towers of stone and steel seemed, in the mist, to be grouped confusedly together, as if they were confronting each other with a question" (44). As they address this question of the city, these characters also address the question of how the city might offer a common sense of purpose and identity. Yet as the story begins, the men are silently thinking about the recent fire at the luxury hotel Mont Blanc in which over three hundred people died. Though the Mont Blanc and its burning are a composite of the many deadly fires around the time Cather wrote the story, the title refers to an historical building, the Singer Tower, which was constructed from 1906 to 1908 and notable for being the tallest building in the

disfavored immigrant groups. By calling Italians a source of social disorder, Turner identified them with a *bête noire* of Progressive public spirit, and his labeling of Jews as a 'new Oriental population' linked them with a group long subjected to exclusionary measures" (Stout 152).

⁷ This group of listeners replicates the sense of physical proximity and intimate community that Walter Benjamin saw disappearing from storytelling with the rise of print culture and the novel (Storytelling 87, 93). Presented as a written story through a reporter, the scene presents a transitional sense of community between oral and print cultures. See my chapter, "Sherwood Anderson's Imagined Communities."

world when it was completed and the first to have its spire illuminated by electric light (Haller 47).

As the reporter-narrator considers the tragic fire, he uses the newspaper to provide a touchstone for how the city is known. He reflects that the hotel's "prices, like its proportions, as the newspapers had so often asseverated, outscaled everything in the known world" (44). He also connects the uniqueness of the tragedy to the newspaper: Though there are many deadly fires, the identities of those killed are often ignored because of their poverty and because "most of them bore names unpronounceable to the American tongue." However, the burning of the Mont Blanc was unique: "Never before, in a single day, had so many of the names that feed and furnish the newspapers appeared in their columns all together, and for the last time" (45). The morbid fascination that results from all these names of the deceased appearing together means that for once, New Yorkers have a fear of "being overadvertised" (46); as I shall demonstrate, this fear of being "overadvertised" or over reported will reappear in Cather's later fiction as well.

However, the reference to Singer Tower, the presence of the reporter-narrator, and the characters' comments and stories show how "Behind Singer Tower" goes "behind" the surface of the news and acts as a kind of unique muckraking scoop not found in other reports (Haller 45). In connecting immigrants and the rich and powerful, the story challenges the typical limits of muckraking news, though at the same time some of the typical muckraking sensationalism and prejudices appear prominently in the story. As the narrator ruminates on the fire, the other newspaperman, Johnson, breaks the silence: "Did you ever notice... what a Jewy-looking thing that Singer Tower is when it's lit up? The fellow who placed those incandescents must have had a sense of humor. It's exactly

like the Jewish high priest in the old Bible dictionaries" (46). The Jewish Zablowski, apparently unperturbed by Johnson's remark, politely disagrees and suggests that the tower looks more like a Persian, a Magus, or a Buddha (46). Yet Johnson's remark is not so easily dismissed. Through Hallet's subsequent story, Johnson's prejudices come to be linked with the threatening question of the city. Hallet recounts the history of an Italian immigrant, Caesarino, a laborer killed in an industrial accident, whose identity, as the narrator suggests, would normally be ignored by the newspapers. Hallet also gives the unknown background of one of his college classmates, the famous builder of skyscrapers, Stanley Merryweather. Despite Hallet's own prejudices, and despite the disparate backgrounds of these two characters, his scoop ultimately connects Caesarino, Merryweather, and all his listeners, and it does so by suggesting a common understanding of culture based on art rather than commerce. Thus, his reporting provides a deeper, more inclusive, and ultimately more meaningful view of the "overadvertised" fire.

Hallet begins by discussing Merryweather's family. Though it is well known that Merryweather's maternal uncle, Hughie Macfarlane, "a thoroughgoing Scotch Presbyterian," made him successful, it is not well known that his father was a professor of languages

who knew too much about some Oriental tongues I needn't name to be altogether safe. It didn't show much in the old professor, who looked like a Baptist preacher except for his short, thick hands, and of course it is very much veiled in Stanley... but there was something in his moist, bright blue eye -- well, something that you would recognize, Zablowski. (47)

Hallet's point is clearly one of racist paranoia: Among Presbyterians and apparent Baptists there are "secret" Jews whom only a fellow Jew, like Zablowski, can recognize. It appears at first, then, that Hallet's scoop differentiates people according to existing

prejudices. Hallet next describes how he worked with Merryweather on the Mont Blanc, and his descriptions of the Italian "dagos" who worked for him seem even more unflattering than the "racial characteristics" he attributes to Merryweather. His favorite worker, Caesarino, comes from Ischia, where the Italians are "swarms of eager, panting little animals that roll around in the dust," and where the coral divers "look like little seals" (48-49). Yet despite these demeaning descriptions, Hallet imagines himself in Caesarino's position, working for an unknown, ominous power, and asks his listeners to do the same by offering an analogy:

Suppose we went to work for some great and powerful nation in Asia that had a civilization built on sciences we know nothing of... and suppose that we knew that to these people we were absolutely meaningless as social beings, were waste to clean their engines, as Zabrowski says... I'll tell you we'd guard the precious little spark of life with trembling hands [like the Italians]. (49)

In fact, Hallet misquotes Zabrowski, who was actually referring to engineers like Hallet when he suggested that workers are simply "waste for your machines" (46). Yet Hallet twists his words to connect Zabrowski with Merryweather and his maxim "that men are cheaper than machinery" (51).

This issue of immigrant labor links the two parts of Hallet's scoop. After Merryweather refuses to replace some worn cables, one breaks and Caesarino and five other Italians are killed by a falling load of sand. Hallet and Merryweather then part ways when Hallet protests his intent to give the dead man's family only half a day's wages for the day he was killed. Though Merryweather's attitude towards the expendability of immigrant workers is abhorrent, Hallet's judgment of him is linked to his own nativist anxiety about miscegenation. Just as the newspaperman Johnson's view of the Singer Tower is based on the building's façade, so, too, does Hallet's bigoted attitude

towards Merryweather originate in trying to read his identity only through appearances. Ironically, Hallet recognizes the limits of this method not in his or Johnson's prejudices, but in identifying the sensationalist press with Merryweather when he arrives at the scene of the construction accident. In accounting for Merryweather's lack of remorse when he learns of the Italians' deaths, Hallet says that he has a "truly journalistic mind," a taste for "anything that bites on the tongue" (52). Such a "journalistic" mind and taste are, in Hallet's view, what create distinctions among individuals and prevent a common sense of shared culture and empathy.

Yet Hallet's criticism obviously ignores his own prejudices. His description of Caesarino shows the limits of answering the question of the city through the muckraker's liberal empathy rather than through a common sense of purpose and culture, and his sympathy for Caesarino is clearly based on reaffirming the social hierarchy. While Merryweather is of mixed blood, Caesarino is a "thoroughgoing" Italian who follows Hallet's his suggestion that he return to Italy to visit his sick mother. Furthermore, the youthful Caesarino looks at Hallet "like a girl in love" (50); his perceived femininity means that he represents no threat of miscegenation.⁸ Unlike Zabrowski, who is studying at the prestigious Rockefeller Institute, or Merryweather, who uses his Scottish uncle's identity and money to rebuild the city, Caesarino is merely a "guest worker" and represents neither a racial threat nor a challenge to existing power structure. Though Hallet describes Caesarino as "chattering like a monkey" just before he dies, he earlier notes that Caesarino is "lighter than the other men" (51, 50). It is as if Hallet has

⁸ Describing "nativist" modernism, Walter Benn Michaels goes so far as to argue that the homosexual, by not having children, paradoxically guarantees the purity of American blood and to that extent can be presented as "typical" Americans (49). See my comments on Michaels below.

rewarded Caesarino for his submissiveness and made him into something of an "honorary" white American.

Despite Hallet's description of Merryweather's "truly journalistic mind" and the prejudices revealed in his own story, Cather does not indict journalism as a whole in "Behind Singer Tower." Instead, journalism functions in the story as the best way of imagining a more unified society. By filtering Merryweather's journalistic mind and Hallet's scoop through her reflective narrator-reporter, Cather indicts only sensationalist journalism; such journalism affirms existing hierarchies even in its crusades and names those who stay in luxury hotels but not those who die building them. On the other hand, Hallet's scoop, as recounted by the reporter-narrator, shows that a broader reporting perspective offers the means of bringing people together. As Hallet attempts to relate Caesarino's story to the men in the boat, he shows that reporting, at its best, challenges social divisions and begs the question Hallet asks of his listeners: How would you feel if you were Caesarino? Thus, Hallet's muckraking story prompts his listeners to imagine a shared sense of identity and purpose with Caesarino and the other immigrants. His scoop goes beyond the limitations of the sensational press and offers a way of considering how the answer to the enigmatic city can be inclusive rather than exclusive.

In trying to formulate this answer as a moral to his story, Hallet looks to the future and directly connects his scoop with the formation of an inclusive, artistic culture. He considers the sacrifice that Caesarino makes by considering the similar sacrifice all make; he wonders why the six men on the boat, like the six men who died in the foundation pit of the Mont Blanc, are "throwing everything we have into that conflagration on Manhattan Island, helping, with every nerve in us, with everything our brain cells can

generate, with our very creature heat, to swell its glare, its noise, its luxury, and its power" (53). In making Manhattan a "conflagration," Hallet generalizes the meaning of the hotel fire, and he connects the men on the boat with the men who died in the hotel's foundation and the fire victims. Hallet concludes that all are willingly to give themselves to this fire because of "this unborn Idea" that will be the end of these material gains and that will dawn so powerfully that "Moloch on the Singer Tower over there will get down and do it Asian obeisance" (54).

This sense of sacrifice for an idea clearly links the reporting in the story with the process of defining culture and recalls Matthew Arnold. According to Arnold, culture, in the sense of "sweetness and light," beauty and intelligence, offers a common means of connection precisely through a sense of sacrifice and the future realization of an idea:

But the flexibility which sweetness and light give, and which is one of the rewards of culture pursued in good faith, enables a man to see that a tendency may be necessary, and even, as a preparation for something in the future, salutary, and yet that the generations or individuals who obey this tendency are sacrificed to it. (48)

In his consideration of American culture, Arnold disparages the heavy weight towards the practical, "Hebraising" side of culture and the disproportionate value given to business. For Arnold, "America, that chosen home of newspapers and politics" (15), falls short in developing culture:

Because to enable and stir up people to read their Bible and the newspapers, and to get a practical knowledge of their business, does not serve to the higher spiritual life of a nation so much as culture, truly conceived, serves; and a true conception of culture is... just what America fails in (17).

Clearly, the comments about Merryweather tap into the potential anti-Semitism of Arnold's argument by reducing Merryweather's common humanity and defining him according to this association of religion, a journalistic mind, and business.

However, Hallet's conclusions mitigate these implications and offer a more optimistic outcome for American culture. In the end, he avoids an absolute distinction between business and culture and redeems both Merryweather and journalism. Though he doubts Merryweather's awareness of the coming idea, Hallet does include him as a contributor to its realization (54). Hallet recognizes the sacrifice of Merryweather, the industrialist, and Caesarino, the immigrant, by seeing them as participants in developing a common culture.⁹ The reporter-narrator of the story, who is more closely associated with Cather than Hallet, more positively characterizes Merryweather as one of "the most successful manipulators of structural steel in New York" (47). Like the early industrialist "pioneers" who appear in such works as A Lost Lady, Merryweather is seen as a creator himself; like the skyscrapers themselves, he ultimately represents both human waste and potential achievement.¹⁰ The form of Cather's story shows that journalism does not have to be an instrument of commerce that ossifies thinking and social distinctions. Filtered through the reporter-narrator's perspective -- another kind of "journalistic mind" -- Hallet's scoop becomes a means of imagining an inclusive culture shaped by ideas and stories rather than defined by possibilities rather than prejudices.

⁹ Arnold also makes this admission to an extent: "Now, culture admits the necessity of the movement towards fortune-making and exaggerated industrialism, readily allows that the future may derive benefit from it; but insists, at the same time, that the passing generation of industrialists,-- forming, for the most part, the stout main body of Philistinism,-- are sacrificed to it" (48).

¹⁰ Given that Cather was writing of Merryweather's journalistic mind just as she was leaving journalism herself, her ambivalent description of his character may reflect her concerns in using her past as a journalist in her writing. Personal experience may also account for Hallet's rejection of Zabrowski from this common idea. While the inclusion of Merryweather reflects Cather's incorporation of her journalistic past into her writing, the exclusion of Zabrowski suggests her rejection of another part of her past, her adolescent ambition to be a doctor and her early fascination with science (O'Brien 78-79).

The forward-looking idea suggests that the identity of those who can contribute to an American culture has not yet been defined: One does not need to be born an American or conform to an existing set of values to be an American. Rather, Cather follows a typical Progressive stance in suggesting that participating in the process of defining American culture and identity allows one to assume an American identity. As Joseph R. Urgo writes in Willa Cather and the Myth of American Migration, Cather taps into a more forward looking way of thinking in which Americans are "a people under construction whose ultimate characteristics exist primarily in the future" and who "believe in this future because only there does the nation exist as a single, harmonious whole" (112). As he notes, "American culture, in the context of Willa Cather's writing, exists as a finished object in the future alone" (195). From this future perspective, assimilation is shaped by participation rather than a set of limiting definitions.

The pairing of the two Italian characters, Caesarino and the tenor Graziani, further addresses this question of using the past to develop cultural values in the future. In questioning Caesarino's motivation for coming to the United States, Hallet wonders, "Why did he, from that lazy volcanic island, so tiny, so forgotten, where life is simple and pellucid and tranquil, shaping itself to tradition and ancestral manners as water shapes itself to the jar, why did he come so far to cast his little spark in the bonfire?" (53) As Sharon O'Brien argues, Cather's aesthetic is most clearly articulated in the image of female singers as vessels momentarily embodying the ideals of art and the vivacity of living in much the way jars hold water (172). In "Behind Singer Tower," Caesarino directly represents traditions that shape life into art in just this way. Yet Caesarino is not

simply a representation of a pastoral past or an invocation of Classical culture.¹¹ The connection between Caesarino and Graziani, who dies in the Mont Blanc fire, suggests a continuity between the singer in the tower and the workers who built it, between the modern skyscraper and the Classic landscape, between those who contribute to cultural development through their work and those who contribute through their art, between the past and the future. While the newspaper will list Graziani among the dead by name, Hallet's scoop gives Caesarino a name; it thus creates connections among individuals as well as a continuous and connected sense of historical development.¹²

Hallet's scoop is typical of Cather's use of journalism in that it connects the "high" culture of art with culture as it is lived on a daily basis. Cather describes artists as cultural leaders who explore and connect cultural values in both senses. To do so, artists need a means of reaching a popular audience; as her fiction shows, such connections can be realized in the popular form of journalism. In "Behind Singer Tower" Cather considers the ways in which journalism allows for a consideration of how tradition, contemporary issues, and hopes for the future, might come together through the act of

¹¹ As Michaels notes, such invocations were often used by nativists to locate cultural origins in Classical culture while ignoring the contributions and conditions of contemporary Greek and Italian immigrants. Thus, nativists tried to legitimate contemporary American culture without addressing its pressures to change (36-38).

¹² Just as the skyscraper suggests a combination of artistic and technological progress, the fact that the world's tallest building suggests the shape of a Jewish priest, a Persian, a Magus, or a Buddha implies that the cultural origins of the United States can be traced back to Eastern as well as Classical culture. Such an inclusive cultural history is clearly stated in Death Comes for the Archbishop when the Bishop, Father Latour, comments on the ancient Spanish bell whose existence his friend, Fr. Valliant, has discovered: "A learned Scotch Jesuit in Montreal told me that our first bells, and the introduction of the bell in the service all over Europe, originally came from the East. He said the Templars brought the Angelus back from the Crusades, and it is really an adaptation of a Moslem custom... The Spaniards handed on their skill to the Mexicans, and the Mexicans have taught the Navajos to work silver; but it all came from the Moors" (303).

storytelling and in doing so shape a sense of American culture and identity. Written as she was leaving journalism to pursue writing fiction full-time, "Behind Singer Tower" shows how Cather's early journalistic career, her journalistic mind, and her literary imagination are linked in her aspirations for the progress of culture.¹³ Beginning with personal and historical disruptions and ethnic divisiveness, Cather's story shows how journalism can help to construct a more continuous sense of identity, history, and culture.

As "Behind Singer Tower" suggests, Cather, like other modernists, saw the contemporary condition as characterized by conflict, transience, border crossings, and historical ruptures. As I argue, Cather also explores cultural continuities among different groups and different ages and showed journalism as contributing to making such

¹³ Some critics now see "Behind Singer Tower" as marking a turning point in Cather's career. For O'Brien, the story shows Cather beginning to merge her female identity with her ambition to succeed in the male dominated world of art. Thus, the phallic verticality of the towers "reveals Cather's own 'perpendicular' desire to rise as a novelist, going beyond both her editorial work and the short story" (383). Evelyn Haller similarly argues that the vertical buildings correspond to the columns of the newspaper and reveal Cather's progress to the novel (48). Though such readings are useful, by taking Cather's story out of the context of its contemporary moment they fail to consider how contemporary social conditions inform the story. For example, Cather's choice of the *Singer* Tower underscores different connections between commerce and culture. The Singer Tower refers to the Singer Manufacturing Company and the company's founder, Isaac Merritt or I.M. Singer, whose life was in many ways a success story involving art, business, and the American dream. Singer only turned to commerce in mid-life after failing as an actor (Brandon 16-24). However, Singer's legacy did ultimately contribute to furthering art, as one of his sons had a long-lasting affair with Isadora Duncan and helped support her dancing career, while one of his daughters became a friend of Proust and a patron of the arts as well (Brandon 218-220, 216-217). Like Merryweather, Singer most likely came from a mixed religious background; it seems likely that his grandfather was Jewish and emigrated to the United States after marrying a Protestant woman. Just as Hallet speculates about Merryweather, so too did people speculate about Singer's religious background once he became famous, not so much because he might be Jewish but because his failure to identify with any religion was seen as scandalous at the time. He, like Merryweather, was finally seen as contributing to the American ideal more through the creation of a new culture than a new fortune (Brandon 6-7).

continuities and connections possible. In this emphasis, I differ from Thomas Strychacz, who, in Modernism, Mass Culture and Professionalism, argues that writers like Henry James, Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, and Nathanael West use journalism to make cultural distinctions and define a literary discourse. According to Strychacz, invoking journalism helps modernist writers negotiate a separate space for literature in which they and their readers establish their authority. Strychacz thus argues that modernist, high culture engages mass culture in the service of developing a distinct, esoteric discourse, and that this discourse created a real sense of authority for modernist writers and "professional" readers -- professors, editors and readers of small magazines, critics, and other writers. Thus, in Strychacz's account, American literary modernism used journalism as a foil to separate itself from mass culture and grow in conjunction with these developing new groups of readers (77, 199).

At times, Cather does seem to deploy journalism and mass culture in her fiction in the way that Strychacz suggests. In her famous essay, "The Novel D  meubl  " (1922), for examples, she seems to separate the language of the newspaper from the material of art:

One does not wish the egg one eats for breakfast, or the morning paper, to be made of the stuff of immortality... If the novel is a form of imaginative art, it cannot be at the same time a vivid and brilliant form of journalism. Out of the teeming, gleaming stream of the present it must select the eternal material of art. (834, 836)

At first glance, Cather's comparison seems straightforward: The ephemeral language of journalism with the permanent language of the novel. Yet upon closer examination, it becomes clear that "the eternal material of art" is derived from the present, as represented in the newspaper, and the artist, in striving to step out of the present, remains in its

stream. Perhaps that is why the "it" that "must select the eternal material of art" refers oddly to the novel rather than to the writer.

Cather, despite her disavowal, continues to use journalism as a connection to the present, a source of inspiration, and a complex referent in her literary works. However, she does create complex literary forms in a process similar to the one that Strychacz describes.¹⁴ Though Cather's sensitivity to "a sense of alienation and historical discontinuity, of schism between the individual and the world, of joylessness" clearly characterize her as a modernist writer, as do her attention to style, innovation, and form (Rosowski xiii). Yet as her use of journalism indicates, she differs from Strychacz's model in important ways. She is much more like Hemingway (who, like Cather, is absent from Strychacz's study) in that she does not reject journalism's clarity of language but rather incorporates a version of such language into her writing. She does not base her authority as a modernist on displaying her mastery of a difficult language (Strychacz 83). Though Cather does privilege the world of art, she depicts artists engaging with journalists and journalism in order to mediate between their aspirations and a broad audience. As in "Behind Singer Tower," Cather often portrays select groups as the immediate audience of artists, but these groups do not form the limits of the artists' audience but act to support artists in achieving a more broad success. In this story, Cather uses journalism and journalistic conventions to include reader in the act of evaluating the story and making connections among the different actors involved. In

¹⁴ In fact, the newspaper plays a role in the origins of several of Cather's works. Alexander's Bridge is based on an actual bridge collapse in Quebec; she began One of Ours and A Lost Lady after reading obituaries in the newspaper that sparked memories of her past in Nebraska; and her article "Three American Singers," formed part of the basis of The Song of the Lark (Woodress 303, 340).

other stories, Cather often has immigrant occupy this select audience. In other words, in her fiction Cather does not target the professional, trained readers Strychacz describes as integral to American modernism (Strychacz 86). While these elite readers look to develop a specialized vocabulary of expertise and reject the importance of popular taste, Cather shows artists who are explicitly concerned with shaping popular taste and who include a broad audience in the development of a common culture.

Just as Cather, in practice, avoids absolute distinctions between journalism and literature, so, too does she avoid making such distinctions between art and commerce. Though commerce can be at odds with artistic values, it need not be. Just as Merryweather is acknowledged as a creative force and recognized as contributing to a common cultural ideal, commercial interests can contribute to furthering art. Cather, then, does not follow the influential model of modernism described by Pierre Bourdieu in The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature. Bourdieu sees journalism as necessarily identified with commerce and commerce as necessarily opposed to art. According to him, modernist writers, beginning with Flaubert, began to conceive of themselves as part of "an autonomous artistic field" in which their primary audience consists of other literary producers (Field 155). At its most basic, the "artistic field is a *universe of belief*" in which the economic world is reversed; "that is, the fundamental law of this specific universe, that of disinterestedness, which establishes a negative correlation between temporal (notably financial) success and properly artistic value, is the inverse of the law of exchange" (Field 164). In other words, modernist writers gain stature by rejecting the values of the marketplace, and a lack of popular and financial success can become as a sign of success within this autonomous field of artistic

producers. Bourdieu argues that this law defines the artistic field and the modernist writers working within it: In order to gain status with their peers within this field, modernist artists must reject loyalty to any social class and reject as well financial success and popular approval. Instead, they enhance their standing by turning all their attention to matters of style (Field 168).¹⁵

Bourdieu's argument helps to account for the way that Cather, a devoted reader of Flaubert, turns her attention to matters of style and innovative narrative structures with her novel O Pioneers! (1913). However, just as Cather avoids shaping her works with an eye towards their reception by professional readers, so too does she avoid shaping them strictly according to the demands of an audience of fellow writers. Though Cather may not have possessed the lucidity concerning her social position that Bourdieu attributes to Flaubert, she nevertheless mediates among various social positions and values in complex ways (Field 173, 207). For example, it is significant that in The Song of the Lark and in other works of fiction Cather uses female singers as representative artists. While Bourdieu argues that poetry represents the purest art form because of its lack of monetary value, singing for the stage represented the most lucrative occupation open to women in Cather's day (Field 62). For Bourdieu such popularity and financial success would necessarily shift power from artists to their audiences and reduce creativity at the expense of existing expectations: "the professional ideology of producers-for-producers and their spokespeople establishes an opposition between creative liberty and the laws of the

¹⁵ Bourdieu's analysis is useful in considering a novel's historical relationship to previous literary works, generally reflected in its form, and its relationship to its contemporary historical moment, generally reflected in how its content appears in this form (Field 266).

market, between works which create their public and works created by their public" (Field 127).

In effect, Cather tries to have it both ways: She follows the laws of the market and tries to reach a broad public, but she tries to create this public through her works rather than having her works limited by this public's expectations. In other words, she tries to influence a popular audience's values and expectations rather than simply meeting them. In The Song of the Lark, for example, Cather depicts an artist, the singer Thea Kronborg tries to reach and shape a popular audience. In order to reach these goals, Thea engages journalism as a way to understand and influence audiences. While "Behind the Singer Tower" ends with an abstract cultural idea, The Song of the Lark begins with the idea of art embodied in a single individual, Thea; while "Behind Singer Tower" depicts an audience of professionals, The Song of the Lark depicts a select audience in the form of a family that recognizes Thea's talents and needs. This family serves as a mediating group to support her artistic education and allows her to influence a broader American audience. Anyone who helps Thea in this way can be admitted to her artistic family. By depicting an American audience whose tastes and values are yet to be defined, and by characterizing individuals in this way, Cather provides a common basis of judgment that overrides the imperatives of the biological family and subsumes ethnic differences to artistic commonalities.¹⁶ Thus, when Thea says of Dr. Archie, one of the few native-born American characters, "He's almost like my father" (592), she does so because he

¹⁶ That is not to say that Cather's vision of a collective cultural development is entirely free of prejudices. The night before a big performance, Thea loses her composure and argues with her housekeeper, and, frustrated that her concentration is being impeded, decides that she should have "let the laundry alone with whatever nigger has stolen it" (692).

recognizes her talent and gives her the money to study music in Germany. Early in the novel, the earnest railroad brakeman Ray Kennedy, Thea's first suitor, similarly helps her and articulates the contributions of those like himself and Archie. When Thea tells him, "Everybody's up against it for himself, succeeds or fails -- himself," he agrees, in part, but notes, "there are a lot of halfway people in this world who help the winners win, and the failers fail. If a man stumbles, there's plenty to push him down. But if he's like 'the youth who bore,' those same people are foreordained to help him along" (403).¹⁷ Ray proves his argument when he dies in a railroad accident: His bequest of \$600 gives Thea the opportunity to go to Chicago and further her music education. Though neither Archie nor Ray possess great artistic acumen, they both know that there is more to life than material success and gain their greatest satisfaction from helping Thea. In this way, they are like Thea's other diverse father figures, including Wunsch, a German piano teacher, "Spanish Johnny," a Mexican singer, the Nathanmeyers, Jewish patrons of the arts, and Harsanyi, a Hungarian piano teacher and concert pianist. Each member of this core audience contributes to Thea's education, and in so doing, helps her to redefine a new idea of American culture in which they all have a part.

As Thea becomes more confident as a successful artist, she no longer looks to this core audience for support but begins to lead them in their expectations of art. Journalism plays a key role in this process. In a key scene touching on issues of family, ethnicity, and journalism, Cather shows Thea rejecting the values of her biological family in favor of the values of her artistic family. After returning to her hometown, Moonstone, Colorado, from her musical studies in Chicago, Thea's sister Anna criticizes her for

¹⁷ All references are from the originally published version of the novel, rather than the later version Cather heavily revised.

singing at a Mexican dance. As Thea begins to argue against ethnic stereotypes and defend the Mexicans' cleanliness and manners, her mother, who partially recognizes Thea's talent, concurs, "No use spoiling your Sunday dinner with race prejudices. The Mexicans suit me and Thea very well. They are a useful people" (368, 499-500). Yet as the argument continues, it becomes clear that the real issue hinge not only on ethnicity but also on the difference between artistic and conventional values. According to Anna, the fact that Thea will sing for the Mexicans but not for their father's church reflects badly on the entire family; they fail to meet the town's expectations of how a minister's family should behave. Thea responds, "Oh, it's my singing with the Mexicans you object to?... I'll sing for them any time they ask me to. They know something about what I'm doing. They're a talented people (500)."

In siding with the Mexicans, Thea shows the value of artistic appreciation, and she rejects her biological family through Anna, described by Thea's mother as the most "American" member of the family. Significantly, Anna's "Americanness" is defined largely through her relationship to journalism, and she explicitly shows the way journalism can act to affirm prejudices rather than make connections (410). The eldest daughter of parents whose first language is Swedish, Anna might be expected to be the least American of the Kronborg children. Yet she derives her conventionally American demeanor, behavior, and values, in large part from her reading: "Everything had to be interpreted for Anna. Her opinions about the smallest and most commonplace things were gleaned from the Denver papers, the church weeklies, from sermons and Sunday-School addresses" (410-411). Tellingly, the interpretations that Anna gleans from the Denver and Chicago papers create "prejudices" and "classifications":

In her behavior Anna was a harmless girl, mild except where her prejudices were concerned, neat and industrious, with no graver fault than priggishness; but her mind had really shocking habits of classification. The wickedness of Denver and of Chicago, and even of Moonstone, occupied her thoughts too much. She had none of the delicacy that goes with a nature of warm impulses, but the kind of fishy curiosity which justifies itself by an expression of horror. (411)

Like Merryweather in "Behind Singer Tower," Anna's taste for what bites on the tongue aligns her with the sensationalism of the newspapers. For her, the newspapers do emphasize separateness and an American identity that is already defined by convention. She fits the Mexicans into her classifications and fails to realize that their artistic knowledge might benefit Thea's singing.

Though Cather's portrayal of Anna points to her later pessimism about the effects of journalism, Thea's more constructive use of muckraking journalism acts as a direct response to her character and indicates Cather's early hope that artists could harness the power of journalism to influence a broad American audience and its sense of culture and identity. While Anna's passive and unhealthy curiosity is reflected in her newspaper reading, Thea's active curiosity as a kind of reporter opens her mind and enhances her art. When Thea arrives in Chicago and takes up residence as a boarder with two German women, "she expressed a wish to see two places, Montgomery Ward and Company's big mail-order store, and the packing houses, to which all the hogs and cattle that went through Moonstone were bound." As Nicole H. Parisier notes in "Novel Work: Theater and Journalism in the Writing of Theodore Dreiser, Edith Wharton and Willa Cather," these two destinations are more typical of a journalist on assignment than a young

musician (149).¹⁸ Another boarder, "a toughish young Swede," Eckman, who works in Packingtown, fulfills her second wish. He thinks that it

would be something of a lark to take a pretty girl through the slaughter-houses. But he was disappointed. Thea neither grew faint nor clung to the arm he kept offering her. She asked innumerable questions and was impatient because he knew so little of what was going on outside of his own department.

After her visit, Thea writes "her father a brief but clear account of what she had seen" (464). Her factual attitude, direct questions, and "brief but clear" written account, make her sound "more like a journalist than a novelist, more interested in practical details than aesthetic questions. The named characteristics of her account, its brevity and clarity, emphasize its newspaper-like qualities, not its poetic ones" (Parisier 149). Thea's trip thus "manufactures a connection between industrial activity and the writing process" and implies a connection as well between her artistic endeavors and the business of the city (Parisier 148-149). In this context, the word "lark" here is quite telling: In echoing the title, it implies that Thea's power of art comes in part from her ability to observe as a reporter and make connections rather than distinctions among people and communities.

Thus, as a muckraking reporter, Thea tries to understand the commercial basis of the city and the life of its workers, including its immigrants. Her interest in the department store and the slaughterhouses reflects an interest in how goods circulate between the town and the larger world, and her trip to Packingtown helps her understand the small town's relationship to the metropolis. This trip prefigures her need to leave Moonstone behind while continuing to connect with it as a source of inspiration. Like

¹⁸ Parisier also writes, "Far from a simple celebration of artistic awakening, Cather's The Song of the Lark evokes the problems of artistic creating in a world configured for the commercial manufacture of creative work -- the world of both opera and Cather's journalistic apprenticeship" (110).

her artistic family, her reporting thus provides the means to move from a small stage out into the world. In the context of her later artistic development, her trip and written report show how Thea is able to combine a journalistic mind with artistic aspirations. Rather than rejecting a broad audience, Thea tries to understand this audience; rather than using an exclusive discourse, she seeks a means of communication that is clear and accessible. While Anna reads journalism to confirm her existing tastes and conventions, Thea produces a journalistic report that challenges existing tastes and prejudices. Her journalistic curiosity and openness to diverse experiences challenge the bounds of American culture and the limits of who can contribute to it.

If Anna is an American because of her set ways, Thea suggests an American identity that is open-ended and evolving. Just as her artistic development implies a process of assimilation and transformation, her pursuit of a larger audience suggests the possibility of a more inclusive American community. Again, the artist conceived this way exists at the intersection of culture as enduring art and culture as a set of everyday beliefs. Though Cather seems to embrace the potentially elitist Arnoldian idea of culture as "the best of what is thought and said," she also embraces the democratic side of his liberal vision. Thea struggles to enter the rarified air of a select few opera singers, but in doing so, she forms a diverse family of artistic supporters who together serve as the model of a diverse American community. As Frederick Ottenburg, Thea's eventual husband, tells her when she is about to meet her first patrons, a Jewish couple, the Nathanmeyers: "We may have a musical public in this country some day, but as yet there only the Germans and the Jews... If you do anything for Mrs. Henry Nathanmeyer, you must put yourself in her hands. Whatever she says about music, about clothes, about life, will be

correct" (530). Fred's comments, and Thea's reactions, reflect Cather's willingness to accept diverse sources in imagining American culture and her hope that artistic integrity and innovation will make its own audience.

Though this American culture will be realized only in the future, Thea's education also addresses the question of a usable past and a sense of cultural continuity. Her creation of an artistic family shows that culture is not determined by birthrights but through the selection of useful ideas. When Thea visits the ruins of a Native American civilization in the Cliff-Dwelling canyons of the Southwest, she realizes that since the defining features of American culture are not yet determined, its traditions can be adopted rather than inherited. In Panther Canyon, she finds the power to resist the authority of her biological family and direct her life according to other values:

There was certainly no kindly Providence that directed one's life; and one's parents did not in the least care what became of one, so long as one did not misbehave and endanger their comfort... She had better take it in her own hands and lose everything than meekly draw the plough under the rod of parental guidance... The Cliff-Dwellers had lengthened her past. She had older and higher obligations. (555)¹⁹

In choosing her cultural inheritance, Thea again rejects the conventional American family determined by "comfort" and conventions and exemplified by her sister Anna. In doing so, she emphasizes the artist's necessary role in considering how talent is fostered,

¹⁹ Thea, in trading her family's obligations for artistic obligations, might seem at first to be retreating into the safety of the past. As Michaels notes, "[I]t is because the Indian's sun was perceived as setting that he could become... a kind of paradigm for increasingly powerful American notions of ethnic identity" formed along the lines of the family (38). He goes on to argue that Indians make good ancestors because their perceived disappearance means that they provide a family line that cannot be diluted with foreign blood; they thus preserve American identity more effectively than actual families (40). However, while Michaels assumes that an American identity and family are already defined, Thea's idea of the family points to the future rather than just to the past. She is not interested in the purity of her biological family but in the possibilities offered to her by her artistic family.

appreciated, and remembered, and she acknowledges that contributions to an evolving American culture come from various and diverse strands. Like Alexandra in O Pioneers!, Thea "seeks out and selects her own community" based on her own artistic needs and developing sense of aesthetic ideals (Harvey 42). In adopting elements of different traditions and in looking ahead to a culture defined only in the future, she suggests that anyone who contributes to American artistry can define what it means to be an American and hence become an "American." In engaging with journalistic perspectives and appealing to diverse individuals and traditions, Thea comes to see that both of these activities as offering possibilities for not only achieving artistic success but for redefining how this success is measured. Journalism and a core audience offer Thea the means for shaping the tastes of a broad audience, increasing appreciation for her artistry, and even influencing culture as a whole. What begins as a need becomes an opportunity through the artist's vision.

Thea's clearest understanding of the relationship between life and art occurs in Panther Canyon when she relates the stream in the canyon to the Indian's pottery and defines art as a vessel that holds life itself. However, this realization occurs through a voice that seems to be that of the narrator and in a moment when Thea is alone (551-552). Thea's difficulty in articulating the links between the development of an educated mass audience and the success of a single individual's artistic education reflect Cather's own. In this regard, Strychacz's reading of Henry James's The Reverberator is useful for contrasting how James, a powerful influence on Cather's early writing, dealt with similar issues. According to Strychacz, in his novel James uses journalism and the reporter, George M. Flack, to mediate between mass culture and literature. Because this mediation

cannot be resolved, James cannot explicitly define "journalism" or "literature." Thus, he excludes the newspaper report that precipitates the final action of the novel and leaves the job of defining and interpreting such terms to his readers (Strychacz 56-58). Strychacz goes on to argue that this involvement of readers in constructing meaning makes The Reverberator an early modernist text; readers who recognize the distinctions between journalism and literature form part of the specialized group of readers that characterizes American literary modernism in the context of mass culture (61).

The Song of the Lark is similar to The Reverberator in the way that Cather incorporates journalism into her text and invites readers to fill in the missing reports and blank spots in the text. The difference is that Cather emphasizes how Thea makes connections in defining culture, and she similarly invites her readers to make connections rather than distinctions among different characters and strands of culture. Thea, working as a reporter and aspiring singer, performs many of the same functions as George in The Reverberator; she mediates between everyday experiences and the search for more lasting values in art. However, her sense of a journalistic perspective is more like Cather's own than George's. In her early journalism, Cather avoided making hierarchical classifications; she reviewed every kind of performance held in Lincoln's two theaters and many different kinds of publications, from James's novels to drug store romances (Kingdom 7-8, 42, 357). Similarly, Thea's journalistic curiosity leads her to investigate both the Chicago Art Institute and Packingtown, and she does not discriminate among "native" sources like Indian ruins, "low" "foreign" sources like Spanish Johnny's folk songs, or "high" foreign sources from her musical education in Germany. All are

included in her understanding of music and her work towards building an American music public.

While Thea's journalistic perspective contributes to her artistic education and sense of the possibilities for American culture, Cather also reveals the limits of this perspective in her novel. In addition to Thea's solitary and unshared realization of her aesthetic ideal in Panther Canyon, Cather elsewhere illustrates the limits of communication and the deficiencies of journalism in sharing an artistic vision. Yet she overcomes these limits by including her readers in interpreting The Song of the Lark in the way that Strychacz describes in his reading of The Reverberator. Just as James omits key journalistic texts in his novel, Cather omits the text of Thea's letter to her father and key events, like Thea's trip to Germany. Likewise, Thea does not often reflect consciously on the progress of her own education, and Cather's readers must link Thea's trips to Packingtown and Panther Canyon and her early family of admirers to her later accolades in New York. While Thea's journalistic mind contributes to her success in her art and in her efforts to reach a broad audience, journalism fails to explain this success. During Thea's performance of Siegliende at the Metropolitan Opera, nearly all of her old friends and supporters, including Spanish Johnny, are there. Though all enjoy her performance, the journalist and the chorus director who join Archie, Harsanyi, and Ottenburg find it difficult to describe her artistic success in conventional terms. Cather underscores this difficulty by setting off their clichéd comments of admiration in quotation marks: "The chorus director said something about 'dramatic temperament.' The journalist insisted that it was 'explosive force,' 'projecting power.'" Listening to Thea's long-time supporters, "The journalist scented copy and was eager." He asks

Harsanyi, "What's her secret?" Harsanyi replies that it is the passion all artists share. "It is an open secret, and perfectly safe. Like heroism, it is inimitable in cheap materials" (697).

Harsanyi's arch comments could apply to the difficulties of journalism, but they could apply as well to Cather's own difficulties in describing Thea's success.²⁰ At the end of the novel, her narrator states flatly, "Artistic growth is, more than it is anything else, a refining of the sense of truthfulness" (697). At the end of the chapter, she offers an anti-climatic one-paragraph summary of Thea's success that begins, "Here we must leave Thea Kronborg. From this time on the story of her life is the story of her achievement" (699). In the conclusion of the novel, Cather again emphasizes that passive responses to journalism are insufficient, and that one must actively use journalistic curiosity and participate in the artist's aspirations in order to appreciate them more fully. Thus, while Strychacz sees James using journalism to distinguish an untrained mass of readers from a select group of trained readers, Cather's novel uses journalism to distinguish between a passive curiosity and an active curiosity engaged with the world. In fact, Cather shows that both journalism and the novel can serve to make connections among individuals and groups when they are read in this way; in identifying and defining the relationships between art and everyday life, readers are led to consider the implied communities that emerge from the relationship between different ideas of culture. Thus, in the conclusion of her novel, she again invites readers to supply missing connections in her novel and actively uses journalism to show that her ideal readers can come from any class or background. While the journalist and narrator struggle to express Thea's success,

²⁰ Cather admits these difficulties in her introduction to the revised version of the novel (Brown 189).

Spanish Johnny and Thea's Aunt Tillie, two of her earliest supporters, serve as ideal audience members. Since their reactions to Thea are left largely unstated, readers must interpret them in order to make connections between Thea's singing and the community it forms.

After Thea's triumphant performance as Siegliende, Spanish Johnny waits to watch her leave the opera house. He then

walked down Broadway with his hands in his overcoat pockets, wearing a smile which embraced all the stream of life that passed him and the lighted towers that rose into the limpid blue of the evening sky. If the singer, going home exhausted in her cab, was wondering what was the good of it all, that smile, could she have seen it, would have answered her. It is the only commensurate answer (699).

Cather's narrator invites the reader to identify with Spanish Johnny as an ideal observer of Thea's triumph; though he articulates his response with a smile rather than words, he is, in effect, a better reporter than the journalist fumbling with clichés. The fact that Thea does not even see Spanish Johnny on her way out leaves it up to the reader to link the exhausted artist and the ideal audience member. Likewise, in connecting the "stream of life" to the stream in Panther Canyon where Thea conceives of the value of art, the reader affirms Spanish Johnny's insight and recognizes through it Thea's success in bringing her aesthetic ideal from the solitude of Panther Canyon to Broadway.

While Spanish Johnny recalls Thea's singing in Mexican Town and her rejection of her biological family in favor of an artistic family of supporters, the novel returns in the epilogue to Moonstone, and significantly, her siblings' are ignored in favor of her Aunt Tillie, who continues to admire and support her artistic talent. While Spanish Johnny acts as an ideal reporter, Tillie acts as an ideal reader as she follows Thea's career through the newspapers; Cather even filters Thea's wedding with Ottenburg through

Tillie's reading of it in the Denver newspapers (701). Just as readers had to imagine Thea's letter to her father, here they must imagine the newspaper reports that Tillie reads. In performing this act through Tillie's perspective, readers imitate her active curiosity as readers; in imaginatively "writing" the articles that describe Thea's success, readers become ideal journalists and complete Cather's novel themselves. Thus, through the role of journalism in the novel, readers end the novel by completing its missing pieces and connecting the characters. In acting as audience members and observing Thea's artistic triumph, readers enact her process of community building themselves.

Following the optimism of The Song of the Lark, Cather begins to portray artists as losing influence with their audiences and engaging in a losing battle with existing tastes. Not surprisingly, she views the conduits between artists and audiences, like journalism, with increasing suspicion. Immigrants, which complement the mediating power of journalism in The Song of the Lark and Cather's other early works, are evaluated in a similar manner. Cather judges the immigrant experience according to the extent that immigrants offer an alternative vision of cultural transformation to budding artists. In a sense, then, Cather does not leave behind her own experience as a journalist or the favorable impression immigrants made on her after she moved from Virginia to Nebraska with her family. As Urgo notes,

The vision of American culture projected in the novels of Willa Cather is one of continuous movement, of spatial and temporal migrations, of intellectual transmission and physical uprooting. Willa Cather was the one major novelist of her era to recognize that migration links peasant and poet, immigrant and aesthete, into one global pattern of consciousness. (17)

While continuing to emphasize the connections among the journalist, immigrant, and aesthete, Cather, by the late 1910s, came to see movement and change as affirming rather than transform existing conceptions of culture. While she continued to maintain the value of artists, she began to question whether artistic culture would be able to transform culture as it is experienced as everyday beliefs. Likewise, she questioned whether journalists and immigrants would help artists influence the existing value put on advertising and commerce or whether they would simply affirm these values themselves.

Two stories of the late 1910s, "The Diamond Mine" (1916) and "Scandal" (1919), pick up where The Song of the Lark ends and describe artists after their initial success. However, in these two stories, Cather's growing pessimism about the course of American culture and her ambivalence about her own increasing success are reflected in her central characters and their problematic relationships with their audiences. In both stories, journalism is defined strictly as a form of advertising which circulates images, scandalous stories, and commodities. Given these definitions, the artist must struggle to pursue the value of art while managing an identity based on celebrity rather than artistic merit. Cather's attitude towards journalism at this time was not unique; many other journalists who began their careers before the Great War were alarmed by the increasing role of publicists and publicity agents and came to see the journalism that emerged during the late 1910s as little more than a form of advertising catering to the expectations of the largest audience possible (Schudson 134-144). This assessment is born out by the facts of the newspaper industry: By the 1920s, newspapers were relying increasingly on syndicated columns, wire releases, and stories produced by publicity firms, as notably documented in John Dos Passos's U.S.A. (1930, 1932, 1936).

Despite Cather's growing impatience with journalism, she nonetheless remained interested in it as the means for reaching as large an audience as possible. In "The Diamond Mine" and "Scandal," artists do not consider becoming journalists to gain training as writers nor do they act as reporters; instead, journalism is identified with publicity that can be managed but not fully controlled. This use of journalism is shown to inspire consumption rather than contemplation as it turns the artist into an image that circulates apart from artistic goals and personal control. Thus, the singers in both stories show that reaching a broad audience does not necessarily mean influencing its development; they find it easier to become cultural icons by meeting an audience's expectations than by challenging them. Likewise, in both stories immigrants appear offering alternate means of connecting with audiences and their expectations, but these options, too, are shown to be limited in their effectiveness.

In "The Diamond Mine," the narrator, who herself functions as a kind of celebrity reporter, explains, "Cressida Garnet, as all the world knows, was lost on the *Titanic*." Cressida, a famous singer, could have taken an earlier passage, but she "had waited for the first trip of the sea monster -- she still believed that all advertising was good" (135). Although her ability to advertise herself brings her popularity and makes her into a cultural icon, her reliance on advertising undermines her artistic integrity and ultimately proves to be fatal. Like "Scandal," "The Diamond Mine" shows how advertising opens up large audiences for artists even as it tends to promote the consumption of their images rather than contemplation of their work. At the same time, artists who ignore advertising risk limiting their audiences and their influence. Significantly, Cather's identification of journalism with advertising in "The Diamond Mine" and "Scandal" represents an

important turning point in her extended and significant use of journalism in her fiction and essays, and these two stories show how Cather considered the iconic status of artists even as she was herself becoming such an icon.

The crucial role of advertising and publicity is evident from the very beginning of "The Diamond Mine." As the story opens, the narrator, Carrie, sees photographers surrounding another passenger boarding the trans-Atlantic ship. The passenger, Cressida Garnet, is Carrie's old friend and cousin by marriage:

[S]he was good-naturedly posing for them... She was much too American not to believe in publicity. All advertising was good. If it was good for breakfast foods, it was good for prime donne, -- especially for a prima donna who would never be any younger and who had just announced her intention of marrying for a fourth time. (397)

Cressida's relation to her audience is realized in the pose and the photograph. She clearly believes in publicity and the idea that "all advertising was good." Though her image connects her with her audience, this audience is simply a group of consumers who share existing tastes and desires and who choose their artists as easily as they choose their breakfast cereals. This group's limited imagination is reflected in their closed sense of identity; they, like Cressida, are already "much too American."

Though, in this context, Cressida is limited in her ability to generate the active curiosity of the reporter, she does generate the publicity of a celebrity and make her voice a financial "diamond mine" for her grasping family. In this context, her "accompanist and shadow," Miletus Poppas, takes on a crucial role. Carrie's presentation of Poppas, a "Greek Jew" (398), is filtered through her attitude towards American culture, and, like immigrants in other works by Cather, he helps define the possibilities and limits that exist for the American artist. Carrie notes, "When we were two hours out at sea I came upon

him in the act of dropping overboard a steamer cushion made of American flags" given to Cressida by one of her fans (81). Poppas recognizes the narrator while his arm is still over the rail and exclaims, "Lest we forgot!" (398). Yet it is unclear whether he is mockingly referring to Cressida's dependence on her audience or to her country. In any case, Poppas is not "too American," as evident from the "indescribably foreign" element in his voice and his dislike for "the American rendering of the language" (398). Though Poppas seems at first to be an alien threat, Carrie later shows he has a complex relationship with Cressida's American audience. He understands how to gauge their expectations even while helping Cressida pursue her art, and he also works against her reliance on publicity. His specific identity as a Greek Jew suggests he represents the resources of European tradition. He is an Arnoldian synthesis of "Hebraic" and "Hellenic" tendencies, and he balances practical concerns and a love of beauty (Arnold 107-173). Such a positive characterization seems unlikely at first, given that Poppas also seems interested in Cressida's money and is described by Carrie as "a vulture of the vulture race" with "the beak of one" (398, 402). However, as Carrie compares Poppas to Cressida's family and other admirers, she eventually overcomes her anti-Semitic prejudices and recognizes Poppas' positive influence. Later, she suggests that Poppas understands Cressida and treats her more tenderly than her family:

I always felt that if he ever had her thus at his mercy,-- if ever he came upon the softness that was hidden under so much hardness, the warm credulity under a life so dated and scheduled and "reported" and generally exposed,-- he would hold his hand and spare. (402)

While the others would have "stamped out" "the fire at which Cressida warmed herself, the little secret hope,-- the illusion, ridiculous or sublime which kept her going" (402), Poppas appreciates its importance and nurtures it. Only he recognizes Cressida's hopes

and inspirations, knows how to balance private inspiration with what is publicly reported, and questions the idea that "all advertising was good."

Yet the idea of Poppas "sparing" Cressida underscores her vulnerability: The artist as icon is as fragile as her image. With the absence of influential journalism, Cressida does so not much control publicity as depend on it to reach a large audience. She also remains dependent on her inner audience for their understanding and support. According to Carrie, Poppas has been the only one to help Carrie develop the artistry needed to express her inspiration: Though Carrie goes to Germany with "the raw material of a great voice... the accomplished singer who came back...was largely the work of Miletus Poppas" (409). Cressida is unable to escape her biological family and shape a core audience that appreciates her art; she finds instead that her "relations with people always become business relations." Poppas exists outside the normal family relations and mitigates this tendency. Though many assume that Cressida's relationship with Poppas is sexual, her artistic relationship with him is in fact more important than any of her consummated relationships. As Carrie recalls, when forced by her second husband to choose either him or Poppas, Cressida chooses Poppas (409). While Cressida's use of publicity often subsumes art to money, Poppas manages the financial success of her career without becoming immersed in the marketplace: "He possessed a great many valuable things for which there is no market; intuitions, discrimination, imagination, a whole twilight world of intentions and shadowy beginnings which were dark to Cressida" (409). While Cressida is "too American" in her concern with publicity and the present moment, Poppas offers a sense of origins. For her, "[h]e was like a book which she had written down more about herself than she could possibly remember... He was the one

person who knew her absolutely and who saw into the bottom of her grief" (410). Since journalism is just advertising and publicity, there is a crucial split between private inspiration and public promotion. While Cressida creates images for the newspapers, Poppas serves as her private diary, the record of her artistic struggles "for which there is no market."

Cressida's third husband, Blasius Bouchalka, acts as a foil to Poppas and highlights his importance. Blasius's story, in typical Cather fashion, forms a distinct narrative in the middle of "The Diamon Mine." A musician and composer, Blasius, a Bohemian in both senses of the word, is innocent of the market. When Carrie and Cressida first see him, he is playing violin in a restaurant orchestra and clearly impoverished, yet Cressida tells Carrie, "I didn't quite have the courage to send him money. His smile, when he bowed to us, was not that of one who would take it" (414). Carrie describes Blasius's early life as an orphan studying music in a monastery: "During the time when most of us acquire a practical sense, get a half-unconscious knowledge of hard facts and market values, he had been shut away from the world, fed like the pigeons in the bell-tower of his monastery" (419). Interested in music for its own sake and unaware of "market values," Blasius seems to complement Cressida's dependency on marketing her image and turning her art into money. However, after marrying Cressida, Blasius does little to support her singing and quits writing and making music himself. It is only after Cressida finds him in a compromising position with her Czech maid and divorces him that he composes again (429). Though initially Blasius makes Cressida happy, his innocence the marketplace proves to be an ignorance of how to balance money

and art. He cannot promote both Cressida's career and her artistry the way Poppas can. Impoverished, Blasius is inspired; comfortable, he is not.

While Poppas protects Cressida's life from becoming too reported, Blasius enjoys her fame, and their relationship is from beginning to end a matter for the newspapers. His lack of market values reflects a lack of understanding about the ways in which publicity affects art and the artists. Cressida's first visit to his lodgings "had, of course, been reported, and the men about the Opera House had made of it the only story they have the wit to invent" (423). Tellingly, Cressida's audience inserts her story into their celebrity narratives; her life and her artistic aspiration are limited by existing expectations and tastes. Likewise, at the end of their marriage, "the legal formalities were conducted so quietly that the granting of her divorce was announced in the morning papers before her friends knew that there was the least likelihood of one" (427). Again, publicity replaces intimacy as scandalous stories take precedence over the support of friends who admire her artistic gifts more than her photographs. Cressida's other husbands also enjoy basking in her celebrity, and after she marries for the fourth time, Poppas can no longer protect her life from being too reported. When Cressida dies on the *Titanic*, still believing that all advertising is good, "The Diamond Mine" turns out to be an obituary framed by two trans-Atlantic voyages and two attempts on Cressida's part to advertise herself, one successful, one fatal.²¹ Thus, Cressida disappears as Thea Kronborg does -- into the news. However, while Thea acts as a reporter and shapes her audience's expectations through her imagination and art, Cressida is engulfed in her need for

²¹ In addition to this historical reference, Cather uses public figures as models for her characters. Because publishers recognized that Cressida was based on Lilian Nordica and Jerome Brown was based on her husband, George Young, Cather's agent had trouble selling it. It finally appeared in McClure's (Woodress 279).

publicity and drowns. While Thea's disappearance into the papers leads to further connections among individuals, Cressida's disappearance is an individual tragedy and simply one last item for gossip.

In the conclusion of the story, Carrie notes that she was one of the executors of Cressida's will and that during the legal wrangling over the estate she and Poppas had "become rather better friends." She also recounts that when Cressida's family challenged the bequest left to Poppas, she sided in his favor (431-432). In acknowledging and supporting Poppas, Carrie does what Cressida never could do: She rejects Cressida's biological family in favor of someone who supports her art. After Poppas moved to a healthier climate in Asia, Carrie had written Poppas, and she notes that "[h]is reply... prompted this informal narration" (432). In making Poppas the imputed inspiration for Carrie's story, Cather underscores his importance. He serves as a model for the American artist: He understands both the benefits and dangers of publicity and balances advertising with artistry and the newspaper photograph with the private book of inspiration and memory. However, his ultimate departure from the American scene seems to reflect Cather's lack of optimism about achieving such a balance in her own career. Written at a time when she was becoming involved in presenting her own image to the public, planning how her works were advertised, and enjoying the comforts of her success, "The Diamond Mine" suggests that she had misgivings she was not creating an audience for her writing but becoming dependent on an audience already set in its tastes and preferences (Hamilton). Even as she was gaining popular and critical success, Cather seems to have worried that her image might appear before a wide audience without necessarily influencing its expectations. More broadly, the story reflects a fading hope

that artists could use the contributions of a core audience of immigrants and the power of journalism to influence a larger American audience and its development.

Cressida's core audience consists solely of Poppas and Carrie, and her story lacks a broad sense of connection. Furthermore, Poppas and Carrie cannot affect a mass audience; they simply offer Cressida a temporary refuge from popular demands while struggling to protect the memory of her artistic aims. As the artist as reporter is replaced by the artist as publicist in Cather's fiction, it is publicity rather than art that prevails. Thus, Poppas exemplifies Cather's misgivings that despite her own increasing success, she was not redefining what an American cultural identity might be but merely accepting the definition provided by an increasingly powerful mass media. In "The Diamond Mine" the advertising that defines American journalism also defines a sense of audience that is fatal to the American artist.

"Scandal" also depicts journalism as a form of advertising and the artist as a publicist who advertises her image.²² As in "The Diamond Mine," the association of journalism with sensationalism and commerce limits the artist's sense of identity and purpose and stifles her attempts to construct a supportive core audience. When the story opens, Kitty Ayrshire, a successful singer, is in bed with tonsillitis. Like Cressida, she assumes all advertising is good: She "wished to believe that everything for sale in Vanity Fair was worth the advertised price" (451). Pierce Tevis, a friend who visits her, associates this belief with her innate ability to generate publicity: "You are the sort of

²² Cather's consideration of journalism and the immigrant experience in "Scandal" makes it a more complex story than "A Gold Slipper" (1917), in which Kitty Ayrshire also appears. In the latter story, Kitty meets a Pittsburgh businessman who does not appreciate art and rather easily wins an argument with him about the superiority of art to commerce.

person who makes myths. You can't turn around without making one... A whole staff of publicity men, working day and night, couldn't do for you what you do for yourself" (455). Yet from the beginning, this affinity with the "popular imagination" is shown to be costly and depleting. Even the comforting Dr. Miles Creedon "took his share of her vivacity and sparkle, like every one else. He believed that his presence was soothing to her. But he admired; and whoever admired, blew on the flame" (453). While Poppas tried to prevent Cressida from being too reported and protected her sources of inspiration, even Kitty's inner audience consists of consumers who admire her ability to be reported. Kitty is aware of how her audience affects her sense of identity and authenticity. She tells Tevis, "I'm getting almost as tired of the person I'm supposed to be as the person I really am" (455).

Like her mocking bird from New Mexico, "trained... by an old Mexican" (453), Kitty connects diverse cultures.²³ When she sings, the long line of devoted fans at the box-office is made of "little fellows in thin coats, Italians, Frenchmen, South-Americans, Japanese" (451). Kitty also attracts wealthy Americans to her performances, yet she is "no prouder of what she drew in the boxes than she was of that long oscillating tail" of a line (451). In contrast to her suspicions about this broad audience, Kitty seems more in harmony with a small group of supporters depicted in a painting in her room. This painting seems to open directly into a salon in Paris in which all are "held together by the warm lamp-light, by an indescribable atmosphere of graceful and gracious human living"

²³ Kitty herself seems to be of Scottish extraction. In an article on Robert Burns in the May 24, 1896, *Nebraska State Journal*, Cather refers to Burns being from Ayrshire (Kingdom 344). As Woodress notes, Kitty's name and biographical facts also suggest Mary Garden, the Scottish-born soprano for whom Debussy wrote *Pelleas et Melisande*, but her personality is more like Geraldine Ferrar" (282).

(454). Yet Kitty leaves this nurturing European atmosphere behind; she does not appeal to the select audience of the salon but instead uses publicity to reach a broad American audience.

The costs of this effort are brought out during Tevis's visit. While her friends in Paris seem to value artistry, Kitty's American audience values myths of celebrity instead, and the two stories Tevis tells relate her celebrity to her image and lack of control over of her private life. The first story concerns an imaginary son. When Kitty tells Tevis she is considering marriage, he tells her, "Don't disappoint your public. The popular imagination, to which you make such a direct appeal, for some reason wished you to have a son, so it has given you one. Tevis has "heard a dozen versions" of a story in which Kitty has a son who lives in St. Petersburg with his presumed father, Grand Duke Paul (455-456). While this first story shows the power of publicity is both intrusive and difficult to control, Tevis's longer story, about Siegmund Stein, a wealthy businessman, underscores this point and illustrates the risk of an artist relying on her image. While at the Metropolitan Opera House, Tevis saw Stein with a woman who looked like Kitty and heard the men around him discussing the couple. Though they take the woman to be Kitty, Tevis knows she is not from her laugh. However, Kitty's ability to generate publicity means that she cannot control how her image is propagated. As Tevis tells her, "After the last curtain I met Villard, the press man of the management, in the lobby, and asked him whether Kitty Ayrshire was in the house. He said he thought so" (459). By generating publicity, the singer can generate more attention by seeming to appear in the opera house even when she is not performing there.

Because journalism has become so completely controlled by commerce, even the newspapers cannot present the facts and mitigate the rumors caused by her double. When Tevis meets a journalist friend of his, Dan Leland, he learns that reporters, like the publicity manager of the opera, believe that Kitty is Stein's mistress. Tevis urges Dan to investigate the truth, and he tells Kitty, "Finally, we got the story, though Dan could never use it, could never even hint at it, because Stein carries heavy advertising in his paper" (459). When Dan and Tevis track down Kitty's imposter, they learn that Stein found her while auditioning models for his new department store: While about to embark on one plan of advertising, he stumbled upon another and capitalized on Kitty's appearance and artistic prestige (462).²⁴ Though Kitty believes in the power and accuracy of advertising, in this case, advertising turns out to not be beneficial or accurate after all; it leaves journalism beholden to the market and to stories that the audience, rather than the artist, creates.

However, it initially seems as if Stein, like Poppas, might be redeemed by his ability to balance market and artistic values and manage the power of journalism. Tevis notes that after Stein came to the United States from Austria, he "haunted the old Astor library and the Metropolitan Museum, learned something about pictures and porcelains, took singing lessons." After he began to make money, he collects art:

He cultivated the society of the unknown great; poets, actors, musicians. He entertained them sumptuously, and they regarded him as a deep, mysterious Jew who had the secret of gold, which they had not. His business associates thought him a man of taste and culture, a patron of the arts, a credit to the garment trade. (460-461)

²⁴ Interestingly, the double also raises issues of ethnic disguises. Tevis tells Kitty, "The counterfeit's name was Ruby Mohr. She worked in a shirtwaist factory, and this Italian girl, Margarita, was her chum" (462).

Though in Tevis's prejudiced eyes Stein's financial success and Jewish identity set him apart, Stein does seem at first to balance the world of art and commerce. However, Tevis continues to use similarly stereotypical terms to emphasize that Stein appreciates the monetary value of art above all else and describes how Stein sees art as just another means to facilitate commerce. In other words, Stein seems to embrace an American culture defined by financial success instead of one led by artistic contributions, and he uses art as another means of advertising. His masquerade with Kitty's double transforms Kitty's image into an advertisement for himself and his business. Whenever Kitty sang, Stein appeared in his box to see her:

Sometimes he took two or three good customers, large buyers from St. Louis or Kansas City... I've seen him there with these buyers, and they carried themselves as if they were being let in on something; took possession of the box with a proprietary [sic] air, smiled and applauded and looked wise as if each and every one of them were friends of Kitty Ayrshire. (461)

Kitty's image and her power of publicity are again detrimental to her personal life. She does not control journalism but is controlled by it; first her "family," and now her "friends, have been given to her by her public. Moreover, while Kitty generates publicity for the sake of her artistic career, Stein uses her ability to generate publicity for the sake of his business -- to sell coats to his large buyers, who in turn use it to sell coats to their customers. Tevis notes, "In St. Paul, St. Jo, Sioux City, Council Bluffs, there used to be clothing stores where a photograph of Kitty Ayrshire hung in the fitting-room over the proprietor's desk" (462). As Cather's repetition of "proprietor" suggests, Kitty's image, though useful to her, is in effect owned and used by others; her audience uses her image to create myths of celebrity while businessmen use it to facilitate the exchange of goods.

Tevis connects these uses of her image with questions of narrative and art. He notes that Stein's audience wants neither truth nor artistic innovation and speculates that Stein never had to lie to impress his customers; it was enough to imply a relationship with Kitty and "let their own eager imaginations do the rest" (462). When Tevis sees Stein at a restaurant with the imposter, he gains some insight into how others can believe that Kitty is with Stein. Stein's business associates and those people who believe the double is really Kitty "are like children; nothing that is true or probable interests them. They want the old, gaudy lies, told always in the same way" (462). Just as Cressida's fans turn her visit to Blasius's lodgings into "the only story they have the wit to invent," Kitty's audience imposes its own worn stories on her life. The implication is that an audience that wants only posed images and old lies is not likely to respond to artistic values or innovations; for this audience, an icon is to be seen and consumed, not contemplated and appreciated.

Cressida and Kitty thus illustrate the challenges of a popular modernist like Cather in light of the changing influence of the image in journalism. In moving beyond a limited audience, Cather must face limited expectations; in using her image to promote her new stories, she risks having her image inserted into her audience's existing stories of celebrity. Furthermore, Tevis's pessimism suggests that while a core group may understand the artist, this group is unlikely to change the expectations of a popular audience. In fact, both groups appear as little more than consumers: The mass audience consumes images and lies, while the smaller, more exclusive audience consumes the flame of inspiration. Both rely on the same sense of ownership, the same proprietary control over the artist. If Stein represents the parasitical power of business and the failure

of the immigrant to influence a mass audience, Tevis represents the parasitical nature of a modernist audience, the professional readers whose claims to authority are based more on exclusive access to the artist and an exclusive discourse than on their ability to affect broad cultural transformations. Tevis's pessimism and elitism emerge in the conclusion of his story. He notes Stein's success in ascending the social ladder and describes how Stein and his wife, a department store heiress, "now inhabit a great house on Fifth Avenue that used to belong to people of a very different sort. To old New-Yorkers, it's an historic place" (462). Pessimistic about change, Tevis is more concerned with preserving cultural values than transforming them. In *The Song of the Lark*, Jews and Germans represented a future American audience; in "Scandal" immigrants represents a break with the past and an affirmation of the worst aspects of the present. Thus, in the context of the story, Stein's assimilation does not represent personal success but collective failure as existing commercial values predominate over the possibilities opened up by art.

After listening to Tevis, Kitty replies with a story that further emphasizes the limits of journalism and the necessary perils of publicity. As she explains, she helped Peppo Amoretti, an Italian singer, escape conscription in his native country.²⁵ After having difficulty with his career in the United States, he is invited to perform at the Stein's new home on Fifth Avenue, provided Kitty sings with him. In recounting her visit to Stein's house, Kitty describes the guests using exaggerated stereotypes and caricatures of Jews, yet their artistic appreciation and intelligence inspire her to sing a rare encore

²⁵ In a further instance of ethnic imposture, Kitty tells Tevis how she evidently disguised Peppo as a Jew: "I dressed Peppo in knickerbockers, made him brush his curls down over his ears like doughnuts, and carry a little violin-case" (463).

(464, 466). Tevis's story, though, helps her to understand why Stein wanted her to sing at his home. She tells Tevis that a week after the engagement, Peppo

came to me in rage, with a paper called The American Gentleman, and showed me a page devoted to three photographs: Mr. and Mrs. Siegmund Stein, lately married in New York City, and Kitty Ayrshire, operatic soprano, who sang at their house-warming. Mrs. Stein and I were grinning our best, looked frantic with delight, and Siegmund frowned inscrutably between us. Poor Peppo wasn't mentioned. Stein has a publicity sense. (466)

Kitty now realizes that Stein had used her image one more time, to validate his earlier use of her double and to advertise his virility, financial success, and social ascension. Once again, Kitty has lost control of her image. When Tevis admonishes her for having "enormous publicity value and no discretion," she answers, "What's the use of discretion?... If the Steins want to adopt you into the family circle, they'll get you in the end." She adds that she and her double "are both the victim of circumstance, and in New York so many of the circumstances are Steins" (467).

Though Kitty dehumanizes Stein by turning him into a circumstance, her grudging admiration of Stein's publicity sense and her loss of control over her family and friends suggest that Cather's choice of words must be understood in a larger set of "circumstances." In fact, both "Scandal" and "The Diamond Mine" are related in their composition and portrayal of opera singers to The Song of the Lark, and comparing the novel to the stories illustrates Cather's evolving understanding of the role of publicity and the importance of journalism, family, and immigrants in Cather's popular modernism.²⁶

In contrast to Thea, who uses the written word to further her ideas of art, Cressida and

²⁶ Woodress notes that when Cather wrote the two stories with Kitty Ayrshire around June 1916, "She had exorcised Fremstead with The Song of the Lark and Nordica with 'The Diamond Mine,' but she still had two more stories of opera singers to write. While she was stopping briefly in Denver in June, she wrote 'Scandal,' and after reaching Red cloud added 'The Gold Slipper'" (282).

Kitty become not reporters but publicists, and their images and scandals are all that appear in the papers. There is no evidence that the reporters who cover them or the fans who see their names and images in the papers have any interest in understanding their art; they prefer beautiful images and sensational stories. Whereas Thea's reporting skills and appearances in the newspapers bring art and life together and create communities, Cressida's and Kitty's appearances in the newspapers alienate them from those who intimately appreciate their artistry. While Thea moves from a small group, a diverse "artistic family," to a larger audience, she keeps her ties to this inner circle of admirers which appreciates art separate from the marketplace. Cressida and Kitty, on the other hand, are unable to form any such inner audience. Cressida finds that her husbands exploit her fame, while Kitty finds her path towards starting a family has been blocked by the stories her fans have created for her.

Without this support from either journalism or a core audience, Cressida and Kitty become objects of consumption. They stimulate consumption without challenging existing tastes, values, or prejudices. The two pairs of immigrants in "The Diamond Mine" and "Scandal" exemplify the challenges facing an artist in a world where journalism is largely a matter of advertising and publicity. To ignore publicity is to ignore one's audience and the possibilities of the marketplace, as Blasius and Peppo do; to embrace publicity is to turn the artist into an advertisement submerged in the marketplace, as Stein does. In both stories, immigrants find themselves caught between assimilating to existing values or remaining marginalized. Only Poppas represents any model of how an artist might balance artistry and market values, private and public lives, inspiration and the image. Thus, Cather's negative comments about Stein and other

immigrants and her skeptical portrayal of journalism need to be seen in the context of her own growing doubts about achieving a popular modernism. Where once she viewed journalism influencing popular taste and immigrants offering alternative cultural values, she began to see both as being subsumed to the values of the marketplace. The difference between the Nathanmeyers in The Song of the Lark and Stein in "Scandal" is the difference between a forward looking sense of American identity to be defined in the pursuit of art and a sense of American identity having already been defined in the pursuit of money.

Yet Cather remained committed to artists reaching a broad audience, and despite her largely romantic conception of the artist's vocation, she became increasingly involved in the way that her books were advertised and her image promoted (Hamilton). This dilemma in needing to face the powers and perils of publicity may be why in the end Kitty is more like Stein than Peppo. While Peppo, like Blasius, shows that an ignorance of market values and publicity can only limit an artist's influence, Kitty recognizes the need to have a "publicity sense." As Cather achieved increasing success with her work throughout the late 1910s, the question remained, however, whether such publicity could provide possibilities for shaping a national culture or merely make artists part of a culture of consumption.

Late in her career, Cather would famously declare, "the world broke in two in 1922 or thereabouts," referring to the year in which her novel One of Ours won the Pulitzer Prize and became her biggest seller (Prefatory 812). By associating this feeling of historical rupture with the time of her greatest popular and financial success, Cather

suggests just how doubtful she became about the power of art to influence the marketplace, and her typically modernist claim for a break in history is intertwined with her broader concerns about the role of artists in defining American values. Again, her increasing skepticism in this regard is measured by her attitude towards journalism and the potential role of immigrants. Just as Cather came to see post-War journalism as falling prey to financial concerns, so, too, did she see the immigrant experience increasingly defined by the dream for financial success. While in 1922, she spoke out against the forced, rapid assimilation of immigrants and English-only laws, by the 1930s she was lamenting the flood of immigrants (Stout 118, 162). In her work of this time, artists are shown as being assimilated to the power of the marketplace, journalism is identified with advertising, and immigrants are assimilated to an American identity more concerned with material than cultural progress.

Cather's two novels of the mid-1920s, The Professor's House and My Mortal Enemy, link the forward-looking vision of The Song of the Lark and the backward view of her later historical novels. In both, this split between the past and the future surfaces in split identities, and Cather continues to explore the feasibility of a popular modernism and the potential influence of artists through a consideration of the role of journalism and immigrants in society. As we saw, My Mortal Enemy presents the journalist as a kind of double for the narrator, and similar doubling operates as well in The Professor's House as Godfrey St. Peter, "the Professor," considers the relationship between his two sons-in-law, the Scottish newspaperman, Scott McGregor, and the Jewish industrialist Louie Marsellus. He ultimately understands both in relation to his own sense of private inspiration and the need for a public audience.

As with her earlier Jewish characters, Cather's description of Louie is, at times, little more than ethnic caricature (122). Yet despite such descriptions, Louie is often described in positive terms, and Godfrey has mixed feelings about both Louie and Scott.²⁷ After the death of Tom Outland, Godfrey's best student in his many years of teaching, Louie marries Tom's fiancé, Godfrey's daughter Rosamond, and develops the patent for Tom's aeronautic invention. The way he spends his money buying luxury items makes him seem shallow and ostentatious to Godfrey, though more often than not he finds him to be "magnanimous and magnificent" (202). Likewise, Godfrey has reservations about Scott, the husband of his younger daughter, Kitty. As he remembers, he had tried to prevent their marriage:

Scott was young, was just getting a start as a journalist, and his salary was not large enough for two people to live upon... But soon after they were engaged Scott began to do his daily prose poem for a newspaper syndicate. It was a success from the start, and increased his earnings enough to enable him to marry. The Professor had expected a better match for Kitty. He was no snob, and he liked Scott and trusted him; but he knew that Scott had a usual sort of mind, and Kitty had flashes of something quite different. (135)²⁸

Later, the Professor looks at Scott with "a great deal of sympathy":

Scott was too good for his work. He had been delighted when his daily poem and his "uplift" editorials first proved successful because that enabled him to marry. Now he could sell as many good-cheer articles as he had time to write, on any subject, and he loathed doing them. Scott had early picked himself out to do

²⁷ Godfrey's attitude toward his sons-in-law is evident in the way he arranges them for an historical pageant. He has them pose "in a tapestry-hung tent, for a conference between Richard Plantagenet and the Saladin, before the walls of Jerusalem." Louie is the Saladin, and Scott is Plantagenet (140-141). As Sharon O'Brien notes, these figures from the Third Crusade are remembered as great warriors, but Richard is generally described as "a reckless adventurer" while Saladin "generally portrayed as a chivalric foe and humanitarian, was considered the better statesman" (n. 969).

²⁸ Scott's uplifting prose-poems seems to be taken from Cather's early days as a columnist for the Nebraska State Journal, when she knew Walt Mason, who wrote prose poems in his column entitled "Important If True" (Nebraska 13).

something very fine, and he felt that he was wasting his life and his talents... When a new novel was discussed seriously by his friends, he was perfectly miserable. (140)

The fact that Scott has "a usual sort of mind" and yet is "too good for his work" suggests Godfrey's low opinion of journalism and suspicions about the need to reach a wide audience to make a decent living. Scott himself realizes the limits of his work. When he complains about the hypocrisy of Prohibition, Louie asks him, "Why don't you journalists tell the truth about it in print?" Scott replies, "And lose my job? Not much!" (162). Earlier in the novel, when Scott worries about finishing an article, Rosamond suggests that he rest in order to refresh his mind. Scott replies,

Unless I keep my nose to the grindstone, I'm too damned spontaneous and tell the truth, and the public won't stand for it. It's not an editorial I have to finish, it's the daily prose poem I do for the syndicate, for which I get twenty-five beans. This is the motif:

"When your pocket is under-moneyed and your fancy is overgirded, you'll have to admit while you're cursing it, it's a mighty darned good old world."

Bang, bang! (123)

For Scott, journalism is neither about reporting the truth nor influencing one's audience; it is about giving the public what it wants. Scott realizes Cather's fears about the influence of journalism: Instead of helping to spread artistic achievement, improve aesthetic judgments, and shape a common set of tastes and values, journalism can simply be a means of converting words into dollars by meeting the "bang, bang" tastes of the public.

In The Professor's House, Cather projects the failure of the journalist onto the immigrant or outsider. As journalism equates words with money, it also limits the possibilities of language. Instead of journalism helping a writer learn to use language and influence her audience, it limits the writer's medium and panders to existing values. Scott projects these deficiencies as a journalist onto Louie and sees him devaluing artistic

values by ineptly using language and following questionable tastes. Though Scott realizes that Rosamond "detested his editorials and his jingles," when he and Kitty are alone he makes fun of Louie's description of Rosamond as "Tom Outland's virtual widow." Scott asks Kitty, "Now what the hell is a virtual widow? Does he mean a virtuous widow, or the reverseous? Bang, bang!" (123). Similarly, Godfrey worries about Louie usurping Tom's memory and his sense of taste. Remarking on Louie and Rosamond's construction of an estate called "Outland," Godfrey tells his wife that Louie and Rosamond have what Tom earned but never enjoyed, and "the least they can do is to be quiet about it, and not convert his very bones into a personal asset. It all comes down to this, my dear: one likes the florid style, or one doesn't" (125). Both brothers-in-law, it seems, despite their evident talents, do little more than support the taste for that which bites on the tongue, the gaudy lies and "bang, bang" style that the public expects.

Though Louie seems more singled out than Scott in this regard, the Professor's comments about Louie reflect back on himself and on Cather as well. It is the Professor whose works on the Spanish explorers came together through his friendship with Tom, and it is the Professor, who has won a prestigious and lucrative award, the Oxford prize for history for these works. Like Louie, he continues to profit from Tom's contributions, and, like Louie, he is moving into a new house with the award money that Tom helped him earn (116). Likewise, the Professor's attempts at preparing Tom's diary lead to his crisis of identity. Just as Cather took the inspiration for her two previous novels, One of Ours and A Lost Lady (1923), from the obituary pages, Godfrey finds his inspiration among the dead and seems anxious himself about turning "bones into a personal asset." The Professor's hesitation in editing Tom's diary suggests doubts similar to those he has

about Scott and Louie: He recoils from their "bang, bang" style and the thought of turning private memories into money.

The Professor's impasse in editing Tom's diary thus reflects an impasse in Cather's relationship to her audience. Cather, like other modernist writers, claims a growing mistrust in commercial success, and the idea that writing merely turns words into money is evident in her increasingly negative view of journalists. At the same time, just as Godfrey wants to bring Tom's unique experience to a larger audience, Cather continues to desire a large audience for her works that is not generally seen as typical of the modernist writer. Thus, the Professor's relationships with his "adopted" son, Tom, and his two sons-in-law reflect the challenges Cather faces as a popular modernist: She must navigate between her loyalty to a private vision and the bang-bang, journalistic, advertising style which allows Scott and Louie to carry their ideas to the largest possible audience. Godfrey's mixed feelings towards Scott and Louie can thus be seen as a reflection of his admiration for their success and his repulsion at the means by which they achieve it. In short, he would like to convey Tom's ideas about life as successfully as Louie has conveyed Tom's ideas about aeronautics, yet he would like to avoid being the salesman that Louie is; he would like to reach a broad audience, as Scott has, but by challenging existing truths rather than merely rephrasing existing commonplaces. The challenges of accomplishing these goals are evident from the conclusion of the novel: In hesitating about how to reach a broad audience without simply fulfilling its expectations, Godfrey nearly commits suicide.

The middle section of the novel, "Tom Outland's Story," helps to clarify these issues, particularly in the relationship between Tom and his partner in exploring the Cliff

City of the Southwest. Like Thea in The Song of the Lark, Tom encounters a sense of how different traditions can shape contemporary culture and identity while exploring these cliff dwellings. However, when Tom takes the news of his and Rodney's discovery of a preserved city to Washington D.C., he is ignored; only a government secretary and a French diplomat treat his story sympathetically. Rodney, back at the Cliff City, responds by selling their relics to a German, literally turning the bones of the Native Americans into an asset. When Tom returns, he berates him: The relics "belonged to this country, to the State, to all the people. They belonged to boys like you and me, that have no other ancestors to inherit from... You've gone and sold your country's secrets, like Dreyfus." (247). Tellingly, Rodney, a devoted reader of newspapers, defends Dreyfus: Despite their failure in finding an American audience for the relics. Implicitly, he still believes that mediating factors like journalism and the contributions of immigrants can help to shape a cohesive and responsive audience.

Citing such evidence as this reference to the Dreyfus Affair, Walter Benn Michaels, in his book Our America, reads The Professor's House as a whole as an example of "nativist modernism," a kind of American literature of the 1920s in which writers depict symbolic strategies for excluding foreigner from American culture (48-52). In his reading, Michaels challenges the assumption that the literature of the period was inclusive and forward looking in its conceptions of race, citizenship, and culture. Instead, he suggests that American modernist writers of the period showed that American identity is being conferred both by birth and by achievement; in other words, these writers showed that in order to be an American, one must first be born an American and then affirm this identity as well (36). Michaels finds this "hostility to assimilation" in Cather's

early and late work as she depicts "the emergence of culture not only as an aspect of American identity but as one of its determinants" (36). For Michaels, Cather's fiction, like other works of nativist modernism, portrays American identity as a birthright and shows the American family to be closed to outside influences in order to eliminate the possibility of miscegenation. Michaels also suggests that nativist modernism and pluralism in general refuse to recognize a common basis for judging diverse groups; hence differences among ethnic groups are absolute and ultimately racist (137). For example, in his reading of The Professor's House, Michaels argues that Indians make good ancestors because their perceived disappearance means that they provide a metaphoric family line that cannot be diluted with foreign blood (40).

Michaels's argument is provocative in defining key terms in the literature of the period, but his reading too neatly fits writers into his schematic categories. Michaels's reading of Cather notably skips her work of the 1910s, despite her consideration of immigrants and the family and, as presented above, her obvious anti-Semitic descriptions in several stories of this period. In avoiding these works, Michaels is able to fit Cather into the neat split he sees between earlier Progressivism and the contradictions of a later pluralism. In using this split to argue that Cather came to see culture as determining identity, Michaels ignores the ways in which Cather shows individuals shaping an American culture which is not already defined but rather in flux. In other words, Michaels only presents half of the dialectic between identity and culture present throughout much of Cather's writing. Furthermore, throughout her work, Cather judges immigrants as well as native-born Americans on the same basis, their ability to support the artist's efforts in shaping culture. In supporting the artist in this way, immigrants are

able to join a core audience that functions very much as a family in reaching out to a broader audience. Significantly, Cather's defines American identity as a process of becoming in which all contributors can come to be considered American.

Given this larger context, Tom's anti-Semitic remark about Dreyfus needs to be considered in terms of Cather's identification with Godfrey and the other characters who comprise his extended family. Likewise, Rodney's comments relate to other relationships in the novel. His defense of Dreyfus is implicitly a defense of Louie, and his defense of the German trader is later recalled when the Professor's German housekeeper saves him from his semi-voluntary asphyxiation at the end of the novel (270). Though Godfrey admires Tom, he is clearly more like Rodney, and for that matter, Louie, in his willingness to pursue material success and his recognition that compromise is necessary if one is to reach a broad audience. While Tom remains loyal to his private visions and sense of audience, he can only find an audience of one, a French diplomat; an audience of immigrants leads nowhere for him. Furthermore, while his death in the Great War represents a kind of Romantic triumph of his uncompromising individuality, it also means that his archeological and aeronautic discoveries and his life story will remain unknown unless others take on the challenges of presenting them to a larger public. Though Louie may have compromised too much in reaching this public, the deficiencies of his strategies are mitigated when compared to the alternative, the silence of Tom's death.

Tom's disappearance from the text thus preserves the purity of his vision only by ignoring the challenges of reaching a broad American audience. The Professor almost accepts the same route, by accepting suicide as an escape from his family's return from

Europe, Rosalind's pregnancy, and his own difficulties in preparing Tom's diaries. Instead, a German, his housekeeper, Augusta, saves him, even as a German had killed Tom. In this reversal, the Professor accepts what Tom seemed to deny, the idea that the story of the prototypical American is also the story of an Outlander, an "auslander," who defines American identity by changing rather than preserving it. In the end, Godfrey faces Tom's death by recognizing it as the loss as well of an ideal, if limited, audience. He accepts that his prize pupil, the one person who understood both his personality and the origins of his ideas, is dead and that he must turn his attention to his two sons-in-law, the journalist and the outsider. Though neither is willing to deviate from the standard of success defined by the marketplace, both offer models for reaching a mass audience.

Godfrey's challenge is to bridge the gap between Tom's false idealism and the shallow success of Louie and Scott. This means, in part, accepting the imperfections represented by the figures of the journalist and the immigrant and facing the issues his sons-in-law ignore. He must consider the ethics of turning memories into money and the potentially corrupting effects of financial success. Likewise, he must recognize that journalism and literature are not absolutely opposed to each other and that it is possible to turn words into money and art at the same time. If the Professor's efforts to make Tom a son represent his first attempt to find a perfect audience, the Professor's second attempt involves accepting Louie and Scott into his family. Despite their limitations, they provide the Professor not only with an immediate audience but with more effective models for reaching a large audience as well. The challenge ahead of the Professor is the same one that Cather faced: to appeal to a broad audience and gain its interest without giving in to the "bang, bang" style that it craves. Recognizing the limitations of his

family and the shortcomings of Louie and Scott, the Professor retains his journalistic mind, his sense of the real and the present. As in Cather's earlier fiction, he also retains his hope in the contributions of immigrants to a culture defined only in the future. When the Professor revives and sees Augusta, his simple German housekeeper, he knows that his "sense of obligation" to her, at least, is real, "[a]nd when you admitted that a thing was real, that was enough -- now" (270). Given that the middle section of the novel, "Tom Outland's Story," can be taken as the story that Godfrey edits and shapes from Tom's diaries, he seems successful in presenting both real and "outlandish" ideas to his audience and offering a model of culture that incorporates different elements into a new form. Likewise, given the critical and popular success of The Professor's House, a novel that likewise juxtaposes the familiar and the odd in an original form, Cather is successful in meeting this challenge and entering the marketplace without succumbing to its definitions of success. Like the Professor, she succeeds where Tom failed, in finding a large American audience that recognizes and responds to her work. She accomplishes this in The Professor's House as she does in other key works, by depicting journalists and immigrants as the means of mediating between her artistic goals and the expectations of her popular audience.

However, during the late 1920s, "as Cather became richer and richer and America wallowed in prosperity in the years before the stock market crash in 1929, she became increasingly preoccupied with the corrupting power of money" (Woodress 372). Her preoccupation grew out of her earlier sense that financial success as an end in itself could only inhibit the artist in shaping cultural values. In her preface to The Best Short Stories

of Sarah Orne Jewett (1925, 1936), her comments on Jewett's likely audience describe her own fears:

Imagine a young man, or woman, born in New York City, educated at a New York university, violently inoculated with Freud, hurried into journalism, knowing no more about New England country people (or country folk anywhere) than he has caught from motor trips or observed from summer hotels: what is there for him in The Country of the Pointed Firs?

This hypothetical young man is perhaps of foreign descent: German, Jewish, Scandinavian. To him English is merely a means of making himself understood, of communicating his ideas... he clicks the words out as a bank clerk clicks out silver when you ask for change. (856)

As is typical of Cather's writing, the figures of the journalist and immigrant are used to measure her aspirations for artists in shaping culture. In this instance, the two are combined into one figure confirming Cather's fear that writing is nothing more than turning words into silver and that someone like herself, "hurried into journalism," will never be able to use her experience to create art. Where once Cather showed the immigrant and journalism allowing the artist to connect with a broad audience, here the immigrant remains foreign, journalism remains a matter of money, and immigrant-journalists do not appreciate art or its role in shaping American values. Just as the artist's image can simply circulate with stale stories of celebrity, here words lose their significance and circulate like money; reduced to their functional value, they merely "click" like silver.

The journalist and the immigrant, then, serve as an index throughout Cather's career of her hopes for the role of the artist. While in The Song of the Lark, Cather used each to imagine the triumph of the artist in shaping a broad community, her later works show a growing anxiety about publicity defining journalism and financial success defining the goals of immigrants. Despite these misgivings, Cather remained committed

to a popular audience and an open-ended and hence inclusive vision of culture. In an early piece of journalism, Cather uses the image of a "treacherous isthmus" to describe an artist crossing "between the troubled, inconstant tides of commercial art and those remote, still waters whose depths are not gauged and whose stars do not set" (World 450).²⁹ Rather than passing over this isthmus, Cather's later fiction calls into question this binary of fleeting commercial art and a remote high art separate from the inconstant tides of the market. Rather, in many of her key works, Cather incorporates the figures of journalism and the immigrant as a way to mediate these two views of culture and shape works that, like this treacherous isthmus, connect a popular audience with the creation of lasting contributions to culture.

²⁹ These comments appeared in the Courier, December 11, 1897, in reference to the actress Minnie Maddern Fiske. In the Journal, on March 10, 1895, Cather similarly wrote of the playwright and actor Clay Clement: "He has yet to pass over that treacherous isthmus which lies between the troubled changing tides of commercial art and the remote still waters whose stars do not set and whose depths are not gauged" (World 192).

Chapter Two: Sherwood Anderson's Imagined Communities

For Sherwood Anderson, the newspaper offered a way of imagining communities in his most important work, Winesburg, Ohio (1919), and throughout his career. Often read as either a description of a town as its sense of community is being eroded or as the story of an artist as he matures, Winesburg combines these two narratives of decline and development or alienation and sympathy, to show how a community as such is imagined into being through its newspaper and its cub reporter, George Willard. George's work as a reporter and his literary aspirations make him at once a particular young man exploring the bounds of his imagination in a small town and a general "young man" allowing others to imagine themselves and their communities through him. His coming of age takes place through his work as a reporter and his access to people's stories and lives, and his story gives a human face to a moment of modernization and transformation. Likewise, through George and the stories he collects, the newspaper emerges in this historical context as a representative of the anonymous, national forces of modernization and the means by which a small town can respond to them.

In the structure of Winesburg, Ohio and its emphasis on the role of the newspaper in small town life, Anderson presents a complex description of how a town responds to historical disruptions. Like other short story cycles or sequences, Winesburg raises the critical question of whether a unified whole emerges from a collection of connected stories and in doing so raises parallels questions about whether a community emerges from a

collections of individuals.¹ As J. Gerald Kennedy argues, "The simultaneous independence and interdependence of stories in a sequence fosters a corresponding awareness of both the autonomy of individual stories and the elements that conjoin them" (Semblance 195). In fact, as Kennedy notes, the question of community may be considered one of the defining features of the short story sequence: In presenting "collective or composite narratives, they may all be said to construct tenuous fictive communities" (Introduction xiv). By introducing his text with a map and a tableau describing characters as "grotesques," Anderson underscore this awareness that characters are at once autonomous and conjoined. In Winesburg, characters occupy a common space yet seem to develop their eccentric personalities in isolation. This contrast between feelings of connection and alienation is paralleled in the way that Anderson presents issues of community through his depiction of the newspaper. While it seems to undermine the sense of community that already exists, it offers, at the same time, the shape of a community as it might come into being.

Furthermore, Winesburg brings together the idea of the "fictive" community Kennedy describes and the "imagined" community outlined in Benedict Anderson's seminal work, Imagined Communities. The independence and interdependence of the

¹ Anderson described Winesburg differently at different times. He originally subtitled it "a group of tales of Ohio small town life" (ctd. in Ferres 7), though he later argued in his Memoirs that it was in fact a new form appropriate in an American context: "The stories belonged together. I felt that, taken together, they made something like a novel, a complete story... I have even sometimes thought that the novel form does not fit an American writer, that it is a form which had been brought in. What is wanted is a new looseness; and in Winesburg I had made it my own form. There were individual tales but all about lives in some way connected" (On Winesburg 14).

chapters in Winesburg create a sense of "fictive community" from the connections among the characters contained within the text itself. At the same time, Anderson's presentation of the newspaper and the young man as a reporter offer implications that go well beyond the text itself; his text creates a sense of a national "imagined community." According to Benedict Anderson, the nation must be "imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). As he notes, the increasing standardization and secularization of time created a sense of history as a collective procession through empty, homologous time, in which printed works like the novel or the newspaper, a "one-day bestseller," can create a sense of community by offering an experience that is shared as it unfolds, is recorded, and read. In other words, the dated, serial newspaper implies the sense of simultaneous reading, and this, in turn, creates an experience of a unified community from the fragmented presentation of the news (33-36).

As I shall argue, the Winesburg Eagle functions to bring together its readers in Winesburg, Ohio while Winesburg, Ohio mimics the structure of the newspaper and brings together its readers throughout the nation. These two functions are connected through George's maturation and the implication that he is responsible for "writing" the text itself after his departure from Winesburg in the concluding chapter of the text. Such a sense of narrative circularity is implied from the beginning in the writer who appears in the introductory "The Book of the Grotesque." Just as George seems responsible for the stories in Winesburg at the end of the text, this writer seems responsible for them from

the beginning. Though it is interesting to speculate on the relationships among this initial writer, Anderson, George, and the narrator who appears throughout the text, the importance of the writer in this introductory chapter is that he gives the stories that follow a retrospective cast that complicates the perspectives on history present in Winesburg. The nostalgia of this writer, and later of George, serve as reminders that Winesburg reflects the time of its composition during the mid to late 1910s as much as it does the decade of the 1890s in which it is largely set. Significantly, the alienation that permeates pre-industrial Winesburg reflects the alienation of the post-industrial United States. Thus, Winesburg calls into question the idea that any community ever existed in the town and instead suggests how such an idea might develop in the context of the time when the text itself was written.

Most readings of Winesburg, however, describe it as an elegy for the small town community and compare it to Anderson's early novels, Windy McPherson's Son (1916) and Poor White (1920). For example, Irving Howe, in his influential study of Anderson, describes the alienation of Winesburg's inhabitants this way:

The books' major characters are alienated from the basic sources of emotional sustenance -- from the nature in which they live but to which they can no longer have an active relationship; from the fertility of the farms that flank them but no longer fulfill their need for creativity; from the community which, at least by the claim of the American mythos, once bound men together in fraternity but is now merely an institution external to their lives; from the work which once evoked and fulfilled their sense of craft but is now a mere burden; and, most catastrophic of all, from each other, the very extremity of their need for love having itself become a barrier to its realization. (101)

Howe finds the source of this alienation in the move from the land to the city and from the work of the craftsman to work on the assembly lines. At the same time, he seems to

acknowledge that his own critique is situated in the history of his times, and that the community he finds in Winesburg in these older ways of life is more a "claim of the American mythos" than historical fact. He accurately describes the paradox of community in Winesburg when he notes that it presents "a society simultaneously unformed and atrophied" (77). Yet as he considers George Willard's role, he reverts to the suggestion that a community did exist and that it can thus be *restored* rather than created. For the other townspeople, Howe argues, George is

a young priest who will renew the forgotten communal rites by which they may again be bound together.... As they approach George Willard, the grotesques seek not merely the individual release of a sudden expressive outburst, but also a relation with each other that may restore them to collective harmony. They are distraught communicants in search of a ceremony, a social value, a manner of living, a lost ritual that may, by some means, re-establish a flow and exchange of emotion. (102 –103)

Howe is right in noting that characters in Winesburg lack social rituals and ceremonies that might offer a means of connection.² While Windy McPherson's Son shows the rituals of churches, funerals, courting, and commerce, and Poor White contains significant descriptions of the disappearance of craftsmen and the emergence of manufactured goods, Winesburg contains almost no direct commentary on economic changes or social issues. Instead, Anderson describes isolated individuals and even depicts the family as isolating rather than connecting characters. Despite this lack of evidence that any social institutions or rituals ever existed in Winesburg, Howe, like other critics, implies that they did when he describes how George might "renew," "restore," and "re-establish" a sense of

² Lionel Trilling also finds this lack of a social world to be a major deficiency in Anderson's writing (462).

communal relations. Thus, Howe takes George out of his historically situated role as a cub reporter and characterizes him as an ahistorical, archetypal figure of the priest.

Likewise, Thomas Yingling's more recent reading , "Winesburg, Ohio and the End of Collective Experience," while useful, similarly rests on contradictory assumptions about whether a community existed in Winesburg before the encroachment of industrialization and the mass market. Yingling first tries to situate a "loss of collective identity" in an historical, materialist context:

Rather than read this collapse of collectivity and the concurrent burdens of interiority as 'given,' or as psychological inevitabilities in the text (and in modern culture), we might ask why they have occurred. Historical materialist analysis would suggest that changes in the social and economic articulations of culture were largely responsible for this modern alienation from public communion. (106)

While here Yingling describes alienation as "modern," he later suggests that perhaps a collective experience of community never existed after all. Instead, Winesburg shows that even "supposedly 'preindustrial' labor is a source of alienation..." and thus "renders problematic a long tradition of cultural fantasy that equates labor on the land with a completely unalienated existence" (111). Yet Yingling does not pursue the implications of these claims in terms of alienation and community. Instead, he comes to argue that Anderson responds to the rationalization of the modernizing process with a kind of nineteenth century romanticism grounded not in the "collective" community but in "universal" values. In Yingling's reading, he turns from a materialist reading of Anderson to one that situates him in the history of ideas. He finds that Anderson affirms "the notion that the individual is powerfully, radically free of material limitation" and he claims that Anderson "attempts to anchor some sameness of human experience in sexuality."

Yingling finds that Anderson removes his characters from an immediate sense of history and imposes universally applicable heterosexual values on them, thus limiting the range of diversity in the community that he describes (114).

While Howe is right that Winesburg is almost completely devoid of social institutions and collective rituals and action, and while Yingling is right that Anderson depicts sexuality as a limiting factor in Winesburg's sense of community, in the end, neither of these characterizations is adequately grounded in the complex sense of history and community that emerges from the structure of Winesburg and its engagement with the newspaper. Furthermore, Yingling does not give Anderson the credit he deserves for exploring different permutations of sexuality and sexual repression. In the context of his time, Anderson's treatment of sexuality is remarkably sympathetic in its portrayal of homoerotic desires and the sexual repression forced on women, and his repeated descriptions of failed marriage suggests that he was well aware that normative heterosexual relationships could do nothing but fail when relied upon as the only common ground of experience and means of social reproduction. As I shall demonstrate, Anderson's portrayal of sexual relationships does not suggest a statement of universal values but constantly re-inscribes a specific sense of lack into the text. This sense of lack found in sexual relationships and in social institutions is not an ahistorical description of the problem of alienation but rather reflects the historical context that Anderson describes and the moment in which he is writing. Furthermore, rather than offering a "universal" solution to the problems that modernity poses for individuals and communities, Anderson depicts a specific reporter and newspaper to show how modernizing forces

might not only disrupt a collective sense of community but also offer the means of imagining such a community into existence.

In fact, the failure of heterosexual relationships and the fragmented structure of Winesburg both emphasize a particular moment of historical disruption. In The Plague of Fantasies, Slavoy Zizek offers a Lacanian analysis of culture that connects sexuality, narrative structure, and invocations of history; his analysis suggests how these issues are similarly connected in Winesburg. Zizek claims that a collective value such as marriage can actually underscore a sense of alienation; because there is a lack behind such a collective value, individuals retreat to their own private fantasies. Thus, Zizek begins his Lacanian argument by claiming that "'there is no sexual relationship', no universal formula or matrix guaranteeing a harmonious sexual relationship between the genders; because of the lack of this universal formula, every subject has to invent a fantasy of his or her own, a 'private' formula for the sexual relationship" (7). This is precisely the process that Winesburg foregrounds, as repeatedly characters arrive at the moment when they must confront this collective lack and find themselves locked in a private fantasy that cannot be expressed in general terms. Furthermore, Zizek argues that typical narratives, such as the Bildungsroman, bring a single fantasy to the foreground as a way of obscuring the unresolved tensions present in the historical moment in which they are written. Thus, these narratives use individual fantasies as a means of foreclosing historically specific social tensions. By offering a linked series of events leading up to a moment of closure and resolution, such narratives create meaning retrospectively, disperse historical tensions over time, and mask "the absolute synchronicity of the antagonism in question" (12).

Because of this, the typical narrative often creates the sense that some essential historical point has been lost when in fact it is just beginning to emerge as a quality worth considering: "[T]he paradox to be fully accepted is that when a certain historical moment is (mis)perceived as the moment of loss of some quality, upon closer inspection it becomes clear that the lost quality emerged at this very moment of its alleged loss" (12-13).

The "loose" structure of Winesburg and its repetition of failed private fantasies disrupt normal expectations of narrative. Instead, Winesburg reveals the fantasies that underlie the text and allows for the recovery of historical trauma. Read this way, the sense of loss that many critics find in Winesburg needs to be reevaluated in the terms that Zizek describes: What seems to be a description of the pre-war loss of the traditional, small town community is actually a description of the tensions and desires of the emerging small town community at the moment Anderson is writing, a moment characterized by the increased industrialization precipitated by the Great War. While the narrative of a traditionally plotted novel might mask this historical disruption by tracing the life of a single character, Winesburg reveals the trauma of this moment by dispersing the story of the main character, George, among the portrayals of other characters and their failed sexual relationships. As Zizek suggests, this departure from conventional narrative provides a more accurate sense of historical disruptions and demands a reevaluation of historical loss. Since history "does not follow the logic of narration,"

actual historical breaks, are, if anything, *more* radical than mere narrative deployments, since... a true historical break does not simply designate the

'regressive' loss (or 'progressive' gain) of something, but *the shift in the very grid which enables us to measure losses and gains*" (13; italics in original).

Conversely, a new logic of narration, like the one in Winesburg, can enable the fundamental shift in measurement necessary to understand its historical moment.

As a short story sequence, Winesburg not only creates a sense of a "fictive community" among the relationships in each story; it also calls for a reevaluation of the fictions that underlie the individual characters and the way their individual sexual fantasies actually reflect the disruptions of a particular historical moment. In Žižek's terms, Winesburg is an example of "true art," for "[t]he artifice of 'true art' is thus to manipulate the censorship of the underlying fantasy in such a way as to reveal the radical falsity of the fantasy" (20). In Winesburg, the repeated failure of individual sexual fantasies calls attention to the falsity of the underlying fantasy that collective values have already established rules for relationships and a sense of community. Thus, the focus on individuals in Winesburg creates a sense of fantasy that is profoundly historical in the way that Žižek describes; this sense of history is found in the structure of the text rather than in its explicit content.³ The repeated failure of sexual relationships and the disrupted narrative in Winesburg call attention to the underlying alienation that already exists and the imagined community that is just beginning to emerge. This is not done through direct

³ In fact, the only specific reference in the text is to Governor William McKinley; McKinley was elected Governor of Ohio twice, in 1891 and in 1893, before becoming President in 1897 (Winesburg 132).

historical reflection on the part of the characters, however.⁴ For example, in "Queer," Elmer Cowley sells his farm to move to town and open a general store, yet he seems to be following impulses rather than making conscious choices. Like other characters, Elmer's social interaction is isolated to his dysfunctional families and a very small circle of people, and he lacks any sense of a larger historical context.

The means to connect these individual fantasies to a collective sense of community emerges through George's role as a reporter coming of age as a writer. Though he also pursues his own individual fantasies, he has a more expansive, active role in the text. His reputation as a budding writer allows him to learn of others' fantasies and, as the lone cub reporter for the Winesburg Eagle, he has unique access to the various people and stories of the town. Unlike the other characters, George ultimately faces the limits of his own personal desires and acts to reveal the "radical falsity" of any existing sense of community in Winesburg. If ideology is defined as making a particular social order seem "natural," then George calls into question Anderson's apparent historical and ideological innocence. Though Anderson depicts isolated individuals and avoids emphasizing any of the typical means of social reproduction, he does not ignore historical and social questions but rather considers them through George and the newspaper and the way both function

⁴ John Dos Passos' U.S.A. (1930, 1932, 1936) similarly uses character portraits as an organizational strategy. However, Dos Passos differs from Anderson in that he grounds problems with sexual relationship in specific social structures and shows characters consciously considering social issues. He also uses the "Newsreel" sections to provide an explicitly national and international context for his characters. Anderson, on the other hand, shows his characters struggling in isolation with the most basic problem with relationships, communication. On the surface, Anderson's text seems less realistic than

to reveal the social order in Winesburg. Just as George's development emphasizes the static quality of the other characters and their stifled desires, the lack of social and cultural institutions only underscores the importance of the newspaper as *the* means by which the town imagines itself as a viable community. The newspaper's status as the only institution available to all the residents of Winesburg is reinforced by the map that Anderson added to the text of Winesburg: The office of the Eagle appears at the center and is the first item listed in the legend.

While critics have often read the character portraits in Winesburg as individual, Freudian case studies in repression, the repeated failure of sexual fantasies in the text do not result so much from sexual repression and the enforcement of a ban on sex outside of marriage; despite his prohibitions, many characters, including George, engage in such sexual relationships. The problem is that none of these relationships, whether sanctioned in marriage or not, are satisfying in the way that the characters want, nor are they connected to meaningful cultural institutions. Thus, the more relevant Freudian perspective on Winesburg comes from Civilization and Its Discontents. Along with Zizek's Lacanian analysis, Freud's text offers a useful means of connecting the similar moments of failed expression in Winesburg to its historical and social context. While Zizek suggests that personal relationships are based on a sense of lack, Freud's argument suggests that barring any structure of cultural institutions, individual failures cannot be sublimated into a common sense of purpose and a shared culture. In Winesburg, the lack

Dos Passos', but in its structure and in the implications of its individual fantasies, Winesburg is firmly situated in the stresses and strains of its historical moment.

of such cultural institutions means that the residents of Winesburg will remain isolated even in their common sense of failure. In Winesburg, only the Winesburg Eagle offers the means to escape this impasse.

Furthermore, the prominence of the newspaper gives the historical disruption underlying the text a particular historical specificity. When Winesburg was published in 1919, intense Fordist industrialization, high levels of immigrant populations, and the social effects precipitated by the Great War were all internally transforming American domestic life. On the global stage, Americans who had reluctantly followed Wilson into the Great War resisted joining the League of Nations and avoided the recognition that the end of the war pointed towards the growing significance of the United States in a world community of nation-states. The emergence of such issues permeated American culture during the war, when Anderson was writing Winesburg, Ohio, and his literary work is not simply a romantic response to personal crises and experience but a reflection of these social crises. Likewise, the initial reception of Winesburg as an elegy for the simple life of the small town should be seen, in part, as being based on the needs of readers and critics responding to the dramatic changes in society during the war and in the years leading up to it.

In this context, the newspaper, as a representation of mass industrialization and mass culture, might be expected to further a sense of alienation. In fact, at the time that Anderson was writing Winesburg, Ohio, even the small town paper was coming more and more to be dominated by stories taken from newswires and syndicated columns (Schudson 150). However, at the same time, the newspaper continued to offer local

communities the means of resisting the standardization of the national marketplace, while also offering individuals like George the same benefits the it had made possible since the time of Benjamin Franklin, a means of individual advancement and an education in language use and social relationships. The newspaper's functions in Winesburg show that industrialization and the growth of a mass market, though historically disruptive, do not erase the idea of community; the changes they precipitate call attention to the lack of a community and the need to consider new ways of imagining what a community might mean.

While Benedict Anderson's study shows how a sense of national unity can be created in new, post-colonial nation-states through the influence of the newspaper, Sherwood Anderson's work of fiction shows how the newspaper can recreate a sense of national unity in nation-states that already exist, when moments of great stress require a re-imagining of the connections that bind individuals together. Sherwood Anderson is also concerned with the relationship between local communities and the national community and compares the local newspaper with national publications. His fragmented, individual portraits are similar to the fragmented stories connected on the pages of a small town newspaper, but Winesburg itself is a national, not a local publication. Similarly, he portrays the figure of the journalist, George Willard, to emphasize not how the newspaper is read and consumed by abstract readers but how it is produced by specific individuals. In this way, George is the generalized figure of the young man allowing various readers to identify common concerns, but he also creates a space for public

discourse that grows from personal interactions. Thus, George humanizes an abstract historical process and the newspaper as a institutional form.

Against the backdrop of a lack of social institutions and rituals, the failure of sexual relationships, and the disruptive, fragmented structure of the text, the newspaper and its reporter emerge as the key factors in unifying the town and offering up a model of community. The paradoxical position of the newspaper as both a threat of increased alienation and commodification and the promise of greater community and connections helps to clarify the issues of sexuality which are central to the crisis of values in Winesburg: The town seems threatened by both its Victorian, repressive sexual morals and the encroachment of the mass market. In other words, Winesburg seems paralyzed by its inability to change and threatened by the possibility of change. The moment of the present that emerges in Winesburg is caught between a stifling past and a threatening future. In this moment, Anderson seems to describe how the town is losing its sense of community with the onslaught of industrialization while actually revealing how this sense of community never really existed in the agricultural community in the first place. Winesburg begs the question of how the town can lose something that it never really had and shows how such questions can only be answered through George's transformation and his work as a newspaper reporter and maturing writer.

Winesburg thus exhibits the typical modernist contradiction of both embracing and resisting the effects of modernization, of celebrating the new while evincing nostalgia and anxiety about what is lost. While George ultimately serves to reveal the limits of the surface fantasies in Winesburg, these fantasies connect Anderson to his modernist peers.

Winesburg is similar to prominent works by Virginia Woolf, James Joyce, D.H.

Lawrence, Ernest Hemingway and T.S. Eliot, among others, in presenting crises in sexual relations as indicators of deeper crises in society. Interpretations of their works, and of Winesburg as well, often suggest that if sexual relations improved, the community would also improve and survive.⁵ However, the fact that Anderson did not try to work out this connection programmatically in Winesburg contributes to its power; the loose structure and the recurring figure of George make for a more open-ended and complex consideration of the links between sexuality and the way community is understood. The repeated failure of individual fantasies point to their latent content: For the individual, failed sexual desire expresses the deeper desire for perfect understanding, while for the community failed sexual desire points to the lack of a cohesive means of communication or articulated social structure. The community prohibits sex outside of marriage yet offers no cultural outlets to compensate for this prohibition, no space or forum where such matters of expression can be negotiated and articulated. Only George mediates different experiences and only the newspaper offers a shared public space where communication is possible and where the community can be articulated as a set of connections rather than prohibitions.

⁵ This connection between sexuality and the survival of the community has been used specifically to connect Anderson with one of his favorite writers, D.H. Lawrence. As Howe notes, however, Anderson had not yet encountered Lawrence when he wrote Winesburg, and despite his later admiration for Lawrence, his own attempts to work out the connection between sexuality and the future of the community were largely misguided and unsatisfying (186-192).

Winesburg is also similar to other modernist works in the way it features a portrait of the artist as a means of exploring broader issues of culture and community. However, in Winesburg this aspiring artist, George, is a journalist involved in the lives of those around him. If he feels stifled in the small town he is also encouraged to pursue his ambitions by many of its residents: His mother, his teacher, Kate Swift, and Dr. Parcival all explicitly encourage him to be a writer. Furthermore, there are other artists in the town. In fact, the overriding need to be understood makes all of the characters in the town seem like artists, fashioning their lives in search of an audience. What makes George different from these other residents and from the typical modernist artist is that he becomes aware of the extent to which Winesburg makes him and shapes his imagination. This process occurs in his apprenticeship as a journalist, as characters repeatedly seek him out to tell their stories and support his desire to become a writer, and it is through the newspaper itself that he comes to present a model of community.

The first story, "Hands," introduces George in this role. Adolph Myers, who is now known as Wing Biddlebaum, had been a teacher before he arrived in Winesburg. At that time, he was one of those men whose "feelings for the boys in their character... are not unlike the finer sort of women in their love of men" (31). However, when a "half-witted" boy falsely accuses him of "unspeakable things," a lynch mob chases him from his home. Interestingly, even in this collective act of violence, the mob is brought together only by its shared confusion; it cannot even decide if it should continue to pursue the accused teacher. Its indecision shows that the antagonism towards Adolph has another source besides the accusations against him or his ambiguous sexual identity; it also springs

from the mob's own inability to explain or describe its desires or identity to itself. While Wing may be unable to express or even acknowledge his homosexual identity, he does not serve as the Other who enables the formation of a cohesive heterosexual community. Instead, his lack of expression is paralleled in the lack of cohesion found in the mob that pursues him. This is indicative of the text as a whole: In Winesburg sexuality is not universal in its outward forms of expression or repression but rather reflects a common need for understanding. Questions of sexuality are thus closely related to issues of language and community.

It is significant that when Wing arrives in Winesburg, the only person that he feels comfortable speaking with -- and touching -- is George Willard. George enjoys the trust of the other characters, and they believe that he can understand them. This trust, which seems to come in large part from his work as a reporter, gives him the opportunity to translate the private motivations of individuals into a public language. Even as he comes to realize the common limits and frustrations with sexuality and language, his recognition of others' desires and interest in writing ultimately allow him to transform the inarticulate mob into an articulated, cohesive community.

In "The Untold Lie," one of the few stories in which George does not appear, Anderson clarifies the connection between sexual relationships and communication. The free-spirited Hal Winters tells the older Ray Pearson that he has gotten the schoolteacher, Nell Gunther, pregnant and asks him what he thinks he should do. Though marriage is the option sanctioned by the community, Ray thinks of it as a form of repression, something that for him unexpectedly "came about through one of his days of wandering." He thinks,

"Tricked by Gad, that's what I was, tricked by life and made a fool of" (204). He recalls "how at the time he married he had planned to go out West... [to] go to sea and be a sailor or get a job on a ranch and ride a horse into Western towns, shouting and laughing and waking the people in the houses with his wild cries" (207.) The simplicity and inarticulateness present in this fantasy persist into his adult life. At the beginning of the story, he struggles to express himself in words. Yet when Ray "was affected by the beauty of the country," Hal comes close to "understanding his thoughts" (204). After they part and Ray is back at home, Ray's recognition of beauty causes an inarticulate restlessness and sense of violent outburst typical in Winesburg: "Every time he raised his eyes and saw the beauty of the country in the failing light he wanted to do something he had never done before, shout or scream or hit his wife with his fists or something equally unexpected and terrifying" (207). When he leaves the house to go on an errand, he again connects the constraints on expressing beauty with the constraints of marriage:

All the low hills were washed with color and even the little clusters of bushes in the corners by the fences were alive with beauty. The whole world seemed to Ray Pearson to have become alive with something just as he and Hal had suddenly become alive when they stood in the corn field staring into each other's eyes. The beauty of the country about Winesburg was too much for Ray on that fall evening... As he ran he shouted a protest against his life, against all life, against everything that makes life ugly. "There was no promise made," he cried into the empty spaces that lay about him. "I didn't promise my Minnie anything and Hal hasn't made any promise to Nell." (207)

Like other characters in Winesburg, Ray struggles to express his thoughts and his reaction to the world around him. He appears to be an artist struggling to find a medium and an audience who will understand him. While walking out of doors, Ray, like many of the characters in Winesburg, experiences a sense of freedom, and "he forgot all about being

a quiet old farm hand and throwing off the torn overcoat began to run across the field" (207). However, "as he ran he remembered his children and in fancy felt their hands clutching at him" (208). His feelings towards his children are ambivalent, as later thoughts of them recall "pleasant evenings" spent together (208). Significantly, in Ray's response, something social -- the need to marry --in expressed in purely aesthetic terms, the need to record and express beauty. In considering marriage, Ray "could not have told what he thought or what he wanted" (209). He cannot articulate his desires or aesthetic reactions any more than he can articulate the town's moral and social expectations, and he cannot rebel against something he cannot recognize or awaken when he does not even know that he is asleep.⁶ Only George, as a reporter and writer, can connect social observations with issues of communication and social issues with the recognition of a shared sense of beauty.

Ray's dilemma, however, is resolved in silence when he meets Hal and Hal tells him that he has already decided to marry Nell and "settle down and have kids" (208). Ray thinks, "It's just as well. Whatever I told him would have been a lie" (209). He is relieved because he realizes that the bond between them, which was inspired by the

⁶ Ray's reactions recall Edna Pontellier's more subtle if equally inarticulate responses in Kate Chopin's The Awakening. In fact, the idea of awakening is prominent in Winesburg, and one of the stories is entitled "An Awakening." Though Edna's struggles are clearly linked with gender issues, Ray similarly struggles to find a language to express beauty while feeling stifled by his responsibilities to his spouse and especially to his children. Just as Ray rips off his clothes, Edna twice imagines an ideal artist as a naked man on a beach. Edna's awakening, like those of Anderson's characters, is partial and doomed to fail, but, in her failure, her artistic insights and sense of identity take on more explicit social implications and more directly addresses issues of sexual expression. Though

landscape, has been lost, and because he has been spared the embarrassment of trying to reveal the lack that exists at the supposed heart of the social order: How could he explain society's expectations to Hal when he cannot articulate them to himself? As is the case throughout Winesburg, marriage fails to produce a sense of community or offer emotional satisfaction, as is evident in the emphasis on the homosocial rather than heterosexual bonds; even pregnancy is a problem for men to discuss among themselves. Yet this discussion necessarily falls short as language fails in articulating shared values or an intensely personal appreciation of beauty. Thus, "The Untold Lie" follows the typical pattern of Winesburg and traces a moment of transgression which must fail. It is impossible to break the social and sexual rules of the community when they are never stated or legitimated, just as it is impossible to perfectly communicate one's feelings. Ray's inability to discuss sexuality directly, describe beauty, explain his own ideas of marriage, or sort out his feelings about his children, all point more broadly to the inability of the community members to express any shared values or basis of social reproduction. The repeated failure of Anderson's characters to fulfill their desires, even when they achieve their ostensible sexual goals, calls attention to the disjuncture between sexual fantasies and underlying reality. Instead, characters who transgress perceived sexual norms necessarily fail because they are actually attempting to transgress the lack of expression and the limits of understanding available to them in the town. Thus, this failure of expression is related to the fact that the town itself, with the exception of the

Edna's awakening, like Ray's, is associated with sexual freedom, it involves more specific moves towards a new organization of her life in relation to the community and its culture.

newspaper, lacks any public sphere in which values and desires can be articulated, recognized in others, and debated.

Just as Anderson, like other modernist writers, uses sexuality as a sign for historical disruptions and a lack of social cohesion, so, too, does he describe a paradox at the heart of many modernist texts and central to the modernist moment itself, the desire to make it new and an intense nostalgia for what is lost. Similarly, the newspaper, which represents the incursion of modernity into Winesburg, actually provides it with the means of re-imagining itself in the modern world.⁷ The paradox of modernism's response to modernization and the role of the newspaper in this process are clearly articulated by Walter Benjamin, and his idea of the storyteller and consideration of the differences between print culture and oral culture shed light on the functions of the newspaper in Winesburg. In Benjamin's reading of Proust, he argues that the newspaper serves as the quintessential example of the modern inability to assimilate public events into individual identity. While Jürgen Habermas, in his influential The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, describes the indispensable role of the print media in the formation of a

⁷ This paradox reproduces a contemporary problem in anthropology, the urge to record the lives of the folk as they seem about to disappear and the consequent, inescapable participation in the very forces which seem to precipitate this imminent disappearance. Just as anthropologists' comparative perspective reflects the typically modern situation of border-crossings, their means of recording reflects the kinds of technology and dissemination undermining the continued existence of such "pure" cultures in the first place. George similarly participates in a modernizing enterprise, the newspaper industry, even as he uses its methods to record and preserve a group that apparently is about to be lost because of the contamination of modernization. In this sense Winesburg exhibits the same irony as anthropological studies whose records of "disappearing" cultures were later used by members of those cultures to reinvent their traditions and redefine their communities.

bourgeois public sphere in which private individuals debate public issues, Benjamin sees the print media invading the private sphere of the individual and undermining identity.⁸ For Benjamin, this occurs because the newspaper hinders personal identification and memory by isolating information from personal experience:

If it were the intention of the press to have the reader assimilate the information it supplies as part of its own experience, it would not achieve its purpose. But its intention is just the opposite, and it is achieved: to isolate what happens from the realm in which it could affect the experience of the reader... Another reason for the isolation of information from experience is that the former does not enter "tradition." Newspapers appear in large editions. Few readers can boast of any information which another reader may require of him. (Baudelaire 158-159)

In Benjamin's lamentation for the loss of an on-going, common tradition, the conservative strand of modernism comes through. He emphasizes how the newspaper erases a specific sense of context and a grounded basis for human interaction. While Benedict Anderson sees the newspaper allowing individuals to overcome the increasing abstraction of large groups and form large communities, Benjamin sees the newspaper as alienating information from meaningful personal and collective experience.

In comparing the newspaper with the traditional story, Benjamin grounds authentic experience in the body. Referring to "the increasing atrophy of experience," he argues that the story, "one of the oldest forms of communication," deals with sensations that cannot be separated from the embodied presence of the storyteller. While the mechanical printing press erases the traces of the human hand and offers mass-produced,

⁸ For a succinct summary of Habermas's argument, see Craig Calhoun's introduction to Habermas and the Public Sphere. For more on this topic, see also Raymond Williams's The Long Revolution.

alienated information, the story represents the meaningful human exchange of experience as a kind of "handicraft":

It is not the object of the story to convey a happening *per se*, which is the purpose of information; rather, it embeds it in the life of the storyteller in order to pass it on as experience to those listening. It thus bears the marks of the storyteller much as the earthen vessel bears the marks of the potter's hand. (Baudelaire 159)

Thus, for Benjamin, information is fundamentally distinct from experience. In considering this distinction, Benjamin, like Zizek, raises suspicions about the logic of narrative as it functions in the novel. He suggests that while the storyteller participates in a collective process, the narrative of the novel generates suspense and replicates the logic of individual ownership and consumption:

A man listening to a story is in the company of the storyteller; even a man reading one shares this companionship. The reader of a novel, however, is isolated, more so than any other reader... In this solitude of his, the reader of a novel seizes upon his material more jealously than anyone else. He is ready to make it completely his own, to devour it, as it were. Indeed, he destroys, he swallows up the material as the fire devours logs in the fireplace. The suspense which permeates the novel is very much like the draft which stimulates the flame in the fireplace and enlivens its play. (Storyteller 100)⁹

Unlike the lengthy novel, the short story can replicate the authenticity and shared presence of the oral tradition. However, the need to "abbreviate" separates the modern short story writer from the storyteller. Benjamin claims the modern individual

⁹ Elsewhere Benjamin identifies the novel as the form of writing most responsible for "the decline of storytelling": "What differentiates the novel from all other forms of prose literature -- the fairy tale, the legend, even the novella -- is that it neither comes from oral tradition nor goes into it. This distinguishes it from storytelling in particular. The storyteller takes what he tells from experience -- his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale. The novelist has isolated himself. The birthplace of the novel is the solitary individual..." (Storyteller 87)

has succeeded in abbreviating even storytelling. We have witnessed the evolution of the "short story," which has removed itself from oral tradition and no longer permits that slow piling one on top of the other of thin, transparent layers which constitutes the most appropriate picture of the way in which the perfect narrative is revealed through the layers of a variety of retellings. (Storyteller 93)

Unlike the short story writer, the storyteller relies on expansion, a surplus of time, and a pervasive sense of boredom rather than constant stimulation.

Even as the form of Anderson's work and the presence of the newspaper reveal a moment of historical disruption, this form and the newspaper allow him to mediate between information and experience and between the abstraction of writing fiction and the embodied presence of oral communication. Howe rightly points out that Anderson uses features of oral storytelling to include his readers in his stories as auditors:

The atmosphere of oral narration, deliberately created by Anderson, is the setting of his best stories, which can be read not merely as imaginative versions of human experience but as renderings of a pervasive pattern of story-telling. Part of the craft of oral narration consists in the narrator's working not only for the usual kinds of interest and suspense, but also to produce in his listeners a vicarious responsibility for the successful completion of the story... In choosing to simulate oral narrative Anderson was aware of the traditional resources he could thereby tap. Sensing that story-telling had once been a ceremony in which the listeners expected the narrator thoroughly to exploit his craft and thus fulfill his communal role, Anderson quite cannily tried to re-establish something of this atmosphere of ritual in his stories. (148-149)

Thus, Anderson avoids making his stories into consumable items and instead uses oral tradition to include his readers in the process of making meaning from the connections in and among the stories in Winesburg. Yingling similarly considers Anderson's use of the oral tradition, although in his estimation print culture has reduced its effectiveness so that it "no longer maintains any link to the social structures in these Midwestern towns. It

has become only another tool in the hegemony of industrialism" (124). However,

Yingling does rightfully see George as occupying roles as both storyteller and reporter:

He is not merely a newspaper reporter, but a confidant, someone to whom others speak. In that, he is the very figure of the storyteller whom Benjamin sees as being lost in the modern world... George Willard becomes the focus of collective experience and energy in a moment of transition between an oral culture of proximity that is rapidly disappearing and a print culture (the culture of exchange) rapidly instituting itself as the agent of a "larger" but less authentic culture of industrialism and distance. (125)

For Yingling, George's two roles are distinct and contradictory, and he focuses on George as a solitary individual leaving Winesburg: "[T]he collection ends by concentrating on him not as the representative of a collective experience of modern alienation but as a solitary individual... George will be wholly taken up by the modern world of interiority, and in that sense we must read Winesburg as an elegy" (Semblance 125). Kennedy similarly claims that the fictive community in Winesburg is undermined as the storyteller replaces the reporter. Noting that The Winesburg Eagle "serves as a nexus of communal identity," he nonetheless finds that George "occupies an oddly ambiguous position in this cultural process. He strives to build community by passing along the stories the grotesques themselves are powerless to communicate, but as a newspaper reporter, he himself is complicitous in the circulation of meaningless language" (Semblance 197, 211).

As I shall demonstrate, George's occupation as a reporter and role as a storyteller are more intertwined than these latter two critics suggest, and his use of language is similarly more complex than it might appear to be at first glance. However, the term community needs first to be more properly defined. Yingling's use of "authenticity" and "elegy" is significant because it reveals unexamined assumptions about the size of the

community in question. Although George gains unique access to the lives of others because he is recognized as a reporter and aspiring writer, the dichotomies traced by Benjamin and invoked by Yingling, between sensation/information and nature/news, do not compare terms on the same scale. If the possible community of interlocutors for the storyteller is a handful of people, then to the extent that the news replaces Benjamin's storyteller, it is sanctity of the small group, the family or the clan, that seems most threatened as a community, not the town, village, or nation. While these larger conceptions of community seem necessarily inauthentic to Benjamin and Yingling, as Benedict Anderson argues and Sherwood Anderson demonstrates, these larger communities are created and made more authentic through the existence of a national print media. Furthermore, in Winesburg small groups like the family appear almost exclusively as agents of repression; the modern "interiority" that Yingling finds troubling almost always manifests itself in Winesburg because of a lack of communication among family members. In fact, the typical units of communication in Winesburg is the town, as it reads the Winesburg Eagle, and two people, usually George and one other person, an arrangement that seems "authentic" for both. In other words, far from undermining a sense of authentic communication, the newspaper makes such communication possible; it is precisely George's work as a reporter that allows him to act as a confidant and create a sense of connection from personal interaction and storytelling. Though the exchange of information in the newspaper might seem at first to risk corrupting the storyteller as "sensational" news erases individual sensations, it is only through a public forum like the newspaper that the possibility of a larger audience and hence the formation of a larger

community is possible. In Winesburg, the newspaper allows both local and national cultures to be imagined into existence.

Instead of separating small and large communities, oral and written communication, Winesburg, as Howe suggests, relies on both oral and written traditions, as George and the newspaper mediate between the logic of the storyteller and the logic of the novel. The brief portraits of repressed sexuality in many of the individual stories and the more developed story of George's coming of age that emerges from among these stories work at cross purposes in relation to the idea of community. Seen individually, the stories act to disrupt and ultimately undermine the fantasy of a preexisting community; they emphasize the sense of the isolated individual Benjamin associates with the novel. From the perspective of George's maturation, however, the stories create the shared companionship, common experience, and cumulative meaning that Benjamin and Howe associate with the storyteller. As a kind of typical character in a Bildungsroman, George comes to function as a representative member of larger communities, while the grounding of his story in the particular place of Winesburg gives the stories a sense of repetition, depth, and embodied experience characteristic of the storyteller.

The self-reflexive features of Winesburg further undermine any absolute distinction between the storyteller and the writer. There has always been some critical controversy about whether George is the implied writer of Winesburg. However, given his dream of becoming a writer, the encouragement to pursue this dream he receives from the other residents of Winesburg, and his insights into the town as he prepares for his departure, it does seem as if readers are meant to see George succeeding as a writer of a

work about his hometown. Furthermore, given that the elderly man who appears in the introductory tableau has written an unpublished "Book of the Grotesques," the same title that Anderson originally gave to Winesburg, it seems as though the book before readers, is by implication the published version of George's book. Though there is also a narrator in this tableau, this additional, shadowy narrator merely adds another level of mediation and suggests the complicated and conflicted ways in which Anderson identifies with an older version of George.

The implications of this self-reflexive turn are significant in seeing how George and the newspaper link oral and written communication. Essentially, Winesburg, Ohio appears as an embellished collection of stories, an expansive, fictive edition of the Winesburg Eagle collected by George through his work as a reporter. As the culmination of George's work and experiences, Winesburg records his development and the town's development as well through his transformation of oral stories into a written form. Through George's work as a reporter and his retrospective act of writing, the town itself is imagined as a unified community. Though the newspaper is a public discourse, George's discretion as a reporter and the sympathetic comments of the narrator mediate questions of private and public; many of the things that would not be fit to print in the Winesburg Eagle are fit to print in Winesburg, Ohio, as it allows for more context, compassion, and psychological considerations. Within Winesburg, Ohio, the newspaper gives George access to the individual members of the town and offers them a way of feeling connected to one another, while the work of fiction before us, Winesburg, Ohio, offers a fuller elaboration of these individuals and their connections to one another.

George's maturation and occupation as a reporter connect local and national communities, as Winesburg, Ohio functions as a kind of national edition of the local newspaper appearing before a national market and reading audience. While the Winesburg Eagle uses an increasingly national good, the newspaper, as the means of imagining a local community, Winesburg, Ohio uses local description and a local newspaper as the means for imagining a national community. As Howe describes, readers of Winesburg actively participate in a process of making meaning; they are put in a position comparable to that of a storyteller's listeners and hence help to create significance from the stories before them. In presenting the local newspaper to a national audience, Winesburg helps to create a large abstract community while mitigating its anonymity. In Benedict Anderson's terms, Winesburg gives readers the shared sense of connection that occurs when reading the same newspaper at the same time, and in Benjamin's terms it provides readers with the shared sense of embodied human interaction that occurs in the rituals of storytelling.

Anderson portrays the newspaper and the reporter in a number of ways to suggest these different perspectives on how communities can be imagined. In "Godliness," the newspaper seems at first to exhibit the features of alienation that Benjamin and Yingling attribute to the modernizing effects of the press. Anderson describes the newspaper as being comparable to mass-produced goods, like automobiles, that threaten to invade and disrupt the "natural life" of the farm and the small town with the ways of the metropolis:

Books, badly imagined and written though they may be in the hurry of our times, are in every household, magazines circulate by the millions of copies, newspapers are everywhere. In our day a farmer standing by the stove in the store in his

village has his mind filled to overflowing with the words of other men. The newspapers and the magazines have pumped him full. Much of the old brutal ignorance that had in it also a kind of beautiful childlike innocence is gone forever. The farmer by the stove is brother to the men in the cities, and if you listen you will find him talking as glibly and as senselessly as the best city man of all. (71)

As is typical, Anderson includes his reader in his observations, referring to "our day," a time in which the separation between country and city is being undermined. Indeed, at the time when Winesburg was written, the rise of syndicated columns and news services was making newspapers seem more like commodified urban goods, despite the long tradition of the small town paper.¹⁰ Anderson, in describing Jesse Bentley, the main character in "Godliness," further equates newspapers with mass production and machinery:

He began to buy machines that would permit him to do the work of the farms while employing fewer men and he sometimes thought that if he were a younger man he would give up farming altogether and start a factory in Winesburg for the making of machinery. Jesse formed the habit of reading newspapers and magazines. He invented a machine for the making of fence out of wire (81)

Newspapers here are closely linked with the machines that reduce the need for farm workers and the wire fences that recall the partition of the frontier into ranches and the partition of Europe into entrenched, warring nations. Reading newspapers is associated with the success of one individual at the expense of isolation and a loss of tradition. Indeed, Anderson describes the information of the newspapers as marking the transition from a state of grace to a state shaped by the modern marketplace:

[I]t was harder to get back the old feeling of a close and personal God who lived in the sky overhead and who might at any moment reach out his hand, touch him on

¹⁰ See Howard Good's Acquainted with the Night: The Image of Journalists in American Fiction, 1890 – 1930, pp. 72 – 76.

the shoulder, and appoint for him some heroic task to be done. Jesse's mind was fixed upon the things read in newspapers and magazines, on fortunes to be made almost without effort by shrewd men who bought and sold (82).

In "Godliness" the newspaper does seem to represent disembodied information opposed to the embodied stories of experience, and it appears to be one of the commodities invading an Edenic world of divine presence. Because "Godliness" is unique in Winesburg in offering this kind of direct commentary, many critics have focused on it as a sign of the decline in the small town community that they find so central in Winesburg. However, like the work as a whole, "Godliness" questions this simple juxtaposition of the past with the present. Notably, Jesse Bentley exhibited anti-social behavior and embraced money over human relationships long before he took up the practice of reading newspapers and making machines. He is never shown standing around the stove, participating in some local community that preserves rural traditions and small town life. In this story, as in the others, there is no evidence of any sense of community existing before the arrival of newspapers and magazines. Furthermore, though elsewhere Anderson does not analyze the significance of the newspaper so directly, this is far from the only word on the newspaper in Winesburg. In other stories, Anderson questions the existence and viability of a "natural," providential community like the one described here, and he undermines this sense of nostalgia and the belief in an authentic community pre-dating industrialization.

In his portrait of Joe Welling in "A Man of Ideas," Anderson caricatures the idea of combining the news and nature in the contemporary world. Speaking to other men in

the drugstore, Joe explains how the water could be up in Wine Creek even though the sky is clear and it has not rained for ten days:

Then an idea came to me. I laughed. You'll laugh, too. Of course it rained over in Medina County. That's interesting, eh? If we had no trains, no mails, no telegraph, we would know that it rained over in Medina County. That's where Wine Creek comes from. Everyone knows that. Little old Wine Creek brought us the news (105).

In this case, nature, in the form of Wine Creek, offers an alternative to the newspaper and the mechanical means that it is associated with -- the railroad, the mail, the telegraph.

Later, Joe elaborates on this view by suggesting that the newspaper reporter is a vocation bestowed directly by Nature and hence existing outside of social determinations:

When George Willard went to work for the Winesburg Eagle he was besieged by Joe Welling. Joe envied the boy. It seemed to him that he was meant by Nature to be a reporter on a newspaper. "It is what I should be doing, there is no doubt of that," he declared, stopping before George Willard on the sidewalk before Daugherty's Feed Store (106).

Joe's outlandish observations show that the very timelessness of nature renders it meaningless as a solution to the problem of community; they remind his listeners they *do* have trains, mail, and telegraphs to provide information. Even if in some unspecified moment in the past a divine sense of presence allowed for a means of imagining identity and a sense of community, as suggested in "Godliness," "A Man of Ideas" and Anderson's other stories show that in a time and place that have been transformed by new forms of transportation and communication, a sense of a community must be developed in history, not discovered in nature. As Anderson demonstrates, the newspaper and the reporter who takes up his profession, not his vocation, provide the means to create such a sense of community from isolated individuals.

In his failure to convince his audience, Joe, like many other characters, illustrates the struggle to express himself and find a sense of understanding through language.

Indeed, Anderson has often been described as an Expressionist writer, and Joe's comments to George provide one of the clearest examples of such a method¹¹:

You carry a little pad of paper in your pocket, don't you? I knew you did. Well, you set this down. I thought of it the other day. Let's take decay. Now what is decay? It's fire. It burns up wood and other things. You never thought of that? Of course not. This sidewalk here and this feed store, the trees down the street there -- they're all on fire. They're burning up. Decay you see is always going on. It don't stop. Water and paint can't stop it. If a thing is iron, then what? It rusts, you see. That's fire, too. The world is on fire. Start your pieces in the paper that way. Just say in big letters "*The World Is On Fire*." (106)

Like Ray Pearson in "The Untold Lie," Joe's perceptions transform the landscape, and his vivid description of a world on fire recalls the thick, swirling brush strokes of a Van Gogh painting and a world animated by the vision of a single mind. Joe's observations are based on experience and intuition rather than second-hand information; like Benjamin's storyteller, his stories bear the marks of individual mind. However, the fact that his reconciliation of news and nature borders on madness shows just how idiosyncratic his vision is and how unsuited it is to form the basis of a shared experience of community. Furthermore, while he begins by trying to convince the men in the drugstore, a method and setting appropriate for a storyteller, he ends by trying to communicate more broadly through the newspaper, offering up his ideas to George as headlines.

¹¹ See David Stouck, "Anderson's Expressionist Art," in New Essays on Winesburg, Ohio. Stouck notes that Anderson's expressionist method is linked to elements of oral storytelling (36).

Joe's vision of the world and his "natural" newspaper remain too personal to include contributions from others or to be shared in any meaningful way. His story sheds light on the significance of Jesse's story by suggesting that a religion based on moments of individual grace and inspiration is unsuited for forming a common culture. Joe's view of nature and Jesse's view of religion are susceptible to the market's valorization of individual ambition, and their stories show how extreme individuality, rather than modernization as such, can prevent a sense of community from forming. Unlike these "grotesques," George demonstrates how a newspaper can help in imagining a community that is neither dependent on the vision of a single individual nor on external market forces. While Jesse's story shows the failure of imagining a community inspired from the sky above and Joe's story shows the failure of imagining a community grown from the soil below, George's on-going story shows how a community can be imagined from the relations of individuals historically situated in local and national circumstances.

Victorian sexual morals, the inability to communicate desires, separate spheres for men and women, and a lack of cultural institutions all point to the previous lack of community in Winesburg. At the same time, the future seems to be portentous as well, bringing the kind of overwhelming industrialization and change that Anderson describes in his later works. The newspaper and its reporter not only record this present moment but also offer a more constructive alternative to this stifling past and ominous future. They show how Winesburg might be transformed from a place where an isolated group of individuals live into a more cohesive community. Though the individual stories seem to describe individual moments of paralysis as characters are caught in a frozen present

between Victorian morality and the encroaching pressures of modernity, the newspaper and George's work for it introduce a sense of history as change rather than stasis and as collective transformation rather than personal frustration.

As Michael Schudson describes, Robert E. Park, in his Essay, "The Natural History of the Newspaper" (1923), proposes just this potential for the newspaper. Park tries

to establish that the newspaper was an important institution in the transition of social life from tradition to modernity, from village to city, from "community" to "society." Thus he argued that "the work of the newspaper, as a gatherer and interpreter of the news, was but an extension of the function which was otherwise performed spontaneously by the community itself through the medium of personal contact and gossip." (40-41)

While Schudson questions whether Parks' observations were actually realized by newspapers, Winesburg illustrates the newspaper's fulfillment of just these possibilities. Furthermore, by acting as a sympathetic storyteller rather than a mere gossip, George offers this sense of contact and participation even in the absence of a previously functioning community. Thus, the sense of the collective remains personal; the print media in Winesburg remains rooted in immediate experience rather than the anonymous market. While Benedict Anderson describes how newspaper readers create a sense of community from anonymity, Sherwood Anderson shows how the small town newspaper and reporter work against anonymity by creating a space for public discourse that connects isolated individuals in specific relationships:

The paper on which George worked had one policy. It strove to mention by name in each issue, as many as possible of the inhabitants of the village. Like an excited dog, George Willard ran here and there, noting on his pad of paper who had gone

on business to the country seat or had returned from a visit to a neighboring village (134).

This policy reflects the shared experiences and common bonds that the characters are otherwise unable to recognize or express. Like many small town newspapers, the Winesburg Eagle allows the town's inhabitants to see themselves in relation to one another on the printed page. To the extent that they have been alienated from one another, this relationship is fictive, though to the extent that this alienation results from limited means of communication, the arrangement of names opens up the possibility for the creation of a community more real than the one previously found in experience.

George's eventual departure from Winesburg and his consideration of the town as "a background on which to paint the dreams of his manhood" have to be considered in light of the effects that the other characters have had on his conception of himself, his vocation as a writer, and his understanding and use of language. In all of these ways, George does not just write the story of the town but allows the other residents to write it through him. In fact, the people that live in Winesburg and the language used to describe George show him to be not only an individual but also a recognizable type of person, and his unique personality emerges from a composite of the other characters and their ambitions. In "Loneliness," for example, his open mind and work as a reporter allow him to discover a model for the artist who leaves Winesburg, while in "Adventure," a character he does not directly meet provides the means for readers to evaluate George's ambitions as a young reporter intent on leaving Winesburg. In relation to these other characters, George can be seen as combining the roles of the artist concerned with individual

expression and the reporter concerned with social representation; the end result is a sense of writing that grows out of an individual perspective yet accounts for the influence of society on the formation of the self.

In "Loneliness," the story of Enoch Robinson illustrates George's relationship to the residents of the town and his maturation as a writer in terms of how he learns to represent others' lives and relate to an audience. When Enoch leaves Winesburg for New York to study painting, he eventually gets married, moves from an apartment on Washington Square Park to one in Brooklyn, has two children, and briefly becomes a responsible "citizen":

That began another phase of Enoch's life. He began to play a new game. For a while he was very proud of himself in the role of producing citizen in the world. He dismissed the essence of things and played with realities. In the fall he voted at an election and he had a newspaper thrown on his porch each morning (171).

In this case, the newspaper represents Enoch's role as an anonymous, urban citizen. In describing this part of his life to George, Enoch leaves his wife and children unnamed: Once again the sexual relation between men and women, while promising fulfillment and social integration, cannot be articulated and is registered as a lack. Likewise, "the producing citizen" of the nation, following the guidelines of marriage, experiences a loss of identity.

Interestingly, the game Enoch was playing before becoming a citizen was recalling and shaping a procession of grotesque figures; it is the same game that the anonymous writer plays in the introduction to Winesburg. Enoch "wanted most of all the people of his own mind, people with whom he could really talk, people he could harangue and scold

by the hour, servants, you see, to his fancy... He was like a writer busy among the figures of his brain" (171). From these different descriptions of Enoch, a dichotomy implicitly emerges between essences and reality and between artists and citizens. Enoch, like the other residents of Winesburg, has a deep desire to express himself, and indeed the figures in his mind are first imagined as an audience who will understand the true significance of his paintings without the encumbrance of meaningless words (168-170). For Enoch, the problem is that his "real" friends only see and comment on the obvious meanings in his paintings while missing their hidden significance. Enoch's reaction prefigures the famous "iceberg principle" of a later friend of Anderson's, Ernest Hemingway: "'You don't get the point... the picture you see doesn't consists of the things you see and say words about. There is something else, something you don't see at all, something you aren't intended to see" (169).¹² For Enoch, the absent thing is precisely the point of his paintings, and the failure of his friends to see it leads to his increasing isolation.

Enoch, like the other married characters in Winesburg, finds that marriage makes him "feel choked and walled in" (172). When he leaves his family and returns to his room on Washington Square Park and his imaginary figures, it seems as though the productive citizen cannot fulfill the need for understanding that the artist craves. However, Enoch finds that his imaginary figures are no longer entirely satisfying, and he longs for someone

¹² Enoch's distrust of artists' talk is also similar to Hemingway's later comments about the artists of the Left Bank: "And so into the room in the evening came young Enoch's friends. There was nothing particularly striking about them except that they were artists of the kind that talk. Everyone knows of the talking artists. Throughout all of the known history of the world they have gathered in rooms and talked. They talk of art and are

who might understand the essence of his imagination. A neighbor woman appears offering Enoch just this possibility of understanding. As he tells George, one night when the woman entered his apartment, he "became mad to make her understand me" and locked her in the apartment with him. Oddly enough, the problem arises when she *does* seem to understand Enoch:

A look came into her eyes and I knew she did understand. Maybe she had understood all the time. I was furious. I couldn't stand it. I wanted her to understand but, you see, I couldn't let her understand. I felt that then she would know everything, that I would be submerged, drowned out you see. (176-177)

Enoch responds to this new threat by cursing at her so vilely that she never returns.

Though the earlier part of "Loneliness" is recounted through the narrator, George later appears directly in Enoch's story when they speak together after his return to Winesburg: Enoch "wanted to talk to someone, and he chose the young newspaper reporter because the two happened to be thrown together at a time when the younger man was in a mood to understand" (173). When they meet on a rainy night, Enoch invites George to his room and tells him: "I have looked at you when you went past me on the street and I think you can understand. It isn't hard. All you have to do is to believe what I say, just listen and believe, that's all there is to it" (175). George's attempt to "understand" Enoch while alone with room links him to the woman in New York. As George occupies her position as listener, she herself has become one of the grotesques figures of Enoch's imagination. From the perspective of Anderson's readers, there is another frame, and Enoch appears as a grotesque figure in the narrator's story. The

passionately, almost feverishly in earnest about it. They think it matters much more than

significant difference is that the absolute distinction between "essence" and reality becomes blurred and the possibility of understanding more fully realized. While readers know little about the woman in Enoch's apartment, for example, other than Enoch thinks she was a musician, Enoch himself is differentiated as an individual through George's sympathetic listening and the recounting of his story. While the narrator tells us that "we know about him" because he is back in Winesburg, George's knowledge as a reporter places Enoch's story in the context of the other stories that he has heard. This context includes George's own development, since Enoch provides a model for him to consider his own identity as a writer.

Enoch can be seen as a modernist artist who sees art as gaining its legitimacy through a rejection of the marketplace and a popular audience. While the grotesques of Enoch's fancy remain personal, do not form the outlines of a community, and leave him "a child," the procession of figures in George's imagination remain grounded in his work as a reporter and illustrate his attempts to understand the intertwined lives in Winesburg (167). While Enoch seeks only the approval of a small audience of fellow artists, the essence of George's work emerges from contact with reality and others' lives, and he pursues an audience that is more representative of his subjects and his experiences as a reporter.

Enoch's failed citizenship also suggests the national implications of George's story. Enoch has made what Benedict Anderson describes as a pilgrimage to the city, a trip from the periphery to an administrative or cultural capital to complete one's

it does" (168-169).

education (55-56). Such journeys form an important component in imagining the community as a nation, for they create communal bonds that go beyond the village or town. Enoch, despite his later disaffection, similarly finds in New York a group of artists who draw together a common way of viewing the world from disparate geographic origins. Though Enoch's pilgrimage does not offer any explicit suggestion of how to imagine a larger community, it does suggest how George, as the implied narrator, has made such a pilgrimage by leaving Winesburg and returning to it in his recollections. Through the narrator's comments, George's youthful observations and experiences are contrasted with an older, more experienced perspective; these comments show an older writer acting as an editor of his younger self, editorializing on the stories that he has reported as a young man. Yet these editorial comments rely on the accepted opinions and common knowledge of Winesburg as the basis for general observations about human nature. By relying on a local perspective in work with a much wider readership, the narrator forms a kind of bridge between the town and the nation. For example, in introducing Enoch, the narrator notes, "Old citizens remembered him as a quiet, smiling youth inclined to silence" (167). The "citizens" here differ from the kind of "citizen" that Enoch becomes in the city, for in this case small town residents make opinions rather than receive them. The Winesburg Eagle does not land on Enoch's door in Winesburg, making him a citizen; rather, a more personal representative of the newspaper, George, comes inside his home. These contrasts with specific individuals and general observations and experiences serve as a further link between the town and the nation.

Like Enoch, George dreams of moving to the city to pursue his art. By presenting such similarities, Anderson invites his readers to compare characters and create connections among their seemingly isolated lives. In developing George's central role in connecting characters, Anderson also repeats certain words and develops their significance in a collective context that shows how individual lives are joined through language as well as experience. Such repetition links George to the other residents and emphasizes how his work as a reporter and development as a writer are bound with the consideration of the town as an emerging community; this is particularly true if George is taken to be the implied narrator of the text. For example, one of the final descriptions of George brings together two of the key words that are repeated throughout Winesburg: "The young man, going out of his town to meet the adventure of life, began to think but he did not think of anything very big or dramatic" (246). George's experiences leading up to his departure illustrate the importance of his frequent characterization as a "young man" and his need to have an "adventure," and the repetition of these words in various contexts link George both to the readers of the Winesburg Eagle and Winesburg, Ohio.

In Winesburg, George mediates between the distinctive personality of the artist and the anonymity of the urban citizen, between the unique individual and the generalized type. This is evident from Anderson's eschewing pronouns and instead identifying George either by his proper name or as a "young man." Such descriptions emphasize George's similarities with other characters: "He was like Enoch Robinson on the evenings when the old man came down out of his room and wandered alone in the streets. He was like that only that George Willard had become a tall young man and did not think it manly

to weep and carry on" (174). The repeated description of George as a "young man" also carries national implications, as is evident from Benedict Anderson's reading of Mas Marco Kartodikromo's Semarang Hitam (1924), a novel which he argues contributed to Indonesian national identity after it gained independence from the Netherlands. Quoting a passage which refers repeatedly to "a young man," he notes that here "is also something new: a hero who is never named, but who is frequently referred to as 'our young man.'" This "*means* a young man who belongs to the collective body of readers of *Indonesian*, and thus, implicitly, an embryonic Indonesian 'imagined' community" (32). He goes on to add that "[i]t is fitting that in Semarang Hitam a newspaper appears embedded in fiction, for if we now turn to the newspaper as a cultural product, we will be struck by its profound fictiveness" (32-33). For Benedict Anderson, the creation of the representative character of the "young man" is tied to the fictiveness of the newspaper, a fictiveness that comes from the newspaper's creation of a shared time from the apparently arbitrary juxtaposition of events (33). The newspaper, as a commodity found in the market, creates the "vivid figure of the secular, historically clocked, imagined community," as readers are "continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life... and fiction seeps quietly and continuously into reality, creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations" (35-36). While this fictive "community in anonymity" is created through the "reality" of the newspaper, the fictive story offers a way of making this community more fully realized through its depiction of a character who embodies this shared sense of experience.

In Winesburg, the newspaper helps create such a fictive community while the dreams and fictions of Anderson's "young man" ground this community in specific, if representative, experiences. While George belongs to his collective readers in Winesburg, Ohio and to Anderson's readers of Winesburg, Ohio, he does not just represent the consumption of texts by anonymous readers, but shows how such texts are created from the interaction of specific individuals. Just as Anderson, at times, identifies the "young man" specifically as George Willard, so, too, does he ground the national implications of his work in the local and the concrete. Citizens are not made in isolation, after taking the newspaper from the doorstep, but when they go beyond their isolation, as George comes inside their lives, listens to their stories, and links them to others. Likewise, George sees each person he meets as unique, yet identifiable as a type, and so too do the townspeople recognize him as an individual even as they compare him to other young men. He is both a particular young man and the more general "young man" who represents a community trying to represent itself as such.

As Anderson has George develop in this role, he describes the newspaper across a wide spectrum of possibilities and kinds of "fictiveness." In the story of Joe Welling, it represents a local, organic community; in the story of Enoch Robinson, it represents a commodity that is anonymously received and consumed; and in the hands of George as he follows the policy of the Winesburg Eagle, it represents a space that is constructed through the linking of isolated individuals. Readers of Winesburg are at once reading a version of the Winesburg Eagle and recognizing each person in a local, specific context, like the other town members, and reading Winesburg as part of a large, abstract

community of readers as anonymous as the reading public and the nation. The young George described in the text offers the residents of Winesburg a way of articulating their thoughts and desires and imagining their connections to one another, while the George who leaves Winesburg and becomes the implied narrator of the text places their stories in a broader, national context. Together, George and the newspaper help to articulate a sense of community that mediates between the nostalgic desire for concrete presence and the modern necessity of embracing the abstract nation. Thus, in Winesburg, Anderson shows how national forces shapes the small town, but he also shows how the small town can provide the means by which the nation imagines itself into existence as a community.

The story of "the reporter as a young man" thus provides a way of imagining the nation at a time when national markets and the mass communication were redefining the relationship between the small town and the city. As a reporter and someone who aspires to be a writer on a larger stage, George's challenge is to find a language that incorporates his own development and the life of the town. As such, this language must reflect his aspirations and the issues of sexuality that define the residents' efforts to express themselves. The balance between George's individual identity and his representative status is evident not only in his characterization as a "young man" but also in the way that he redefines "adventure," the term that recurs throughout the text in reference to many different characters. In the concluding story, George, "the young man," goes "to meet the adventure of life," and his departure is prefigured in the earlier story "Adventure," in which the "young newspaperman" Ned Currie leaves Winesburg to pursue a career as a journalist in Cleveland and later Chicago. The "adventure" of the title,

however, does not refer to Ned but to Alice Hindman, the young woman he leaves behind. Her adventure occurs years later, when she finds herself frustrated, inarticulate, and lonely on a stormy night. When "a passionate restlessness took possession" of her, she undresses, runs naked in the rain, and approaches an old deaf man (119-120).

"Adventure" foregrounds the weight put on following conventional sexual relations, particularly for women, and the necessary failure of communication in individual attempts to break the bonds of these conventions. Sexual expression is denied any outlet that might reinforce the values of the community and instead leads to individual acts of transgression against rules that cannot even be fully articulated. As the various unwanted pregnancies in Winesburg testify, this repression does not regulate sex; it simply prevents communication. In "The Untold Lie," in "Adventure," in "Godliness," and in many other stories, the need for communication leads to sexual desires that only momentarily satisfy this need for understanding and eventually inhibit communication even further. In "Adventure," Ned and Alice run up against these limits of expression:

On the evening before he left Winesburg to take up his new life in the city, Ned Currie went to call on Alice. They walked about through the streets for an hour and then got a rig from Wesley Moyer's livery and went for a drive in the country. The moon came up and they found themselves unable to talk. In his sadness the young man forgot the resolutions he had made regarding his conduct with the girl. They got out of the buggy at a place where a long meadow ran down to the bank of Wine Creek and there they became lovers. (113)

Ned and Alice, generalized, like George, as a "young man" and "girl," are "unable to talk," and the sexual act manifests itself more as a sign of embarrassment at this lack than fulfillment of desire. Ned, unable to voice his own sadness, can only state what he takes to be society's expectations: "Now we will have to stick to each other, whatever happens

we will have to do that" (114-115). Here, as elsewhere, sex does not express the relationship between two individuals; it covers the lack of a relationship between them and the absence of cultural structures that might act as positive outlets for their desires.

The norms of society, as Ned expresses them, fail to provide either him or Alice with a means of communication and merely act as ineffectual prohibitions. Alice's association of sex and marriage is precisely what leads to her "adventure." She trusts that Ned will return to keep his promise years after she has heard a word from him; unable to conceive of another course of behavior or articulate her feelings, she erupts into the street. If presented as a single story, her response might merely suggest a lack of integrity on Ned's part. However, given the repetition of such "adventures," and given the later response of another "young man," George, on the eve of his own departure, "Adventure" points to the inevitability of such sexual adventures. In Winesburg, the prohibitive regulations placed on sexuality necessarily lead to their own undoing because they cover up a more profound failure of language and communication. The absolute association of sex and marriage, meant to bring the community together, only keeps individuals apart. This impasse is only resolved in the final two pieces of Winesburg in the way that George redefines the idea of "adventure" and combines elements of Ned's departure, Alice's restlessness, and the other earlier adventures throughout Winesburg. Significantly, it also reflects a new understanding of language on George's part.

"Sophistication," the penultimate portrait of Winesburg, begins with George in the same position as Ned before him: "He was about to leave Winesburg to go away to some city where he hoped to get work on a city newspaper and he felt grown up" (234).

However, while George's aspirations are seemingly self-centered, like Ned's, his work as a reporter has led him to a view of the self that recognizes the importance of others. The term "sophistication" as it is used in the title refers to George's subtle development in realizing that identity is contingent and socially bound. When George becomes "sophisticated," he acknowledges the limits of individual identity and achieves a new sense of community. Tellingly, Anderson renders this moment in George's development by describing it as something that might happen to any boy: "If he be an imaginative boy a door is torn open and for the first time he looks out upon the world, seeing, as though they marched in procession before him, the countless figures of men who before his time have come out of nothingness into the world, lived their lives and again disappeared into nothingness" (234). The test implied in this statement affirms the reflexive turn in Winesburg, for as George conclusively proves himself to be "an imaginative boy," he echoes the enigmatic "old writer" from the opening tableau, who "imagined the young indescribable thing within himself was driving a long procession of figures before his eyes" (24). This further equates George with the implied narrator and old writer and equates as well "The Book of the Grotesque" with Winesburg.¹³

More importantly, "Sophistication" shows that imagination is necessary for collective understanding, yet a sense of limits, a lack, must also be included in the act of imagination if it is to be effective in constituting rather than dissolving relationships. The young writer must have the sympathy to describe the individuals in the procession of

¹³ As Edwin Fussell describes it, as each character comes forward in Winesburg, "the book begins to take on some of the formal quality of a procession, imbued like a ritual

figures and the nothingness that brackets their lives; the young writer must also recognize the gaps among these stories and the limits of the language that makes the stories real. Indeed, just as "The Book of the Grotesque" goes unpublished, so throughout Winesburg the narrator notes stories, often of women, unable to be told just yet.¹⁴ While the Winesburg Eagle includes the names of the town's residents and connects them in its news reports, the stories in Winesburg connect individuals while acknowledging that the stories are necessarily incomplete. The closing three stories, "Death," "Sophistication," and "Departure," which were also written last, emphasize a turn towards language that incorporates this sense of lack and acknowledges the need for understanding that has been left unstated in the previous failed sexual adventures. At the moment of sophistication, the young man

hears death calling. With all his heart he wants to come close to some other human, touch someone with his hands, be touched by the hand of another. If he prefers that the other be a woman, that is because he believes that a woman will be gentle, that she will understand. He wants, most of all, understanding. (235)

As the "if" here shows, understanding is taken in whatever form it comes and not strictly associated with heterosexual relationships.¹⁵ While the sexual act can merely cover this

pageant with silent and stately dignity" (108).

¹⁴ For example, Anderson writes, "The story of Louise Bentley, who became Mrs. John Hardy and lived with her husband in a brick house on Elm Street in Winesburg is a story of misunderstanding. Before such women as Louise can be understood and their lives made livable, much will have to be done. Thoughtful books will have to be written and thoughtful lives lived by people about them" (87).

¹⁵ Hart Crane's poem "Episode of Hands" shows this understanding and human touch is not confined to heterosexual relationships. Crane, a correspondent and acquaintance of

lack of communication, an act of understanding must inscribe this lack into its structure if it is to be effective in suggesting a social order. George's realization shows that if the community is truly to come into being, individuals must shake off the illusion of perfect communication and accept the necessary slippages and silences of language.

The banker's daughter, Helen White, contributes greatly to George's development and this transformed understanding of language. Though she exists largely in relation to George, her sympathetic presence helps to mitigate some of the gender implications of having a young man serve as the central figuring in imagining the community. At the beginning of "Sophistication," Helen is home from college, and she, like George, "also had come to a period of change. What George felt, she in her young woman's way felt also." As "the moment of sophistication" comes to George, he thinks of her and remembers a time when "he had walked with her on a country road and in her presence had given way to an impulse to boast, to make himself big in her eyes. Now he wanted to see her for another purpose" (235). At that moment, Helen is also thinking of that night, and they seem to be sharing the same thoughts. As George turns away from "the boasting of Moyer, the horseman," he acknowledges that this talking would once have interested him, but now Moyer is nothing more than an "old windbag" to him (238). Meanwhile Helen, sitting on the veranda with her mother and the college instructor who has come home courting her, has the same reaction to his talking. She flees the house, thinking, "the world was full of meaningless people saying words" (239). While the horseman and the college

Anderson, transposed similar images into his poem and emphasized this aspect of understanding in a homoerotic encounter.

instructor continue talking, George and Helen move towards a humbler yet ultimately more effective form of communication. This possibility is indicated when their parallel thoughts converge in reality, as George appears just as Helen calls for him.

This coincidence and their subsequent states of mind suggest an understanding beyond conventional language and relationships. Unlike Ned and Alice earlier in Winesburg, George and Helen do not turn to sex to cover the expressive limits of their language, but rather face the lack present in their community and its construction of gender relations. It is precisely this acknowledgment that allows them to begin to imagine lives joined in a community. Walking to the now empty fair ground, they find it full of "ghosts, not of the dead, but of living people" (240). While Winesburg is a kind of portrait of the reporter and artist as a young man, here Anderson recalls the concluding story of Joyce's Dubliners, "The Dead," and the way that Gabriel realizes the limits of his relationship with his wife, Gretta, reflect the limits of his smug, false language of throughout the previous evening. This realization leads to the expansive, lyrical passage which concludes the story with a sense of communion among "the living and the dead" and offers up an awareness of a national community: "the newspapers were right: the snow was general over Ireland" (223). In this way, Joyce connects an intensely private vision with the facts of the newspaper and links the fictiveness of particular social relationships with the nationally imagined community presented through the newspaper.

George's epiphany in "Sophistication" follows a similar pattern: The procession of figures from nothingness to nothingness leads him to realize the communion of the living and the dead, and the inadequacy of his previous words and self-centered notion of

identity come to signify in a national context through his association with the newspaper. George is like Gabriel in that he recognizes the inevitable lack in intimate relationships even as he becomes aware of more expansive connections of individuals. George similarly accepts his earlier inadequacies with language and finds a sense of connection that comes not from the prescribed rules of sexual relations but from an act of tenderness and empathy. However, George's involvement as a reporter in the previous stories means that his realization, unlike Gabriel's, is connected more directly with others' lives; his sense of a "general" feeling is grounded in experience as well as in imagination. In the loneliness and sadness that George and Helen share, her touch allows him to readjust his attitude towards the people of Winesburg: "It was as though her woman's hand was assisting him to make some minute readjustment of the machinery of his life. He began to think of the people in the town where he had always lived with something like reverence," for the first time he consciously thinks of the people of his town as his people (240-241). The understanding he and Helen share transcends the self and leads to a reevaluation of the community that marks the achievement of adulthood: "For some reason they could not have explained they had both got from their silent evening together the thing needed. Man or boy, woman or girl, they had for a moment taken hold of the thing that makes the mature life of men and women in the world possible" (243).

Beneath the surface fantasy of sex lies the underlying fantasy of an understanding tied to language and the need to connect the self to the community. George's final "adventures" reflect this new language and transform the terms of the earlier adventures, including his first sexual experience in "Nobody Knows." In that story, George receives a

provocative note from Louise Trunnion. Though he is uncertain and afraid about going "through with the adventure," his received ideas of sexual behavior lead him to see Louise's invitation as a test of his manhood and prevent him from understanding his feelings or considering hers (59). When he and Louise meet and are alone in a barn: "A flood of words burst from George Willard... Doubts left him. The whispered tales concerning her that had gone about town gave him confidence. He became wholly male, bold and aggressive. In his heart there was no sympathy for her" (60-61). Given Louise's lower class status, there are some status issues involved in the different way that George treats Louise and Helen, the issues of language most clearly distinguish these two adventures. After he parts from Louise, George walks until he meets Shorty Randall, the clerk at the drug store: "For five minutes the two stood in the shelter of the store awning and talked. George Willard felt satisfied. He had wanted more than anything else to talk to some man" (61). Yet as the story ends, George thinks, "'She hasn't got anything on me. Nobody knows'" (62). In this story, as in the other earlier ones, language is virtually meaningless as a means of expression and functions merely to replicate the apparent rules of the community; efforts to transgress these rules only confirm the lack of social cohesion and the isolation of individuals. Though this adventure is realized in floods of words, it does not affect George's understanding of language. George's words, while momentarily satisfying, do not express emotional connections but instead alienate him from others and himself. Through such failures and through his work as a reporter, George eventually comes to recognize importance of listening as well as speaking. While his difficulty in coming of age emphasizes the difficulty of his age, his reporting for the

Winesburg Eagle and his ability to learn to listen help him to develop a sense of language and a reverence for the residents of his town that make his maturation more meaningful for himself, the other residents of the town, and readers of Winesburg.

In the final portrait, "Departure," George is the unique artist who imagines a community through his creativity and the typical young man, the reporter, who allows others to imagine themselves and their community through him and his work. In this story, he enacts the new definition of adventure he discovered with Helen. His seemingly romantic belief that he can simply leave Winesburg and fashion it to his own liking is called into question during his departure, as the town's response to this moment shows how Winesburg has shaped him even as he will come to shape Winesburg in his writing. Around the train station "more than a dozen people waited about" for him, some of them mere acquaintances (245). Gertrude Wilmot, who "had never before paid any attention to George," "voiced what everyone felt. 'Good luck'" (246). This small crowd that sends him off represents the most positive collective act in the book and stands in sharp contrast to the opening crowd, the lynch mob that runs Adolph Myers out of town. Like the newspaper, the railroad platform is a space that represents the incursion of the outside world into the small town and the flow of people into and out of its borders, but it also becomes a space where people are brought together and imagine themselves as part of a common community with common goals. In this case, the common project is the "good luck" that they wish George and the shared act of imagining his future.

This collective send off adds an important context to George's final statement of individuality, as does the fact that George is presented in part through the eyes of another

character, the conductor Tom Little. Tom's work as a conductor, like George's as a reporter, makes him part of the process of economic change that is affecting Winesburg, but he, like George, uses his work to adapt this process and shape a sense of community. Just as George knows the people of Winesburg from his reporting, Tom "knows the people in the towns along his railroad better than a city man knows the people who live in his apartment building" (245). As the train starts, "Tom Little punched his ticket, grinned, and although he knew George well and knew on what he was just setting out, made no comment. Tom had seen a thousand George Willards go out of their towns to the city" (246). Tom is in agreement with the narrator's description of George as a "young man" who does not think of "anything very big or dramatic," such as his mother's recent death or his own impending future (246). Instead George thinks of the people of Winesburg, not all of whom are described in the text: Turk Smollett, a tall woman, Butch Wheeler, Helen White (247). Thus, the final view of George shows how much he has been made by the town, while his own thoughts point to how he will make the town in his writing by touching on the figures of the procession through his news reports and imagination.

In his encounter with Helen White in "Sophistication," George surpasses the reporter Ned Currie in his realization of a deeper understanding of language and community; in "Departure" he surpasses the artist Enoch Robinson in his understanding of the artist's potential audience. The figures he will write about are not, like Enoch's figures, mere figments of the imagination. George's sympathy towards others, awareness of the limits of language, and, most importantly, his work as a reporter, give him the

opportunity to meet the people who are brought together in the pages of the Winesburg Eagle and transformed in his imagination into his "Book of the Grotesques," Winesburg, Ohio. The figures that George takes from Winesburg exist in a dialogic relationship with him, and it is through their language and a new definition of "adventure" that he incorporates their lives into a whole while transforming their stories into a work of art.

By merging the roles of the storyteller and the reporter in George's character, Anderson has George's coming of age reflect the town's own developing self-awareness of itself as a community. In Winesburg, the newspaper marks the disruptiveness of its historical moment and provides a means of establishing continuity and a sense of community. By printing syndicated stories and newswires from around the world alongside the names of the townspeople, the Winesburg Eagle, like other local newspapers of the time, offers a way for townspeople to recognize their connections to each other and to the changing world in which they are increasingly involved. The form of Winesburg mimics the Winesburg Eagle in its loose, disjointed structure, and it also allows for similar connections between local and national communities through its depiction of George's character. George is the general "young man" and the specific reporter recording the specific lives of his subjects, his work as a reporter and writer allows the town to imagine itself as a community just as Anderson's work as affords the same opportunity to a nation of readers.

Many writers begin their careers as journalists. Sherwood Anderson is one of the few writers to have become a journalist only after achieving success and notoriety for

writing fiction. Though Anderson had worked as a newsboy when quite young, he had never been a reporter when he wrote Winesburg, Ohio and created his most famous character, George Willard, cub reporter for the Winesburg Eagle. However, in 1927 Anderson bought two newspapers in Marion, Virginia, the small town where he was to spend much of the latter part of his life. In taking over the Republican Smyth County News and the Marion Democrat, he "came full circle, having been what George had set out to become" and becoming what George had been, a small town reporter (Townsend 244). Anderson did not entirely give up his fiction, and he created a fictional character, Buck Fever, for the newspapers while writing columns under this name as well as his own.¹⁶ Eventually, he collected much of his varied writing from his first year with the newspapers in Hello Towns! (1929).

Anderson's foray into small town news allowed him to put into practice his ideas about the power of the small town newspaper "to strengthen a community's sense of itself and to protect its inhabitants against the leveling influences of other media, coming from other sources." He responded to and wrote about "a way of living that was not yet wholly mechanized, about the possible existence of a community" (Townsend 247). The idea of a "possible community" links Anderson's late work as a journalist with his early fiction; eventually these ideas would culminate in Anderson's final completed work, Home Town (1940). Throughout his writing career, Anderson considers the newspaper as an agent of both alienation and connection and shows how these two apparently

¹⁶ For the history of Buck Fever and a collection of Anderson's writing under this name, see The Buck Fever Papers.

contradictory qualities give the newspaper a unique role in how communities are imagined during a period of modernization and change.

During his later career, Anderson did not think of the weekly newspapers he owned as a space only for news but as a place to bring together people around the storyteller: "The country newspaper is the drug store: it is the space back of the stove in the hardware store: it is the farmhouse kitchen" (Hello 34). As in the fictional world of Winesburg, the small town newspaper mediates the dichotomy that Benjamin describes between the storyteller and the mechanized press, between narratives embodied in the immediacy of speakers and auditors and information outside of personal experience. Anderson's engagement with the small town newspaper both in his life and in his work shows that if the newspaper can represent industrialism, it can also represent the means to resist its cultural effects. After Winesburg, he increasingly differentiates the city newspaper representing mass production and consumption from the small town newspaper imitating and promoting shared experience and conversation. At the same time, Anderson shows how these small town newspapers allow for a personal response to the larger forces shaping society. Thus, he retains an anti-modern nostalgia for the presence of the storyteller while continuing to explore the modern use of the newspaper as a means of imagining larger, more abstract communities.

While in Winesburg Anderson suggests the optimism about the newspaper and the small town that would emerge more clearly in his later work, he also comes to see the focus on the individual reporter in Winesburg as limiting the power of the newspaper: One person can only do so much to report on and connect the other residents of the

town. While the focus on a single individual keeps an embodied sense of presence, it also limits the bounds of how larger communities can be imagined. In his later works, Anderson examines the social structure of the small town in more complex ways by describing the small town newspaper terms beyond those of the individual reporter.

Even as Anderson turned away from fiction, his nonfiction works imply communal acts of imagination like those suggested by Benedict Anderson. The dual role of the newspaper as an emblem of known, local community and a national, imagined community in Anderson's later works can thus be seen in its incipient stages in Winesburg, as George is not only a symbol of small town life and the small town newspaper but the embodiment of a historical process that was allowing larger communities like the nation to be imagined through the newspaper and print culture. In Anderson's works of the Great Depression, the newspaper more clearly represents both embodied human interaction and a manifestation of the abstract mass market. This seeming contradiction depends on whether the newspaper is seen as a mass market good, an element at the heart of the small town experience, or a combination of both.

After creating one of the first cross country travelogues in Puzzled America (1935), a collection of his letters to Today magazine, Anderson's last book, Home Town, returns to the small town and its newspaper to explore the relationship between how local communities are experienced and large communities are imagined. Part of "The Face of America" series, which also includes Richard Wright's 12 Million Black Voices (1941), Home Town uses the typical Depression-era combination of text and photographs, taken in this case from the Farm Security Administration collection. In Home Town, Anderson

modifies his earlier ideas about the newspaper and fictive communities in light of the economic hardship of the 1930s, fascism in Europe, and the increasingly alienating effects of technology, industrial production, and mass media.

Home Town begins as a response to Winesburg. While Winesburg ends with George leaving for the big city, Hometown begins with Anderson reconsidering the need for the young to leave the small towns at all: "Lincoln would still have been Lincoln had he never left Springfield, Illinois... he grew naturally, as a tree grows, out of the soil... out of the people about whom he knew so intimately" (4). Anderson's faith in the land and use of the seasons to structure Home Town seem at first to make it a simplistic return to the idea of an "organic" community that he had critiqued in Winesburg rather than a complex consideration of imagined communities.¹⁷ However, in Home Town Anderson considers the small town, its newspaper, and the market in more complex ways. Indeed, Anderson was among the first to recognize the relationship between the mass media and the way the nation understood itself: Early in Roosevelt's presidency, before the "fireside chats" had begun, Anderson had written to the editor of Today, Raymond Moley, to suggest that Roosevelt speak to the people on the radio each week (Stott 244). In Home Town he also addresses the power of the radio:

¹⁷ David D. Anderson rightly characterizes Hometown as Anderson's "final definition of the values which America might use as the foundation for a new, humanized, post-Depression society. Not only a tribute to America's past, it is at the same time a testimony to his hope for the future" (90). Considering how Anderson uses nature and the seasons to organize Hometown, he sees it depicting townspeople as living "in harmony with both nature and the nation" (91). While correct, his reading ignores the important role of the newspaper in defining this sense of harmony in Hometown.

There is a checking up, a grouping in new worlds of thoughts and feeling, government no longer a thing far off, touching but lightly small town life, radio in almost every man's house now, the President speaking, Walter Winchell, a Hillbilly band, a famous singer. The market place come into the sitting rooms of small frame houses in the towns, tooth paste, hair restorers, trade with South America, fascism, communism, the Yanks have beaten the White Sox, the old quiet sleepiness at evenings in the towns quite gone. (9)

In contrast to the small town newspaper that lets the town look within itself, the radio brings the outside world and the national market place into the small town. Yet the town remains a place where the ideals of the outside world are tested and realized. While the radio offers disembodied voices and information, the small town allows individuals to sort out information and get to know each other, so that "[t]he real test of democracy may come in the towns" (9).

In Winesburg, George has to leave the town for the city before it can be recognized as a community, while in Home Town Anderson suggests that the small town can develop its own place for public discourse: "It is the old problem of living with men, finding a common ground on which you can stand with your fellows, this intensified in the towns" (65). Unlike Winesburg, Home Town depicts greater diversity in the town and this search for a common ground. In considering both the status of immigrants and issues of race, Anderson again extols the virtues of proximity in the small town since it necessitates interaction and precludes the ethnic and racial divisions of the city.

Describing a Whitmanesque race of Americans being born, Anderson writes, "The American, mixture of many bloods, grows constantly into a definite new race. It is a race that can be studied, understood best in the towns" (8). From this perspective, his impressionistic style and use of photographs work well. By juxtaposing his descriptive

text with photographs of blacks and whites, men and women, Anderson suggests a strong sense of equality and makes a statement about the contributions of African-Americans and women to small town life and the American experience. Echoing his earlier hope in Perhaps Women (1931), Anderson addresses the role of women in small town life and express hope that they will change culture in the face of mechanization. The women organize the lecture series, the glee club, the book clubs, and "keep up the cultural tone" through their work with church and other activities (71-73).

By making George the only reporter and main representative of the community in Winesburg, Anderson limits the text through George's desires and self-reflection. In Home Town, Anderson's consideration of cultural institutions and diverse experiences creates a more complex social and cultural world, though the newspaper is still at the center of defining community. Instead of the reporter, Anderson focuses on the editor as someone who builds a local sense of community by arranging others' stories in relation to each other. However, this role is further complicated by the fact that the editor's local newspaper must be separated from a dependence on the city and the market place. In describing recent changes in journalism, Anderson notes:

More and more country weeklies were owned in chains like the grocery stores, the drug stores, and the Five and Tens. Often two-thirds of the space in the town weekly was taken up by material manufactured in Chicago or New York.

The old-fashioned, individualistic daily newspapers had disappeared. The dailies coming to the towns became more and more alike, all served by the same news services. The same newspaper columnists wrote for many newspapers that circulated through the towns, in many towns the same chain store systems,

hundreds of thousands, even millions of small town men driving the same make of automobiles. (108, 129)¹⁸

In response to this standardization, Anderson sees opportunities for small town editors to revitalize local papers by emphasizing local stories and concerns. Since everyone hears the news on the radio and since preprinted materials "having little to do with the town life" often comprise the bulk of the city newspapers, the small town newspaper can become more concerned with local communities in the way that Anderson explores in his own small town journalism (108):

Most of the news in the best of the small town weeklies isn't, in the big city newspaper sense, news at all. If there is a revolution in Spain give it a paragraph. If Mr. Morley's little girl gets bitten by a dog and there is a danger of rabies, it's worth a column or two. Why not? The whole town is anxious. Nowadays almost every small town has a radio. He gets the world news and the national news in the same split second as the city man, hears the same wise-cracks, his woman wears the same kind of clothes, hears the same canned music.

The small town newspaper, a weekly, is intensely local. There is column after column of 'personals.' The idea is to try to catch the color, the smell, the feel of the everyday life of everyday people... A good editor is a man who runs the little weekly on the theory that his town is the very center of the universe. He knows he can't compete with the big dailies and with the daily radio digests of news. The best of the small town editors are always on the alert for the town news, the little everyday happenings in the lives of everyday people. (104-106)

Thus, the influence of the local newspaper grows out of necessity as well as opportunity. Anderson's own return to the small town as a newspaper editor helped him conceive of the good that can be done in such a position and the advantages to be found even in the Depression. In Home Town, he argues that the talent level on the staffs of small town papers has increased as schools of journalism continue to turn out well-trained

¹⁸ In Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers, Schudson confirms these developments and describes what brought them about (133-144).

journalists who cannot find adequate work in the cities: "The small town weekly is becoming alive again. There are more and more keen young men coming in every year into the field." They find that the job as editor of a small weekly "could mean, after all, a pretty good living" and that the editor "occupies a position of respect and responsibility in the community. He can stay pretty close to American life as it is lived by the commonality of Americans, down near the grass roots" (108-109). While before a small town editor was "a politician" representing "the voice of the big outside world coming in," Anderson argues that the editor can now derive power and influence from participating in small town life and giving a voice to this life from the inside (108).

While knowing what to keep out of print, these editors must, at the same time, follow the same policy as the Winesburg Eagle and know how to create interest and increase sales: "Get their names in the papers is the way to do it, tell as many as possible of the daily happenings in many people's lives," even if in some cases that simply means including a lot of obituaries (107). Though avoiding scandal may create a limited view of an idealized small town community, the small town paper presents an idealized community in a more constructive way. While the large newspaper presents a fragmented world by juxtaposing isolated stories from around the world, the small town newspaper places the names of town's inhabitants in a single space and thus acts as a model for imagining how individuals are connected in a unified community.

Home Town obviously grows from Anderson's own experiences with owning and publishing two small town papers and expresses the hopes and fears felt in these towns near the end of the Depression. It affirms the power of the local, weekly paper that

Anderson first considered in Winesburg as a place where the possibilities of community can be articulated and imagined. In this context, the local newspaper confirms Anderson's earlier descriptions of the newspaper's unique role in American culture: It represents modernizing forces and the means to resist and transform these forces. It uses many of the same technological innovations as the city papers and participates in the increased flow of information, yet it also offers a means of grounding this information in a local, comprehensible context. The newspaper overcomes the binary described by Benjamin; it can be seen as the bearer of disembodied information and part of the abstract, national marketplace, and it can be seen as one of the last means of promoting the specific context and connections of the storyteller.

In Winesburg, the newspaper grounds George's romantic quest for expression in the reality of others' lives and helps make his story, the story of "a young man," a representative of both small town life and the means of imagining the abstract community of the nation. In the intervening years between Winesburg and Hometown, the forces of modernization had increased and so too had the potential importance of the small town community and its newspaper. In light of these changes, Anderson shows the newspaper continuing to offer the small town a way of establishing its own identity by connecting its members, just as the small town itself assumed a greater symbolic significance as a model for the nation as a whole. In this context, Anderson emphasizes the editor as the arbiter and protector of democratic values and in Home Town replaces the reporter as artist with the editor as leader. The small town editor becomes in effect a New Deal administrator, and the small town newspaper offers the means of forging a local sense of community and

individual expression in the face of a national community that has become more and more synonymous with the marketplace of standardized commodities and ideas. In this way, Home Town is no more an elegy for the small town destroyed by industrialization than Winesburg is. Robert Dunne notes "that in Home Town Sherwood Anderson does not lament the loss of a way of life but instead argues that the best *elements* from that way of life can endure even in a modern, urbanized environment" (93). As I am arguing, Anderson shows these elements not only enduring but transforming how this modern, urban environment is itself understood and shaped as a community.

Just as Anderson suggested that Roosevelt might use weekly radio addresses to give a unified voice to the people, he suggests that the newspaper editor can do something similar, perhaps even better, by arranging the many voices of the people into a unified chorus in the intimate space of the small town paper. Having experienced these possibilities through his own belated entry into journalism, before his death Anderson considered writing a book that would examine the increasing alienation of modernization and how the newspaper editor might overcome it: "After Home Town came out, he wrote Stryker [head of the FSA photography project] saying that children no longer knew where their food or clothes came from, and that he wanted to write a book 'in simple direct prose, and in pictures' about 'the drama back of the production of almost everything that makes the child's life comfortable.'" Significantly, he thought of this exploration as a kind of "broadcast from an editor of an imaginary small town newspaper" (Townsend 315). While Anderson came full circle, then, in buying two such newspapers and becoming a reporter, in Home Town and in his thinking near the end of his life he takes

this process further by using the editor to examine and reevaluate his earlier ideas about community in modern America. In the face of an abstract marketplace of commodities and ideas, Anderson imagines the newspaper continuing to offer the means for understanding how individual identities are connected in a larger whole, a national community that is something more meaningful and real than an abstraction.

Chapter Two: The Camera Eye and Reporter's Conscience in Ernest Hemingway's In Our Time

and The Sun Also Rises

Ernest Hemingway's experience as a journalist accounts in large part for the distinctly modern and innovative qualities of his early fiction, In Our Time (1925) and The Sun Also Rises (1926). While In Our Time seems connected to the newspaper form in its subjects and style, Hemingway actually moves beyond the newspaper to deploy the newsreel as a model and as a means of exploring modern views of perception, language, and identity. Similarly, in The Sun Also Rises it is more than just a biographical coincidence that Hemingway chose a journalist aspiring to be a novelist as his narrator. Rather, his narrator's occupation allows Hemingway to examine complex social worlds and consider how identity, like language, is enhanced through the complementary relationship of fact and fiction. Issues of participatory reporting also provide Hemingway with an ethical structure as his narrator participates in different ways in the stories he tells and comes to reflect on this involvement. In both works, Hemingway engages the forms and conventions of journalism to combine modernist, literary experiments with the reporter's eye for realistic detail, and it is this combination that makes these two works arguably Hemingway's best.

Though the influence of Hemingway's journalism on his fiction has long been noted, most of the criticism has focused on the way journalism provided Hemingway with a kind of education and training. Describing Hemingway's work as a reporter for his high school paper, as a beat reporter for The Kansas City Star from October 1917 to

April 1918, and as a freelance writer, foreign correspondent, and feature writer for the Toronto Star from 1919 to 1924, Charles A. Fenton, in his influential The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway: The Early Years (1954), claims that "[t]he principal instrument of his literary apprenticeship was journalism" (ix). Though Hemingway often dismissed the lasting value of his journalism, Fenton claims that Hemingway's fiction brings together the best aspects of his work as a reporter (143). Many other critics have suggested that his distinctive prose style began with the 110 reporter's rules for The Kansas City Star and the "cablese" of the writer on location cabling in reports.¹ Though typical accounts of Hemingway's development see his newspaper work as something he left behind, his return to various kinds of journalism throughout his career belies such a simple process, as does his complex engagement with journalistic forms in his early fictional work.

In reality, Hemingway's reading of fiction influenced his early understanding of reporting the facts just as much as his reporting of facts influenced the writing of his early fiction. Judging from his first attempts at fiction, Hemingway's attraction to journalism was derived largely from fictional sources and such popular figures as Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain, Jack London, Stephen Crane, and others. His first, unpublished stories

¹ In Paris Years, Michael Reynolds quotes some of Hemingway's comments about the destructive effects of journalism but also suggests Hemingway's comments were misguided: "His journalism, he later insisted, should not be considered as part of his collected works, for he did not write it to last. Had he realized that his fiction and non-fiction flowed from the same well, he might have worried less" (300-302; 118). Shelly Fisher Fishkin notes, "The style with which Hemingway would transform American fiction reflected in diction, syntax, and subject the lessons that he first learned in Kansas City" [working for the Star] (137-138). She also describes Hemingway's love for "cablese": "It was precisely the vivid, economical compression of the transatlantic cable that captured Hemingway's imagination most fully during the early years in Paris" (144).

often featured journalists, such as Punk Alford, "a crime solving newspaper reporter" ("Introduction: Looking Backward" 2). The results were invariably derivative and hackneyed, as Hemingway drew on writers like Gabriele d'Annunzio and Ring Lardner, plots lifted from sentimental melodrama and popular magazine fiction, and clichéd depictions of hard-boiled reporters (Young Hemingway 58, 90). As Kenneth S. Lynn shows, just as Hemingway's experiences as a soldier were influenced by and even came to closely replicate his reading, popular images of the journalist seem to have shaped his experiences of what it meant to be a reporter immersed in the action (66, 68). According to Howard Good, this was a typical reaction of many young men of Hemingway's generation, as the popular fictional images of journalists attracted a new generation to the profession and strongly shaped their experience (87, 92).

While Hemingway would continue to explore the relationship between fact and fiction throughout his later career as a writer, a close examination of some of his earliest published fiction, the short vignettes that eventually became the interchapters of In Our Time, reveals an already complex relationship between fact and fiction at this early stage. The vignettes have their earliest origins in the sketches that Hemingway wrote with his friend, Bill Smith, about people they knew from upper Michigan, though the published versions of the first six vignettes reflect Hemingway's experiences during the war, his work as a reporter, and his increased attention to crafting language (Young Hemingway 93; Hagemann 38).² Of these six, two were derived from his reporting for the Toronto

² These six appeared under the title "In Our Time" in the Little Review in 1923. Hemingway used the same title as he continued to arrange and expand these vignettes: "In

Star, and one came from his reading of a newspaper report (Fenton 237-238).

Hemingway added an additional twelve vignettes for the book version, in our time, which his friend Bill Bird, owner of Three Mountain Press, published in March, 1924; as an installment of "The Inquest into the State of Contemporary English Prose" series edited by Ezra Pound (Stewart 24; Hagemann 38).³ Though the majority of these eighteen vignettes did not originate in Hemingway's work as a journalist or in newspaper reports, Bird, who did the typesetting and design for his books himself, decided that "[g]iven the title and the subject matter, he wanted to frame each page 'in a border of newspaper print,' using bullfight journals for the matador vignettes and something from Athens for the Greek king in his garden" (letter from Bird to Pound, qtd. in *Paris Years* 151). In fact, when in our time appeared, the cover design consisted of the title, author's name, and publication information superimposed over a collage of newsprint in several different languages (*Paris Years* 182).

While the title and subject matter suggested certain journalistic features to Bird, the vignettes themselves, even those that originated in Hemingway's own reporting, reflect the influence of both Pound and Gertrude Stein and were repeatedly and

Our Time" (1923), in our time (1924), and In Our Time (1925, 1930, 1938). For a thorough history of this complex publication history, see Michael Reynolds's "Hemingway's *In Our Time*: The Biography of a Book."

³ Hemingway clearly benefited from his early literary advice and support (*Paris Years* 37). His initial good fortune was meeting Sherwood Anderson while he was living in Chicago, for Anderson advised Hemingway to go to Paris and gave him letters of introductions to Pound and Stein (*Young Hemingway* 181-182, 252; *Paris Years* 14). Pound and Anderson were instrumental in helping Hemingway think of himself as a writer and find publishers for his early work.

meticulously revised. Hemingway actually developed his "newspaper style" while fiction, not fact. The vignettes were carefully crafted, and his fictional renditions were often more detached, spare, and "realistic" than his newspaper reports; from the beginning, Hemingway's art was in hiding the art ("Two Sources" 36).⁴ As a regular acquaintance of Hemingway's during the composition of In Our Time, Pound lectured Hemingway on his general theories of literature and provided specific comments on the vignettes:

Pound's emphasis on accuracy and simplicity impressed Hemingway, who had been taught to value those qualities as a journalist. While Pete Wellington [his editor at The Kansas City Star] taught him that they were at the core of good reporting, Pound asserted they were central to the production of good art. (Fishkin 147)

While there is some continuity between what Hemingway learned from Wellington and Pound, Hemingway shaped the vignettes to achieve a sense of authenticity in his fiction not to recount the facts accurately. In examining the vignettes, Pound advised Hemingway "that there needed to be more frozen moments for the book to feel right," and he suggested taking out the ironic titles for the chapters. Pound helped Hemingway move from the sensationalism of the news to a more detached yet vivid style (Paris Years 140-141).

He also pointed Hemingway in the direction he would ultimately take in In Our Time, arranging frozen moments and discrete images in a sequence very much like a

⁴ For more on this subject and for a thorough analysis of the how earlier criticism has misread journalistic objectivity and the influence of Hemingway's journalism on his later fiction, see Phyllis Frus's "'News That Stays': Hemingway, Journalism, and Objectivity

newsreel. In the vignette describing the death of the bullfighter, Maera (which would become Chapter XIV of In Our Time), Pound advised Hemingway to revise the last, somewhat melodramatic speech Maera made in his hospital room (Paris Years 139-140). The result was the published version, a detached, untitled description of Maera dying in the arena's infirmary, unable to speak while everything in his mind "commenced to run faster and faster as when they speed up a cinematograph film" (131). Since in reality Maera had died from tuberculosis, Hemingway had already shaped the facts to suit his fiction, but the key point is not how Hemingway rewrote the fact but how his "journalistic" style reached its fruition in his fiction (Death 82; Fenton 143). Yet Hemingway does more than revise his earlier reporting work. As he shaped In Our Time, he incorporated effects from the "cinematograph film" and a new form of journalism, the newsreel, to make different demands on his audience.

The vignettes are more realistic than the image of the journalist Hemingway derived from reading fiction and presented in his early fictional reporters. When Hemingway removed this romantic figure of the journalist, he attempted to render experience more directly; in effect, he changed his perspective from what he thought a journalist should be to a new perspective that emphasized the visual immediacy of a photograph or still from a film. He found a sense of action not in the exploits of a journalist as a hero but in the process of observing itself. The vignettes, then, are not so much a bridge between Hemingway's fact and fiction as a synthesis of elements from

in Fiction," a chapter in her book The Politics and Poetics of Journalistic Narrative: The Timely and the Timeless.

both, and they point ahead to his success in accomplishing similar combinations of style in his first two major works.

The vignettes remained important to Hemingway as he continued to work on more conventionally structured short stories, and he used them again as he turned in our time into In Our Time (1925), numbering the vignettes and placing them as interchapters between the titled stories.⁵ As Shelly Fisher Fishkin notes, the interaction between these two modes is what makes In Our Time unique: "The 1925 volume which brought Hemingway international attention was a montage of two modes: short story and apparently documentary vignette. Hemingway's fascination with the possibilities for mixing fact with fiction blossomed for the first time in this volume" (148). Fishkin goes on to consider how Hemingway considered questions of fact and fiction at the level of language itself, so that "from the start of his career to its end, Hemingway would show concern about the potential of verbal structures and of words themselves to 'lie,' to move one away from the realities he thought it so crucial to confront" (147). Fishkin is right to note that In Our Time produces intensely visual effects like those of a "montage" and that the structure of the work allows Hemingway to explore the tendency of language to "lie." However, the fact that the two modes that make up this montage, though stylistically different, are *both* fictional suggests that the mixing of fact and fiction is more complex

⁵ The distinction between the numbered interchapters and the titled stories in In Our Time is not absolute, since two vignettes from in our time did not become numbered interchapters but instead became the titled stories, "A Very Short Story" and "The Revolutionist." Though the status and order of the stories and interchapters have figured in many debates about Hemingway's intentions in shaping In Our Time, my argument is more generally concerned with the work as a whole achieves.

than the individual interplay of stories and interchapters. As I am arguing, this interaction is best understood in the way that Hemingway transforms the journalistic form of the newsreel into a new form of fiction.

Appearing at the moment when the newsreel reached its peak in popularity and innovation, In Our Time produces a form like the visual montage of the newsreel through the interaction of short stories and vignettes and through its depiction of many of the subjects that were portrayed in the first silent newsreels.⁶ Like the newsreel, In Our Time arranges images in a way that demands a new way of seeing if readers are to find order in its disjointed structure. At the same time, the relationship among language, imagery, and characters in the various components creates a sense of a unified if detached voice very much like that of the voiceover in the sound newsreels that would soon be developed. Furthermore, Hemingway's attempts to make a "true" language also points to the way that In Our Time not only fulfills Hemingway's goals for his own work but the potential of the newsreel. Coming at a key juncture between the initial trust put in the newsreel and growing skepticism about its ability to manipulate, In Our Time engages the form and subjects of the newsreel while creating a sense of authenticity and intimacy either abandoned by the medium or unavailable to it.

Initial reviewers of In Our Time noted the intensely visual effects of the work and the demands that it put on the sense of sight, but they fell short in noting just how

⁶ Fielding notes that the silent newsreel reached its high point in from 1920-1927, while the sound newsreel was most experimental and influential from 1927-1932 (314-315).

dynamic these effects were.⁷ As two often-quoted letters indicate, Hemingway was well aware of these effects; he realized the power of his images to replicate the motion of a camera and produce a corresponding sense of motion in the reader. In a letter to Edward J. O'Brien, he suggested that the interaction of the two modes of In Our Time produces the sensation of a "close-up": "I've tried to do it so you get the close up very quietly but absolutely solid and the real thing but very close, and then through it all between every story comes the rhythm of the in our time chapters" (Selected Letters 123). In a letter to Edmund Wilson, he argues that the interchapters appeared

the way they were meant to go -- to give the picture of the whole between examining it in detail. Like holding with your eyes at something, say a passing coast line, and then looking at it with 15X binoculars. Or rather, maybe, looking at it and then going in and living in it -- and then coming out and looking at it again. (Selected Letters 128)

As the active language of this description suggests, the images in In Our Time do not form a series of static photographs but rather give a sense of movement meant to take readers through an experience that is at visual and dynamic, varied yet continuous.

Hemingway's friend, John Dos Passos, in his U.S.A. trilogy (1930, 1932, 1936), includes "Newsreel" sections for panoramic shots, glaring headlines, and gaudy snippets of news reports and popular songs, biographical and narrative sections for medium shots of fictional and factual characters, and "the camera-eye" sections for his close-up personal

⁷ Paul Rosenfeld in the November 1925, New Republic, notes "There is little analysis in this narrative art. We are given chiefly, at times with marvelous freshness and crispness, what the eyes sees and the ear hears" (19); Schuyler Ashley in The Kansas City Star of December 12, 1925, writes that Hemingway "always makes you *see* the thing he writes about" (22); an anonymous reviewer in Omaha's World-Herald of January 10, 1926, claims

observations. Hemingway, however, avoids any schematic arrangement to identify his "camera angles."⁸ Whether providing close ups of individual characters or panoramic views of refugees and battle scenes, he avoids markers that might imply different levels of visual intensity.⁹ While Dos Passos experiments with the arrangement of words on the page, Hemingway tries to move readers through the words to the scenes he is describing and varies his presentation only by italicizing the interchapters. Rather than mediating readers' attention with directional headings, Hemingway tries to bring readers into the text in the way a newsreel brings viewers into the experience of watching and making sense. Largely avoiding the first person voice as well as historical quotation, he comes to unite the panorama, disjointed biography, and personal camera eye through the eyes and consciousness of a single recurring character, Nick Adams.

Since Scribner's republished In Our Time as a single paperback volume in 1962, many of Hemingway's most perceptive critics have often used early criticism and reviews, Hemingway's later work, and the availability of important letters to further

the interchapters are "taking the place perhaps of illustrations" (24). These and other reviews are reprinted in Critical Essays on Ernest Hemingway's In Our Time (1983).

⁸ Meyer Levin, in his novel, Reporter (1929) uses similar experiments with incorporating newspaper clips. For a reading of how Dos Passos uses the newsreel, see David Seed's "Media and Newsreels in Dos Passos' *U.S.A.*"

⁹ Harold Bloom follows Angus Fletcher in describing a similar effect of parataxis in Hemingway's syntax and the inflection of his sentences. At his best, all of Hemingway's sentences seem to be of the same order, the same level of intensity and interest, so that there is a sense of a meaning at a deeper, more profound level than the surface (6).

analyze the visual effects in the text (Benson 104-105).¹⁰ However, they have generally failed to connect these visual aspects to the form of the work as a whole; instead most readings of In Our Time focus strictly on thematic issues or see it as a precursor to rather Hemingway's later works.¹¹ While In Our Time does develop certain themes and

¹⁰ Reynolds writes that "the book is a series of long and short takes, close-ups and wide angles, creating a visual scrapbook of the age that spawned it. It is the repetition of thematic experiences that binds the collage together: war, violence, water, darkness, isolation, babies, and most centrally, failed relationships." While coming close to acknowledging the text's dynamic visual effects, he finally compares it to a static "scrapbook" or "collage" (Biography 47). Likewise, Jackson J. Benson, following Rovit, emphasizes Hemingway's portrayal of perception as a self-reflective process: "As Earl Rovit has so well expressed it, 'Hemingway's exceptional forte was not to describe what he saw, but to describe himself *seeing*, to convey the complex of feeling which was evoked in him or an invented character.' This act of seeing is the central unifying force in In Our Time; it is the *modus* which brings together what superficially appear to be a number of different materials" (106). Benson goes on to add, "One is tempted to say that here, certainly, the medium is the message. The medium is an unrelenting clarity of vision, and in the book's manner lies its morality" (117). Fishkin describes how Hemingway "would settle for nothing less than communicating a new way of seeing" (154). Mathew Stewart describes the sense of visual unity in the work as an example of cubism, writing that the interchapters "freeze the moment, objectifying it; and taken as a fragmentarily presented whole, they constitute a cubist picture of the period" (102).

¹¹ Robert M. Slabey describes the book as offering a new way of seeing and even compares it to a newsreel: "In both chapters and stories there are parallels between present and past, maturity and youth, war and peace, death and life, bravery and cowardice. The relationship between the two is similar to that of a motion picture which has newsreel clips inserted at strategic moments within its dramatic action, for either realistic background or ironic contrast" (83). After this suggestive comment, though, he locates the sense of unity in In Our Time in the way it articulates a "code of manhood" (78, 84). Stewart notes that In Our Time is "more radically experimental than his most acclaimed novels," yet he contextualizes In Our Time in terms of Hemingway's later Nick Adams stories and emphasizes the text's common themes (xi, 110). Though Fishkin's study is useful in emphasizing the relationship between Hemingway's journalism and his fiction, and though she brings together issues of visual imagery and language, she ultimately privileges fiction over fact and values In Our Time for what it indicates about his later novels. In Hemingway's In Our Time: Lyrical Dimensions, Wendolyn E. Tetlow analyzes the unity of the book in terms of Hemingway's language.

illuminate Hemingway's later works, it is, as the title suggests, significant as part of its time, just as documentary newsreels are. Like those newsreels, it describes the events of the day in a way that challenges traditional modes of perception, and the newsreel helps to explain the relationship in In Our Time among its themes, visual effects, and engagement with new understandings of language.

While many of Hemingway's early readers may have found that "[r]eading Hemingway was as informative as reading the newspapers, and much more exciting," this excitement came from a choice of subjects and presentation that was highly structured and selective and closer to the newsreel than the newspaper (Rovit 26). In The American Newsreel, 1911-1967, Raymond Fielding notes that while the American newsreel replicated some of the aspects of the newspaper, it also introduced a visual medium that had not previously been used to present the news.¹² Though the technology to reproduce photographic images was available to newspapers for some time before the news film was developed, newspapers remained almost exclusively focused on text, and "the motion picture news film provided a predominantly photographic kind of news coverage long before most newspapers and magazines of the period began to do so" (147). In emphasizing the visual aspects of stories, the newsreel paid particularly close attention to "catastrophe, international celebrities, pageantry and ceremony, sports, political and military events, technology, and spectacle and novelty" (148). While In Our Time, might at first glance appear to be "ripped from the headlines," its emphasis on spectacle and

choice of topics comes more obviously from the newsreel.¹³ Among early newsreels that caused public sensations were a French news film, shot in 1895, of a bullfight in Madrid; a British news film of the Derby at Epsom Downs, shot on June 3, 1896; and an American news film released in 1905 that "pictured the execution of a New England housewife convicted of drowning her husband" (Fielding 7, 8, 62). Besides these specific films, many of "the very early news films of the United States centered around prize fights," and warfare was one of the staples of both early news films and the later polished newsreels (Fielding 9, 29). In Our Time covers exactly these kinds of stories: It presents bull-fights, horse racing, and executions, describes a violent confrontation with an ex-prize fighter, and gives various perspectives on images of war. Though many of these topics would have appeared in the newspapers as well, Hemingway presents such topics using highly visual, camera-like perspectives.

Beyond his choice of subjects and structure in In Our Time, Hemingway's connection to the newsreel can be linked directly to his friendship and working relationship with the newsreel cameraman, Shorty Wornall. The importance of this connection became more prominent as Hemingway continued to revise In Our Time. After Hemingway switched publishers, his new editor, Maxwell Perkins, bought the rights to the book and requested that Hemingway write a new introduction for the

¹² The American newsreel, unlike its European counterparts, relied on newspaper-like captions and lead stories and was most often staffed by former newspaper reporters and editors rather than filmmakers (Fielding 135-136).

¹³ The term "newsreel" came into use after 1911, by which time the topics and form of the newsreel for the next 50 years had largely been developed (Fielding 310).

Scribner's edition to be published in 1930. Hemingway suggested that Wilson write one instead, but when one was not forthcoming from him, he added another vignette to open the work. This vignette, like the last one, "L'Envoi" is titled; it appeared at first simply as "Introduction by the Author" (Stewart 24-25, 35).¹⁴ This title suggests the piece offers an important statement about the rest of the book, though in 1938 the title was changed to "On the Quai at Smyrna" (Benson 110). Both in terms of theme and perspective, "On the Quai at Smyrna" and "L'Envoi" are connected, as "On the Quai" opens with a panoramic view of Greek refugees fleeing Thrace for Greece, while "L'Envoi" shows the close-up of a captive Greek king anxious to leave Greece for the United States. Significantly, both pieces are also directly connected to the newsreel through Wornall. Hemingway was traveling with Wornall when he reported on the events that became "On the Quai at Smyrna," and so he had an inside perspective on the newsreel coverage of the catastrophe (By-Line 57, 76). Wornall's influence goes beyond this shared experience and perspective; he also gave Hemingway the idea for "L'Envoi" when he returned to Paris in November of 1922 and told Hemingway "about the deposed king in his garden wanting to go to America" (Selected Letters 91-92). Shorty even gave Hemingway the last line of In Our Time when he told Hemingway what King George had said to him: "'Well maybe we'll met in the States sometime.'" To which Wornall had replied, "Like all the Greeks, he wants to get over to the States" (By-Line 77).

¹⁴ The title "L'Envoi" is an ironic reference to a section "Envoi" in Pound's "Hugh Selwyn Mauberly" (Stewart 45). The term itself "signifies a short and pithy last stanza summarizing a relatively long poem" (Tetlow 98).

Wornall's perspective is also found in two other interchapters. In Chapter II, which cinematically describes the refugees fleeing from Adrianople, Hemingway reproduces some of the language of his own news report and the exact perspective that he had shared with Wornall:

Shorty and Company were going a stretch along the stone road in their motorcar en route back to Rodosto and Constantinople and gave me a lift along the stone road past the procession of refugees into Adrianople. All the stream of slow big-wheeled bullock and buffalo carts, bobbing camel trains and sodden fleeing peasantry were moving west on the road, but there was a thin counterstream of empty cars driven by Turks in ragged, rain-soaked clothes and dirty fezzes which was working back against the main current. (By-Line 58)

Similarly, Wornall had told Hemingway about the execution of several Greek ministers, though Hemingway adapted Wornall's story and a similar news report in shaping what became Chapter V. Fenton argues that in this interchapter "Hemingway was attempting... to reproduce not only the execution scene which Shorty described to him, but also the film operator's idiom. There is a distinct parallel between the diction of the vignette and the lines Shorty had spoken in one of Hemingway's Daily Star dispatches" (237). Thus, In Our Time, as it has appeared since 1930, has literally been framed by the perspective of a newsreel cameraman and inflected at key moments with "the film operator's idiom" as well.

While Wornall, a newsreel cameraman, had seen the events that became "On the Quai at Smyrna," and while the piece reflects the language of Hemingway's friend, the English officer, Eric "Chink" Dorman-Smith, it is significant to note that this opening piece exactly reproduces the perspective of a famous newsreel shot taken by another newsreel cameraman. Reynolds suggests this connection, though he does not pursue its

implications: "Hemingway had not witnessed the event himself, but there had been graphic news coverage, and he talked to men who were there (Biography 44)." Given that the piece was probably not written with the other vignettes and may have been composed as late as 1926 or 1927, Hemingway most likely wrote it from his own memory of speaking with Wornall and of seeing the newsreel (Biography 45). The newsreel was in fact well known, as were many of the Greco-Turkish conflict. After the frustration of being largely banned from the front lines during World War I, the newsreel industry took advantage of easy access to the Greco-Turkish conflict to depict the reality of warfare for the first time. The destruction at Smyrna provided one of the most innovative newsreel companies, Pathé News, with an important scoop in "graphic news coverage" through the effective planning of its young managing editor, Jack Cohen, and the daring of a French cameraman named Ercole. With Cohen's urging, Ercole, despite numerous obstacles and dangers, filmed Smyrna from a plane until "he managed to get aboard an Allied warship in the harbor, and with a long-distance lens made photographs of the terrible scenes on the water front" (Mackenzie qtd. in Fielding 129). The significance of this particular newsreel footage was such that Pathé cameramen viewed it years later as a lesson on how to cover "impending news" (Fielding 128-129, 147).¹⁵ By adding "On the Quai at Smyrna," Hemingway begins *In Our Time* by exactly reproducing this well-known newsreel shot: His narrator, like Ercole, is "aboard an Allied warship in the harbor," and he uses words as "a long-distance lens" to record images of "the terrible scenes on the

¹⁵ This newsreel, along with thousands of others, is available at [British Pathe Limited's website, www.britishpathe.com](http://www.britishpathe.com).

water front." As Reynolds notes, contemporary readers would most likely have made this connection: "In 1925 the reader should have remembered the Greeks retreating across Thrace. It was in all the papers and on the newsreel screen" (Biography 46).

While engaging the form, typical subjects, and perspectives of the newsreel in In Our Time, Hemingway surpasses the limits of the newsreel and corrects its journalistic failings. For example, during World War I, the danger of long-range weapons, trench warfare, weighty cameras, and, especially, government censorship made shots of combat difficult to obtain and patriotic scenes of soldiers marching a staple of newsreel coverage. The American government, for example, took care to make sure that soldiers appeared properly disciplined (Fielding 115-116). In the first untitled interchapter, Chapter I, Hemingway plays off these limits in standard newsreel footage. In showing soldiers marching behind the lines, he replicates a typical newsreel shot while subverting the conventionally staged nationalism by making his soldiers drunk, disorderly, and fearful. Similarly, while royalty took advantage of the publicity the newsreel offered while taking care to appear with proper dignity and decorum, Hemingway concludes his work with the trite words of a king watching his queen work like a commoner in the garden (Fielding 165-166). Before the Sims Act banned interstate trafficking of fight films in 1912, the newsreel producers often rigged prizefights, and, in fact, the newsreels in general increasingly staged material that relied on sensation more than on facts or analysis (Fielding 16, 38-40, 60). In In Our Time, Hemingway overcomes the limitations of the newsreel and offers vivid scenes and a sense of psychological depth unavailable to newsreel audiences of his day. He the effects of fights on a prizefighter, examines those

involved in fixing horse races, and offers personal portrayals that give readers an intimacy and accuracy not found in newsreels.¹⁶ While the newsreel serves as the model for In Our Time, In Our Time serves as a model newsreel.

Likewise, Hemingway's concern with the veracity of language parallels the issues of truth and authenticity that surrounded the reception of newsreels. Initially, the newsreel was received as a means of conveying unimpeachable truth. In 1911, a commentator noted, "Cinematography cannot be made to *lie*, it is a machine that merely records what is happening" (qtd. in Fielding 43). However, virtually all of the newsreel producers staged fake news films during the early years of the medium, while during World War I, governments produced their own propaganda films. Eventually, years of fraudulent newsreels, sensationalism, propaganda, and censorship eroded the newsreel's credibility (Fielding 37-45, 122-125). In 1937, a typical commentator quipped that the "the adage that 'the camera never lies' is, of course, nonsense" (qtd. in Fielding 247); in 1947, one observer noted, "The motion picture camera in particular is a natural liar, and it lies more artfully with the aid of a willing cameraman or editor" (qtd. in Fielding 248).

Surprisingly, this sense of fabrication increased with the introduction and development of using sound. Soon, music, emotional commentators, and sound effects replaced locally recorded sound, and the immediacy of the scenes presented seemed to diminish (Fielding 167). However, some newsreel companies tried to use narrators to enhance the prestige and authority of their newsreels. William Randolph Hearst's News

¹⁶ In a later story, "Fifty Grand," Hemingway explicitly describes a fixed prizefight from one of the fighter's perspectives.

of the Day used a single narrator, and probably the most prestigious newsreel, Paramount News, used a small number of narrators who were not identified by name (Fielding 191-194). These companies showed that used properly the narrator's disembodied voice could achieve a sense of authenticity and transparency by being superimposed over the images on the screen; language could merge with the image and give it more meaning.

While In Our Time draws on the earliest subjects of the newsreels, its language points to the introduction of the sound newsreel and this effort to gain a sense of authenticity by combining language and the image. In fact, Hemingway would continue to deal with the duplicity of the press, the difficulty of accurately filming warfare, and the importance of having the right voiceover, when, during the Spanish Civil War, he participated in the filming of the documentary The Spanish Earth with a group of his friends, including Dos Passos, who called themselves "The Contemporary Historians." After the group was dissatisfied with the commentary provided by Orson Welles, Hemingway provided the voiceover for the film himself (Garrick 86). With the newsreel as its model, In Our Time shows Hemingway rehearsing in language all of the issues he would later explore in the making of this documentary film.

The newsreel form helps to explain the structure of In Our Time and the way a sense of unity results from Hemingway's a series of fragmentary images and experiments with perspective and language. In particular, the newsreel casts some light on the elusive role that Nick plays in this process.¹⁷ Through Nick, Hemingway brings together the two

¹⁷ Nick appears in Chapter VI and in the stories "Indian Camp," "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," "The End of Something," "Three Day Blow," "The Battler," "Cross

functions of camera and voiceover in language that comes to seem absolutely trustworthy and true. Nick serves as the camera recording varied images and perspectives, and he serves as the voiceover bringing these images together in a single consciousness.

Appropriately enough, "On the Quai at Smyrna" marks the beginning of this process. Told through the frame of a dramatic monologue, this framing piece, like "L'Envoi," reminds readers of the reporter's presence even as it is structured by visual imagery and a perspective focused like a camera (Seed 25). After "On the Quai at Smyrna" opens with a panoramic view of the activity along the waterfront, there is a close-up of the speaker, a British officer, as he listens to a Turkish officer claim that he has been insulted by one of the speaker's soldiers. The speaker promises that the soldier will be severely punished, though in fact he is merely sent back on board the ship for the rest of the day. Like many of the stories in In Our Time, "On the Quai at Smyrna" uses an echoing of themes rather than a traditionally structured plot as its organizing principle (Flora 81). This echoing takes place on two levels: The wide scope of abject human suffering is echoed in the narrow irritation of the Turkish officer, and the speaker's initial lie is echoed in the ironic language of his conclusion. Referring to what are presumably discarded corpses as "plenty of nice things floating around" in the harbor, the speaker concludes his monologue by bitterly using the words "nice" and "pleasant" in place of the emotions he still finds too disturbing to express directly:

Country Snow," and the two parts of "Big Two-Hearted River." Since D.H. Lawrence's contemporary review of In Our Time, Nick has been used to argue for a thematic unity in In Our Time. Though there is evidence to suggest Nick is patterned after George Willard

The Greeks were nice chaps too. When they evacuated they had all their baggage animals they couldn't take off with them so they broke their forelegs and dumped them in the shallow water. All those mules with their forelegs broken pushed over in the shallow water. It was all a pleasant business. My word yes a most pleasant business. (12)¹⁸

While the speaker's initial lie showed how war necessitates lying, his ironic observations here show how war numbs emotions and in doing so numbs language as well. In this way, vision and language are related: The shock of what the officer sees is found in the numbness of what he says. If at the beginning the scream of a birthing mother seems to be an appropriate response to mass suffering, by the end words seem as maimed and ineffectual as the animals about to drown.

The connection between the speaker's perspective and his language is underscored by the news reports that Hemingway had originally written about this scene in October and November 1922 for the Toronto Star. Typically, Hemingway's detached "journalistic" style emerged in the transformation from fact to fiction. For example, in his news report, "Refugees from Thrace," Hemingway uses the same word "pleasant" without irony, noting that "Adrianople is not a pleasant place," and he goes on to describe his own miserable experiences in a literally lousy hotel (By-Line 57). As is the case with much of Hemingway's writing for the Toronto Star, Hemingway the reporter is a character in this piece, and the "unpleasantness" that he records reflects not only what he sees but what he and the other reporters, including, Shorty, physically experience (By-Line 56).¹⁹ In "On the Quai at Smyrna," Hemingway eliminates the presence of the

in Winesburg, Ohio, his role is best understood in the context of the newsreel form of the work as a whole. See my chapter, "Sherwood Anderson's Imagined Communities."

¹⁸ Though the speaker seems to be Hemingway's friend, "Chink" Dorman-Smith, Hemingway later refers to these maimed animals himself in Death in the Afternoon (135).

¹⁹ David Seed makes a similar point in his essay, "'The Picture of the Whole': In Our Time": "Journalism, Gertrude Stein and Pound thus seem to have exerted an important cumulative influence on Hemingway, tightening up his prose and sharpening his descriptive method. The style sheet alone would not necessarily have pushed

Line 56).¹⁹ In "On the Quai at Smyrna," Hemingway eliminates the presence of the reporter and newsreel cameraman and combines their roles in a disembodied speaker whose observations are registered not in his physical sensations but in his distorted language: He does not crawl with lice but with lies. The distorted surface of words is paralleled by the distorted surface of vision: The searchlight that stands in for the newsreel cameraman's long range lens momentarily stops the screaming of the refugees on the quai but does not explain the suffering or make it go away; neither the speaker's words nor his vision help him feel connected to what is going on.

"On the Quai at Smyrna" exemplifies the detached observations, camera-like perspectives, and voiceovers that come to predominate in In Our Time. This studied detachment helps to create the vivid sensation of newsreel images, and the emphasis on what Nick and the other characters see, rather than what they think, replicates the function of the newsreel camera. Reading In Our Time is thus like watching a newsreel in that readers are led to follow the vision of the camera eye. Furthermore, as a short story sequence, In Our Time puts different demands on readers than the traditionally structured

¹⁹ David Seed makes a similar point in his essay, "'The Picture of the Whole': In Our Time": "Journalism, Gertrude Stein and Pound thus seem to have exerted an important cumulative influence on Hemingway, tightening up his prose and sharpening his descriptive method. The style sheet alone would not necessarily have pushed Hemingway far enough in the direction of economy which is a surprisingly rare quality in his newspaper dispatches of this period. In 'Refugees from Thrace' (Toronto Daily Star, 14 November 1922), for example, Hemingway was reporting on the Greek evacuation but his article contains anecdotal details (meeting a camera-man, sleeping at a brothel, getting covered with lice, etc.) which pull against the main subject. The article is far more discursive and far less focused than anything which appears in In Our Time" (14). Lynn makes a similar same point, noting that "as a reporter Hemingway had included many an advertisement for himself in his stories for the Toronto Star Weekly" (262).

novel; since continuity and connections among the various segments are not obvious, readers are forced to be more self-conscious about their participation in the process of reading. In many other short story sequences, such as Sarah Orne Jewett's Country of the Pointed Firs, Sherwood Anderson's Winesburg, Ohio, and James Joyce's Dubliners, a sense of place connects the loosely related stories and characters. Though Hemingway knew Anderson and Joyce personally and carefully read Winesburg, Ohio and Dubliners, it is evident from the very title "in our time" that Hemingway is more concerned with a sense of time than a sense of place.²⁰ The title, which was most likely taken from the famous phrase "peace in our time" in the Book of Common Prayer, is also similar to the title of newsreels like The March of Time and suggests an immediate historical context (Young Hemingway 183). However, in Hemingway's text, concepts of time go beyond descriptions of historical events; its innovative language and structure also reflect fundamental changes in perceptions brought about by scientific and technological developments.

In In Our Time, Hemingway's represents these changes by recreating in words the effects of the newsreel on perception. Even as Hemingway draws on his journalistic influences, he develops a language that offers more of a sense of immediacy and a different sense of time than the language of the newspaper. As Benedict Anderson argues, in the newspaper, spatio-temporal relationships are shaped externally by the arrangement of the text and by the date of its publication. This causes otherwise disconnected readers to feel as if they are collectively participating in a common experience and contributes to the

²⁰ For more on Anderson's influence on Hemingway, see Reynolds's Young Hemingway.

creation of "imagined communities" like the modern nation-state (63).²¹ Obviously, this collective act of imagination results from reading habits and choices made on the individual level: In practice, the reading of a newspaper can begin at any point, allow for pauses and interruptions, and take shape through choice and interest. Watching a newsreel also creates a collective sense of participation through the newsreel's timeliness and the feeling it offers of witnessing history. However, rather than individual choice, watching a newsreel means following a prearranged series of fragmentary images that unfold in time.²² In Our Time avoids the pre-determined categories and headings of the newspaper; instead, it is like the newsreel in requiring readers to generate definitions of time, space, and community through the process of connecting the individual segments. At the sentence level, Hemingway crafts a cinematic style so that the space-time continuum is "as evident in a 'true sentence' as it is in a moving (time-consuming) image," while at a broader level, he shows that the relationships among space, time and a shared sense of community only become evident through the act of reading the text itself (Kanjo 7).

In drawing on typical newsreel images and the perspective and language of a newsreel cameraman, Hemingway creates a work that requires similar methods of perception. In Our Time brings together the mass media form of the newsreel with the

²¹ See my chapter above, "Sherwood Anderson's Imagined Communities."

²² Stanely Corkin also describes how readers are immersed in Hemingway's text through his use of cinematic techniques. While I argue that In Our Time is influenced by the newsreel and ultimately challenges the limits of its methods, Corkin suggests that Hemingway's text arises out of the same conditions as the cinema and similarly engages positivist science and mechanized production, and he argues that it similarly affirms a

aspirations of literary modernism and demonstrates how changes in perception cut across literature, journalism, technology, and science. These changes in perception are similar to those described by Alfred North Whitehead in his Lowell Lectures, which were given in 1925, the same year that In Our Time appeared, and published as Science and the Modern World (1925). Whitehead similarly crosses disciplinary and epistemological boundaries; he considers cultural and philosophic contexts to trace historical changes in methods of scientific observation. Specifically, he shows how perception needs to be understood as a process while objects of perception need to be understood in a pattern of complex relationships. Recognizing the importance of Einstein's General Theory of Relativity and anticipating Heisenberg's formulation of the uncertainty principle in 1927, Whitehead explores the inadequacies of defining perception in terms of pre-existing definitions of time and space and a separation between subjects and objects. Instead, he proposes a new understanding of perception that accounts for the role of the subject and that defines time and space in the act of perceiving a pattern of relations. Whitehead's analysis shows how In Our Time also challenges preconceived notions of time and space and defines these categories through its presentation of a complex set of relationships.

Whitehead describes how science had long relied on an idea of simple location for its understanding of how the most basic natural entities are perceived:

To say that a bit of matter has *simple location* means that, in expressing its spatio-temporal relations, it is adequate to state that it is where it is, in a definite region of space, and throughout a definite finite duration of time, apart from any essential

conservative cultural and economic perspective by naturalizing and hiding these techniques (149).

reference of the relations of that bit of matter to other regions of space and to other durations of time. (58)

Simple location thus implies discrete places in space and discrete moments in time that can be noted by an outside observer using given measurements. It thus suggests that measurements are continuous across different times and places. This understanding of simple-location characterized Western scientific thought from the time of Aristotle and reached its apotheosis in Isaac Newton's formulations. However, as Whitehead notes, the inadequacies of simple location became evident by the end of the nineteenth century:

Simple location cannot account for the effects of relative motion and relative perspective or the discrete but discontinuous phenomena proposed by Einstein's relativity. As new models gained acceptance, they challenged the idea that there can be definite regions of space or definite periods of time understood separately from the role of different subjects and different acts of measurement. Just as the form of In Our Time suggests, seemingly discrete units have to be understood in terms of their relationships to other units, and this understanding needs to account for the act of interpretation and the evolving definitions of time and space that result from it.

In contrast to simple location, Whitehead describes the most basic phenomenon as the *event*. Unlike simple location, the event generates its own sense of time and space while reflecting internal and external relationships. For Whitehead, the event is "the ultimate natural occurrence. An event has to do with all that there is, and in particular with all other events" (103). Unlike the concept of matter implied by simple location, an event cannot be isolated in a definite region of space and in a definite, finite duration of

time apart from other regions of space and other durations of time. Since an event "has to do with all there is," a different understanding of apprehension is needed. While simple-location suggests that a product of measurement can be arrived at independently of the observer, Whitehead instead proposes that in an event the observer participates in the act of perception through a process of "uncognitive apprehension" which he calls *prehension*. He states, "what constitutes the realization of natural entities is the being perceived... within the unity of a prehension; and that what is thereby realized is the prehension, and not the things" (69). In defining prehension, Whitehead rejects both the strict materialism of previous scientific thought and the dichotomies of philosophical idealism and thus avoids the categories of subjective and objective perception. Prehension is not a solipsistic subjective perspective, but rather takes account of its own functioning and the fact that the perception of the natural world is inseparable from the process of perception itself. For Whitehead, "concrete fact is process. Its primary analysis is into underlying activity of prehension, and into realised prehensive events... Perception is simply the cognition of prehensive unification; or more shortly, perception is cognition of perception" (70-71). Taking into account this idea of prehension, it becomes clear that an event is a process of perception that accounts for the inseparable roles of the observer and the object observed.

Hemingway's complex arrangement of material in In Our Time reflects a similar notion of perception. It belies the adequacy of simple location and cannot be fully appreciated if considered as a discrete object, in a discrete moment, being perceived by an independent observer. Rather, the text, like a newsreel film, needs to be perceived as an

event that unfolds in time, with the reader interpreting the text from inside the process of perception. As each segment unfolds, it takes on significance according to its relations to other segments and other relations, "relations to other regions of space and to other durations of time." References to the same characters and themes in the disjointed pieces create relations of meaning within the text, while references to historical events outside the text create wider patterns of perception and significance. Thus, in In Our Time a unified pattern emerges from this process of perception and an awareness of this expansive set of relationships. As Whitehead describes, taking these relationships into account shows how definitions of place and time emerge from within the event itself. As disparate elements are, through the process of prehension, gathered in a pattern that has duration, a pattern in space is recognized in time. This pattern in an event in turn refers to the patterns of other events and to the relationships within and among the parts of the event itself: "Within this specious present the event realizes itself as a totality, and also in so doing realizes itself as grouping together a number of aspects of its own temporal parts" (104-105). This present is "specious" because it is not discrete: The present in an event is made of segments with their own duration, and it refers to other events with their own duration as well. Even an apparently simultaneous moment actually involves a "definite lapse of time":

Thus an event in realising itself displays a pattern, and this pattern requires a definite duration determined by a definite meaning of simultaneity. Each such meaning of simultaneity relates the pattern as thus displayed to one definite space-time... Notice that the pattern requires a duration involving a definite lapse of time, and not merely an instantaneous moment. (124)

Simply put, an event involves a pattern in space, and in perceiving this pattern there is a necessary duration of time that cannot be known in advance. Thus, time and space cannot be measured with preexisting, constant standards that exist outside of perception. Each event internally defines its own pattern of relationships and its own lapse of time:

For each relationship enters into the essence of the event; so that, apart from that relationship, the event would not be itself. This is what is meant by the very notion of internal relations. It has been usual, indeed, universal, to hold that spatio-temporal relationships are external. This doctrine is what is here denied... The event is what it is, by reason of the unification in itself of a multiplicity of relationships... So the whole is evidently constitutive of the part. (123)

Whitehead's comments are apt in describing how In Our Time uses the popular journalistic form of the newsreel to challenge received ideas of perception. There is a sense of timeliness inherent in the newsreel and implied in Hemingway's title. While each segment of the text offers its own moment, this moment is at the same time the single moment of "our time." In this way, the text offers a kind of specious present that is seemingly a simultaneous moment yet requires a sense of duration in order to be properly perceived. Likewise, the text offers an apparently endless set of relations both among these parts and in the references throughout these parts to external events. Yet a prehension of wholeness is suggested by the form and genre of the text; reader approach In Our Time expecting a sense of wholeness and end up looking for relations among the various parts. The actual features that constitute this whole are not defined in advance; the crucial connections among these relations and definitions of time and space only emerge from within the process of perception. In a literary context, the central question of relationships Whitehead explores is similar to the one that Henry James raises in his

preface to Roderick Hudson: Since "[r]eally, universally, relations stop nowhere... the exquisite problem of the artist is eternally but to draw, by a geometry of his own, the circle within which they shall happily *appear* to do so" (Art 5). Indeed, as Whitehead notes, an event, though apparently possessing a limitless set of relationships, is perceived within such a circle of unity, for ultimately "[a]n event is the grasping into unity of a pattern of aspects" (119). Within this unity, the repetition of a particular shape gives the event as a whole a sense of value:

The reiteration of a particular shape (or formation) of value within an event occurs when the event as a whole repeats some shape which is also exhibited by each one of a succession of its parts. Thus however you analyse the event according to the flux of its parts through time, there is the same thing-for-its-own-sake standing before you. Thus the event, in its own intrinsic reality, mirrors in itself, as derived from its own parts, aspects of the same patterned values as it realizes in its complete self. It thus realises itself under the guise of an enduring individual entity, with a life history contained within itself. (104)

While Whitehead's descriptions of an event help to describe the form of In Our Time, his comments here help to describe Nick's specific function in understanding In Our Time as an event. While many short story sequences use a specific place or recurring character to link their disparate segments, Hemingway offers a more expansive set of relationships, while using Nick's single consciousness to draw a circle of unity and limit the set of relations in the way that many of James's characters do. Nick also foregrounds issues of time and perspective. In the span of his life that Hemingway presents, Nick generates the necessary sense of duration to characterize the pattern in the work as a whole, and through his repetitive presence among varied images, he also becomes the

"thing-for-its-own-sake" that "stands before us" in the parts of the work. In other words, Nick is the "individual entity" whose "life history" realizes the unity of the event.

Just as Whitehead describes an event as paradoxically involving limitless relations and a limiting principle of duration, so, too, does Nick's life open up multiple relations among seemingly disparate events and define their limits. For readers, Nick determines what they see and influences how they make sense of it. In the context of the fragmented, far-flung interchapters, Nick's absence from certain stories, geographical dislocations, and exclusive focus on the present make him appear as "Nick of time," internally generating the sense of duration at the center of Hemingway's innovative form. The newsreel form offers a sense of time that is too focused on the present to be either nostalgic or apocalyptic: Just as each of Hemingway's sentences carries the same intensity, so too does each moment he depicts. Each moment flickers like a frame on a movie screen, and each is similarly animated with motion through the process of perception. The newsreel allows Hemingway to enhance the immediacy of the present, while Nick's presence offers the means to create a sense of time that accounts for both personal experience and public history. While In Our Time offers a commentary on what qualifies as history, how it is recorded, and, most importantly, how it is perceived, it lacks a predetermined time period, historical dates, garish headlines, and specific biographical references. Unlike the newspaper, history is not determined in advance by external measurements or classifications. Instead, as Nick's life unfolds in In Our Time, his presence across chapters creates a framework for discerning a pattern of meaning, and he gives the text the same feeling of simultaneity and immediacy across otherwise discrete segments that made

the newsreel so popular before the advent of television. While readers are seemingly given an invitation to share in an extended moment of "our time," Nick's life becomes the present moment that defines "our time" and the various "instances" of his life emerge as the extended "instant" in which a unified pattern emerges among the various parts.

Though Nick serves as a representative of his generation, its values, and its challenges, he provides a unity in the text that goes beyond just thematic concerns. Nick exemplifies the complex significance of time, immerses the reader in the process of perception, and sets the limits of this process. He is the primary lens through which the newsreel is presented, and he offers an increasingly limited perspective in shaping the event into a unified whole. In this way, Hemingway uses Nick to offer a more controlled and immediate sense of language that recreates the effects of the newsreel on perception. As Nick takes on the role of the camera, he becomes the primary consciousness through which language gives shape to disparate images. Thus, Nick not only helps to define the relations within In Our Time but also helps Hemingway to explore the proper language to describe these relations. While the vignettes that make up the interchapters give In Our Time the feeling of the news stories that make up a newsreel, in the more traditionally structured stories Nick performs a key role in defining this new process of perception and turning the news stories into a newsreel. Just as the newsreel opened up the world even as it limited the scope of its vision to the camera lens, so too does Nick open up a broad sense of relations in the text even as he narrows the perspective on those relations to the scope of his vision and consciousness. In this way, Nick gradually comes to function as the camera directing the reader's perspective while ultimately becoming as well the

unifying source of the language that appears superimposed over these images like a voiceover.

As Fishkin argues, at his best Hemingway "helps his readers to achieve fresh views of the distinctly 'noninvented' world around them; he recognized the power of fiction to focus the reader's attention upon the world of fact" (148). Through his engagement with journalism and the form of the newsreel, Hemingway does the reverse as well: He helps his readers achieve a fresh view of fiction by shaping the power of the factual, journalistic forms of the news report and the newsreel. For Hemingway, the newsreel offers the means of constructing an experimental, distinctly modernist text that remains grounded in the news of the day, the accessible language of journalism, and his own experiences as a reporter.²³ In engaging the form of the newsreel in *In Our Time*, Hemingway also confronts the possibilities and limits inherent in the newsreel itself. For example, by slowly turning Nick's character into a camera's eye, Hemingway returns to the issues of truth raised by the early newsreels. As a commentator noted in 1911,

The reporter with the pen will be superseded by the reporter with the camera... The world will be treated to that rarest of rare things -- a reporter who does not, in fact, who cannot lie. The events will come to us not as the policy of the paper would want to color them, but as they actually occurred. (qtd. in Fielding 146)

Such confidence in the newsreel would gradually decline as it became clear that newsreels were just as carefully constructed as any text and that many shots were even staged or faked. However, just as Hemingway overcomes the limits of the newsreel by depicting

²³ See Michael Robertson's *Stephen Crane, Journalism, and the Making of Modern America* for a recent reading of the connection between Hemingway's journalism and the style of *In Our Time*.

topics from the newsreels in greater depth and from different perspectives, so too does he return to this early promise of the newsreel form by developing Nick as a kind of reporter who functions as a camera. Furthermore, in giving Nick the role of the camera's eye, Hemingway also tries to create a language that seemingly "cannot lie."

While this role for Nick is foreshadowed in "On the Quai at Smyrna," it reaches a decisive turning point midway through the text, in Chapter VI and "Soldier's Home," and culminates in the final story, "Big Two-Hearted River." In Chapter VI, Nick has suffered a war injury and, while leaning against a church, proposes "a separate peace" to his injured comrade, Rinaldi, who lies next to him. This interchapter marks a key turning point in the newsreel form of the text and the way the perception operates within it. By appearing in one of the interchapters after already appearing in five of the titled stories, Nick disrupts the distinction between the stories and the interchapters, between the close-up and panorama, between private and public history. At first glance, Nick seems to have stepped out of his private life and into the public sphere of the newspapers or from behind the camera and momentarily onto the screen.²⁴ In fact, the interchapter points to how he will combine the two roles of observing and being observed in "Big Two-Hearted River." As Kathryn Zabelle Derounian notes, Nick appears in this scene as an image to be seen even as he function as a camera himself: Chapter VI "is structurally and stylistically one of the most polished chapters. Its movement is slow yet

²⁴ Hemingway experienced something like this when he returned to the United States from the war in Europe and stepped out of his fantasy of being a hero and into the New York papers as the first American casualty on the Italian front. It is also similar to the

punctuated, as if the reader were looking at separate frames of a film and seeing objects and events from Nick's restricted viewpoint" (63-64). In this way, the starkness of the interchapter emphasizes Nick's typical process of perception, since his "characteristic response to the situation in which he finds himself is open-eyed shock; he registers the events as though he were a slow-motion camera" (Rovit 57).

Chapter VI anticipates Nick's role as a camera's eye in "Big Two-Hearted River," while "Soldier's Home" anticipates the issues of language and the voiceover effect present in that culminating story. In "Soldier's Home," Hemingway develops the issues of language introduced in "On the Quai at Smyrna" by showing his protagonist, Harold Krebs, desiring a language that seems inherently true. As the title suggests, the story bridges the experience of military adventures and domestic life and reveals the lies found during wartime are found in different versions during peacetime as well. One of the last soldiers in his town to return from the Great War, Harold "found that to be listened to at all he had to lie," and though "his lies were quite unimportant lies" they lead him to feel that "he lost everything," even his recollections of the times during the war when all was "cool and clear inside himself" (69-70). The hypocritical reception from his parents and community as they try to deny the effects of the war on him and his generation stands in contrast to this cool, clear feeling of authenticity, and Harold tries to avoid these lies as well as the lie about desire that he discovered during the war. While soldiers sometimes claimed they never thought of women and other times claimed they thought of nothing

effect that a viewer of the documentary The Spanish Earth experiences when, after hearing Hemingway's narration, he briefly appears on screen (Garrick 87).

else, Harold found that both were lies and that desires were simply satisfied when the right time came (70-71).

Back home, Harold hopes for a life utterly without "complications" or "consequences." Instead of facing potential complications and interacting meaningfully with others, he prefers to read the baseball reports in The Kansas City Star and the histories of the war that are just beginning to be published. He enjoys

reading about all the engagements he had been in. It was the most interesting reading he had ever done. He wished there were more maps. He looked forward with a good feeling to reading all the really good histories when they would come out with good detail maps. (72)

For Harold, reading becomes more interesting than living and the past becomes more interesting than the present. Unable to face the expectations of his parents, he decides that his best option is to escape without any further arguments to Kansas City. For Harold, the reading of the newspaper and nonfiction becomes the means of constructing a fiction of detachment.

In "Big Two-Hearted River," Nick also wishes to fulfill his desires without consequences, but, unlike Harold, he enacts this wish rather than just escaping into his thoughts or reading. In the two parts of "Big Two-Hearted River," Nick frees himself from self-reflection, personal demands, and the social implications of language. This freedom allows him to function directly as a camera and a voiceover; his single perspective presents transparent images and superimposes words over these images. In this way, Nick offers a new understanding of both language and time. When he returns to the burnt out terrain along the river, he is entering a kind of garden and appears as "Adam"

rather than as a historically determined Nick Adams. He names all that he sees and gives words the immediacy and clarity of visual objects. As the only camera and commentator, he suggests that words can exist alone as well. Language can escape as he has from the lies that society creates through the trauma of war and the inevitable compromise of relationships.

As in the interchapters, in this story Hemingway develops the detached perspective of the camera eye through a combination of fact and fiction; as with the interchapters, this story also benefited from some good advice. Initially, Hemingway's reading of Winesburg, Ohio and Dubliners made him feel the need for a powerful concluding story that would solidify the themes and structure of In Our Time (Paris Years 202). However, his ambitions for his first commercial book led him to deviate from the detached perspective he had developed in the previous pieces. In early drafts of "Big Two-Hearted River," he had Nick discussing art, contemporary literature, other writers, fishing, marriage, and his ambitions and ideas as a writer. Hemingway justified these comments by explicitly making the Nick Adams of "Big Two-Hearted River" the author of the previous pieces and the creator of the "Nick" character who appears in them. When Gertrude Stein read the story, she told Hemingway she liked it "fine as long as Nick stuck to the river, but once he started thinking too much, the story lost its drive. 'Remarks,' she told him, 'are not literature'" (Paris Years 247). Following her advice, Hemingway revised the story and removed nearly all of Nick's meditations.

The material that Hemingway deleted would have made In Our Time more reflexive while working against the structure and effects that he was developing in the rest

of the book.²⁵ This first ending would have put all of the emphasis on the transformation from fact to fiction and undermined the factual form of the newsreel as the model for fiction in In Our Time.²⁶ Stein's advice helped keep Hemingway on track with the effective tone and techniques of his earlier stories. His revision moved Nick further towards the immediacy of the newsreel form and strengthened the effect he had already created by placing Nick alone in burnt out terrain. Without Nick's commentary, readers are left wondering how he is connected to -- and connects -- the stories. As I am arguing, these connections are implied by the newsreel form itself; by not making Nick into a reporter or writer, Hemingway allows him to function in the end as the camera, the voiceover, and the consciousness which edits the newsreel itself.

The revised version of the story immerses readers in the experience of making meaning. This can be seen by comparing the differences between Nick and Harold in terms of their perspectives on language and representation. In the only remaining reference to Nick as a writer, Hemingway describes him as feeling that "he had left everything behind, the need for thinking, the need to write, other needs. It was all back of him" (134). Though readers often identify Nick with Hemingway, Nick's character seems

²⁵ This material was published posthumously as "On Writing" in The Nick Adams Stories.

²⁶ For example, Hemingway writes, "The only writing that was any good was what you made up, what you imagined. That made everything come true. Like when he wrote 'My Old Man' he'd never seen a jockey killed and the next week Georges Parfremment was killed at that very jump and that was the way it looked. Everything good he'd ever written he'd made up. None of it had ever happened. Other things had happened. Better things, maybe. That was what the family couldn't understand. They thought it was all

detached from external references and appears to exist directly in the landscape before him. By way of contrast, it seems likely that Harold, after leaving home for Kansas City, will seek a job as a reporter at The Kansas City Star, the newspaper he reads at his parents' home and the newspaper on which Hemingway, and his later character, Jake Barnes, worked.²⁷ Nick not only leaves behind the desire to write, but the desire to experience reality through mediated representations. While Harold reads constantly, Nick has decided not to carry any books with him and only briefly wishes that he had something to read; while Harold enjoys examining maps that depict the battles of the Great War, Nick "did not need to get his map out. He knew where he was from the position of the river" (155, 135). Though other short story sequences, such as Winesburg, Ohio, include maps, and though Hemingway had kept a map of northern Michigan pinned to the wall above his desk while he was composing "Big Two-Hearted River" in Paris, he chose not to include a map in In Our Time (Young Hemingway 40-41).²⁸ If Hemingway he had, the result would have been the same as if he had included the material about Nick writing the stories: Nick's "writing" or specific location would

experience... Nick in the stories was never himself. He made him up" (The Nick Adams Stories 237-238).

²⁷ Hemingway's desire to avoid being too closely associated with Nick may explain why he made Harold rather than Nick the protagonist of "Soldier's Home," though Harold's return home from the war would chronologically fit with Nick's. The importance of Nick not being associated with Hemingway is corroborated by the fact that he did not add any stories about Nick to In Our Time when he added his new opening for the Scribner's edition, though he had completed several such stories in the meantime.

²⁸ Interestingly, Joseph M. Flora's Hemingway's Nick Adams includes maps of the area around Lake Michigan as a way of tracing the development of Nick's character.

have provided an explicit explanation for the structure of the text. Instead, Nick's decision not to examine a map emphasizes the relative importance of time rather than space in the text. By essentially surveying his own map as he moves through the landscape, Nick further immerses readers in his perceptions, and the meaning of his movements only becomes clear in the duration of perception and interpretation.

This effect of immersing readers is enhanced by the careful attention that Nick gives to his sense of sight and the way seeing becomes thinking for him. In this way, the camera function Nick assumes in Chapter VI culminates in "Big Two-Hearted River." In a news story with a similar setting, Hemingway had earlier explored this idea of the reporter functioning as a kind of documentary camera. In an article for the Toronto Star, "The Best Rainbow Trout Fishing," Hemingway "explores the literary use he can make of a technique borrowed from film in an effort to describe with documentary precision a great river for trout fishing near the Sault Sainte Marie canals" (Fishkin 142). Hemingway writes that

to get the proper picture you want to image in rapid succession the following fade-ins:

A high pine covered bluff that rises up out of the shadows. A short sand slope down to the river and quick elbow turn with a little floor wood jammed in the bend and then a pool.

A pool where the moselle colored water sweeps into a dark swirl and expanse that is blue-brown with depth and fifty feet across.

There is the setting. (By-Line 9-10)

In "Big Two-Hearted River," Hemingway removes the conversational "you," the obvious presence of the reporter, and the explicit camera directions that he uses here. In following Stein's suggestions and transforming fact into fiction, Hemingway eliminates obvious

artifice as well as obvious facts. As with the vignettes, he makes his style more detached as he shapes a fictional form modeled on the techniques of the newsreel. In seeking a language that seems immediate and true, Hemingway makes Nick seem like a camera and words seem like his lens.

At the beginning of the story, Nick arrives in Seney to find that the town is gone and "[e]ven the surface had been burned off the ground" (133). While readers inevitably connect the burnt landscape with the destruction of war and the shellshock that soldiers like Harold and Nick brought home with them, it also represents the opportunity to bring another feeling home from the war, the "cool clear feeling" Harold experienced when living in the moment and through his eyes. In one of the portions of the story that Hemingway chose to delete, Nick thinks that he

wanted to write about country so it would be there like Cézanne had done it in painting. You had to do it from inside yourself. There wasn't any trick. Nobody had ever written about country like that. He felt almost holy about it. It was deadly serious. You could do it if you would fight it out. If you lived right with your eyes. (Nick Adams Stories 239)

By removing such comments and almost every indication that Nick is a writer, Hemingway hides the trick of his technique: Nick does not think what it means "to live right with your eyes" but enacts it, and readers do not dwell on this idea but enact it as well in the act of interpretation. Nick first finds that the "surface has been burned off the ground," an unlikely image of the world wiped clean; he then finds a cool, clear pool of water, where he sees trout "slightly distorted... through the glassy convex surface" (133). Thus, Nick recreates Harold's "cool clear feeling" by looking; he becomes a lens like the pools, and through his eyes he sees, feels, and makes a new surface of the world.

When Nick moves away from the pool, sight becomes more active and the camera shots Nick provides flash more quickly on the screen of his consciousness. This relation of sight to motion also shows how seeing can become a way of fulfilling desire. In the solitary world of "Big Two-Hearted River," desire is as readily and as easily fulfilled as Harold wished in "Soldier's Home"; it bears no consequences and leaves no residue other than the images on the retina that are soon replaced. To see this way, Nick finds his thoughts need to be "choked" off before the past interferes with the present. This immersion in the present parallels the immersion of readers in the text: While Nick leaves everything behind, including his memories, the complications of relationships, and the need to make sense of such things, readers instead find correspondences such as those between Nick's satisfactions in fishing alone and the frustrated, misguided fishing of the couple in "Out of Season." In making readers active participants in the process of meaning-making, "Big Two-Hearted River" is thus perhaps the most successful example of Hemingway's often quoted "iceberg principle," since such participation lends a sense of fullness and authenticity to the pared down language of the story itself. In deleting outside references, like the one to Cézanne, in this final story, Hemingway moves readers into Nick's present and makes them inside participants in seeing the landscape, moving about in it, and connecting its meaning to other points in the text. Instead of reading a text from the outside, like Harold, readers are immersed in a world, like Nick, and must follow his sight to make sense. Reading the story is, as Hemingway wrote Wilson, "like looking at it and then going in and living in it -- and then coming out and looking at it again."

Nick's attempt to choke off the painful traces of the past parallel Hemingway's attempts to suppress the traces of past usage in language itself.²⁹ Furthermore, as he moves alone, his voice becomes a pure voice-over merging with the landscape, and readers are immersed not only in his perspective but also in his language. In this way, the force of Nick's desire and the logic of the text make it seem as if the individual, the event, language itself, can achieve a unity that is impossible in everyday experience.

Hemingway's desire to locate language in the landscape and experience in the immediacy of nature strongly recalls Henry David Thoreau's similar experiments in Walden.

Hemingway's In Our Time, however, reflects a more expansive and fragmented view of individual experience; unlike Thoreau, Nick organizes and limits relations but does not define them through his meditations. While Thoreau centers his text on a pond that allows experience to be plummeted, Nick, in the final story, arrives at a river, a more appropriate symbol for the stream of images that underlies the text. Just as the newsreels trained the perceptions of viewers to make sense of the apparently random stream of images in which they were arranged, Hemingway uses his text to prepare his readers for reading this river and Nick's movements around it. In its relations to the other segments of the text, its "glassy convex surface" takes on a special significance as a new way of seeing that redefines language as well. In this final story, Hemingway casts Nick as a camera lens and convinces his readers that this lens, like the stream and the language used

²⁹ Although Nick is unique in Hemingway's writing because he has "a precise origin and a precise background, usually given only obliquely to such heroes as Jake Barnes and Frederic Henry," in In Our Time, Nick, with few exceptions, does not reflect on the past

to describe it, are cool and clear. Unlike Harold or the officer in "On the Quai at Smyrna" it seems as if Hemingway need not lie or distort language. As Fishkin writes,

The world of "Big Two-Hearted River" is a world where one is required to tell no lies, where one is not even required to speak to compare the present with the past, to abstract from what one is experiencing. There is no disjunction here between words and things; words themselves are superfluous. (154)

Hemingway tries to free language from lies by suggesting life can be lived through one's eyes rather than through words. When Harold sees women his age, he thinks, "the world they were in was not the world he was in"; in "Big Two-Hearted River," Nick actually enters another world (72). His reappearance throughout the text makes it seem as if his voice carries over from one story to the other, and his experiences and consciousness become the touchstone by which readers arrange the images of the newsreel.³⁰ The fact that his final appearance in the text is offered without direct commentary on his own history or the history of his generation makes Nick into a kind of simple declarative sentence himself. Thus, the language of "Big Two-Hearted River" has the effect of the language that would be used by newsreel commentators: Disembodied words appear over the disparate images with an authority that seems almost naturalized

himself, and so his life comes to seem less like a succession of connected events than discontinuous clips from an extended moment in the present (Flora 2).

³⁰ In "The Unifying Consciousness of a Divided Conscience: Nick Adams as Author of *In Our Time*," Debra A. Modellmog concludes that "although Nick's mind is fragmented, confused to pieces by his accelerated entry into adulthood, *In Our Time* is not at all fragmentary. It is a complete work, unified by the consciousness of Nick Adams as he attempts to come to terms through his fiction with his involvement in World War I, and, more recently, with the problems of marriage and his fear of fatherhood" (608).

and transparent, as if the words were found, not put, there, and superfluous to the meanings they announce.

In combining the role of the camera eye and the voiceover, Nick finds a life and language without lies or consequences. However, reading Nick's character through Harold's reveals the limits that make this fulfillment possible and what is lost as Nick becomes the man behind the camera and the voice behind the microphone. While Nick's focus on the present of his senses masks his narrow perspective, Harold's explicit connections among desire, language, and the complications of society suggests how Nick's accomplishment in achieving a purely individual perspective comes at the expense of any broad sense of community. In Nick, the idea of community seems reduced to a single individual just as language seems reduced to single, atomistic words.³¹ In these terms, the ending of Hemingway's work stands in contrast to similarly structured works such as Winesburg, Ohio and Dubliners. While George's departure by train at the end of Winesburg is the occasion of the most meaningful gathering in the work itself, Nick's arrival by train at the end of In Our Time is the occasion of utter solitude. While Gabriel's final epiphany at the end of "The Dead" leads him to recognize the limits of his own

³¹ In Our Time thus tends towards the purity of language typical of the lyric poem. Wallace Stevens, who came to blows with Hemingway in 1936, continued to respect this aspect of his writing. In a letter to Henry Church, he writes: "Most people don't think of Hemingway as a poet, but obviously he is a poet and I should say, offhand, the most significant of living poets, so far as the subject of EXTRAORDINARY ACTUALITY is concerned" (Stevens 411- 412). Robert Penn Warren similarly described Hemingway as a "lyric rather than a dramatic writer, and for the lyric writer virtue depends upon the intensity with which the personal vision is rendered rather than upon the creation of a variety of characters whose visions are in conflict among themselves" (qtd. in Rovit 49).

desires and the sense in which experience can be shared, Nick's final realization in "Big Two-Hearted River," that he would have to wait to fish the swamp, shows he will continue to explore the world only through his individual perceptions.

While the journalistic form of the newsreel provides Hemingway with possibilities for exploring the idea of truthful language in his fiction, this language also limits his perspective, as is most obvious from his portrayal of women in In Our Time. For example, in one of the later stories, "Cross-Country Snow," Nick speaks of a woman, Helen, who is pregnant with his child. Though her pregnancy is the reason for Nick's unwanted return to the United States, he does not mention her in "Big Two-Hearted River" and she never appears in In Our Time. While women are associated with violence, birth, and death, throughout the text, even this limited view of female identity is absent in "Big-Two Hearted River" as Nick chokes off every memory and every desire except those which he can control himself.³² Thus, the "growing antagonism to women" that Wilson would find in Hemingway's later writing can thus be seen in the way that he moves women out of the frame in this, his first major work (237). Yet the cost of the limited

Tetlow similarly argues that the coherence of In Our Time comes from the book's lyric structure (13-14).

³² While In Our Time opens in ways similar to The Heart of Darkness, it concludes very differently. While Joseph Conrad similarly dismisses middle-class women as conventional hypocrites and only portrays women in terms of their relationships with men, he shows Marlow reentering the complications of society despite the inevitable "flavour of mortality in lies" (90). When Marlow meets Kurtz's "Intended" and lies to her, he, unlike Nick, recognizes that he bears at least some culpability for this need to lie in society.

unity of Nick's vision is measured in his emotional state, which is so precariously balanced that a lost trout causes him to sit down to gather himself.

In "Big Two-Hearted River" Hemingway allows Nick to escape from the consequences of memory and society and exist as a pure observer. Though Nick becomes a lens through which Hemingway's readers can try to make sense, the unified perspective he provides is based on a limiting sense of relations. As such, the seemingly "true" ending of In Our Time in "Big Two-Hearted River" could better be understood as a romance of fact. Though beautifully rendered in itself, this conclusion contradicts Hemingway's own experience as a reporter and the growing understanding of the observer as a participant. Instead it offers an idealized understanding of cinematic and photographic images even as they were being recognized as constructs always "altered in their configuration by the inevitable presence of the camera-man (Fielding 148-149). In Our Time thus narrows down the realities of the post-war world to the isolated experiences of a single individual; the mastery of the work lies in the fact that such a simple conclusion can bring together the complex structure of the work and, despite its improbability, lend an aura of authenticity to the image and to language. It is the journalistic form of the newsreel that allows Hemingway to craft this romance of fact and explore complex demands on perception in a seemingly simple form.

It is appropriate, then, that "L'Envoi," a titled vignette, concludes In Our Time. Essentially told to Hemingway by the newsreel cameraman Shorty Wornall, "L'Envoi," like "On Quai at Smyrna," is presented in the form of a short interview, and it similarly affirms the presence of the reporter who constructs the story. In this way, "L'Envoi"

calls attention to the role of the observer even in the "objective" form of the newsreel and thus serves as a fitting commentary on Hemingway's final story, "Big Two-Hearted River," and on the work as a whole. The king uses the artificial, English mannerisms found in "On the Quai," and while he speaks of his hopes of escape, the queen, after a brief greeting, toils on, silently cultivating the garden. The interviewer concludes the piece with a line that Hemingway took almost directly from Wornall, "Like all Greeks he wanted to go to America" (157). Like the Greek refugees in "On the Quai," the king believes that escape is everything even if the place of refuge is understood as little more than a cliché. In this way, the king calls into question the ideas of language existing outside of a social context and individuals escaping from a socially constructed world. Furthermore, the queen's work and silence underscore the issues of gender relations absent from "Big Two-Hearted River." In all of these ways, "L'Envoi" troubles Nick's role in "Big Two-Hearted River" and undermines the neat way he brings together the relations in the text as a camera eye. If "Big Two-Hearted River" is a romance of fact, constructing truth in language by limiting the scope of its perspective, "L'Envoi" shows that Hemingway was aware of these limits and knew that his ideal language could only exist in the world of fiction.

Like In Our Time, Hemingway's novel, The Sun Also Rises, reflects his experience as a journalist and immersion in the modernist culture of post-War Paris, and it deals with many of the same complex issues of authenticity and perception. However, instead of using an experimental form modeled on the newsreel, Hemingway addresses these issues

through another aspect of journalism: He presents his novel in the first-person and examines how his journalist-narrator Jake Barnes is both an observer and participant. Although both works center on a single character, Jake is physically present throughout all of the scenes he describes, and his role suggests a different take on Hemingway's letter to Wilson about In Our Time: While the effect of that work is to give readers the perspective of "looking at it and then going in and living in it -- and then coming out and looking at it again," this process of observing, being immersed in a story, then coming out to observe again, more accurately describes Jake's role as a participant-observer in The Sun Also Rises. Though at first he may seem uninvolved, Jake increasingly becomes less detached and participates in the story he describes, and only in the end is he able to restore an outside perspective and regain his equilibrium as an observer.

Through this depiction of Jake as an observer and participant rather than as a transparent lens, The Sun Also Rises engages contemporary ideas of journalism and presents a more complex conception of the interrelationships between fact and fiction. As Michael Schudson writes in Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers, "In the twenties and thirties, many journalists observed with growing anxiety that facts themselves, or what they had taken to be facts, could not be trusted" (6-7). With this suspicion of "objective" facts, journalists began to accept the idea that the "experience of reporting should be in the report" (187).³³ Likewise, in The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway presents the reporter's experience of observing, and he explores the

³³ See my chapter, "Divided Identities, Desiring Reporters in Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men and James Agee and Walker Evans's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men."

necessity of accepting lies and fictions as part of the social use of language and complements to the facts themselves. While In Our Time uses a factual model, the newsreel, to shape a fictional world, The Sun Also Rises uses ideas of fiction to restore a sense of trust in the facts.

Considering Jake as a typical reporter of his time helps to correct the common reading that his character is only a detached observer. As the historical and textual evidence suggests, Jake is a participant-observer who recognizes the "experience of reporting should be in the report." In this way, Jake's reporting resembles Hemingway's own. In the feature pieces Hemingway wrote for the Toronto Star and in the later articles he wrote after his fame had been established, he did not merely report on the news but frequently focused on his own presence and responses. As Phyllis Frus notes, "Hemingway's journalism from the twenties is characterized by iron, parody, broad satire, and by a narrative persona that communicates variously authority, irreverence, expertise, and wit" (59). As Schudson argues, such features were common at the time, and the idea of "objectivity" was more of a reaction to mask the true state of affairs in the way journalism functioned and was practiced by reporters:

While objectivity, by the 1930s, was an articulate professional value in journalism, it was one that seemed to disintegrate as soon as it was formulated. It became an ideal in journalism, after all, precisely when the impossibility of overcoming subjectivity in presenting the news was widely accepted, and... precisely *because* subjectivity had come to be regarded as inevitable. (157)

Though Hemingway examines precisely this "inevitable" subjectivity in The Sun Also Rises, critics have rarely considered Jake's understanding of his occupation as a reporter and role as an observer. Instead, most critics have cited Jake's war wound and

impotence as the basis for inaccurate and unrealistic views of his objectivity as a detached observer. Essentially, such arguments claim that since Nick cannot fully consummate his relationship with Lady Brett, he can only watch her story and others unfold. Reynolds typifies this position in his book *The Sun Also Rises: A Novel of the Twenties*, noting that Jake "has trained himself to be the detached, ironic observer" and claiming that his "detachment becomes our own; we are forced into the spectator's role, for Jake Barnes will let us get no closer" (51). However, Jake's wound can be seen as a constant reminder of his bodily presence, and it does not prevent him from becoming involved with the lives of Brett and the other characters in significant ways. In fact, Jake precipitates the central action and climax of the novel: He brings Brett and his friend, Robert Cohn, together, plans the trip to Spain that forms the centerpiece of the action, and brings Brett and the Spanish bullfighter Pedro Romero together as well. While Jake does observe the other characters, without him, none of the action in the novel would happen at all.

Jake's work as a reporter and awareness of his involvement in the story were more obvious before Hemingway revised the galley proofs of the novel. At the beginning of what was to have been Chapter II, Jake speaks directly to the reader:

I did not want to tell this story in the first person but I find that I must. I wanted to stay well outside of the story so that I would not be touched by it in any way, and handle all the people in it with that irony and pity that are so essential to good writing. I even thought I might be amused by all the things that are going to happen to Lady Brett Ashley and Mr. Robert Cohn and Michael Campbell, Esq., and Mr. Jake Barnes, but I made the unfortunate mistake, for a writer, of first having been Mr. Jake Barnes. So it is not going to be splendid and cool and detached after all. "What a pity" as Brett used to say. (qtd. in Svoboda 133-134)

As Hemingway has Jake admit, his story is not and could not be detached. As Jake follows the story of his first subject, Robert, and then his second subject, Brett, he becomes increasingly involved in their lives. While Nick finds a cool, detached feeling in escaping from the society, Jake remains engaged with society through his affection for Brett and his occupation as a journalist. While Nick chokes off his desires and the memory of his wound, Jake does not forget either his desires or his wound: He does not become a camera lens but remains an embodied reporter. Significantly, Jake's involvement and subjectivity do not violate the authenticity of his writing but increase it as he comes to account for his "inevitable" involvement as an observer.

The key change between Nick and Jake, between the illusion of the objective lens and the reality of the participant observer, is signaled in Hemingway's short novel Torrents of Spring (1926), which he completed in a matter of days while in the middle of writing The Sun Also Rises. With a title from Ivan Turgeneff, the novel is mainly a satire of Sherwood Anderson's recent novel, Dark Laughter (1925), and Hemingway wrote the novel in part with the intention that Boni and Liveright, Anderson's publisher as well as his own, would refuse it, thus freeing him from his contract and allowing him to switch to a more prestigious publisher (Townsend 229).³⁴ Nonetheless, the unguarded spontaneity of Torrents of Spring reveals much about the issues that were on Hemingway's mind as he wrote The Sun Also Rises. This is clear in the single direct reference to Anderson. Yogi,

³⁴ Hemingway was undoubtedly jealous of Anderson at the time. When Sylvia Beach sold her first copy of In Our Time on Oct. 14, 1925, Hemingway's book appeared in her window along with Anderson's; even more galling for Hemingway was the fact that many

one of the two protagonists and a veteran of the Great War, reflects on his recent reading of Dark Laughter:

This chap in the book by Anderson. He had been a soldier, too. He had been at the front two years, Anderson said. What was his name? Fred Something... One night, in the time of fighting, he went out on parade -- no, it was patrol -- in No Man's Land, and saw another man stumbling along in the darkness and shot him... You don't kill men in war much, the book said. The hell you don't, Yogi thought, if you're two years in the infantry at the front. They just die. Indeed, they do, Yogi thought. (53-54)

He goes on to add: "Afterward, killing this man haunted Fred. It's got to be sweet and true. That was the way the soldiers thought, Anderson said. The hell it was. This Fred was supposed to have two years in an infantry regiment at the front" (54).

In satirizing Anderson, Hemingway implies that only the soldier can truly understand the experience of war. While in the deleted portion of "Big Two-Hearted River" Hemingway argues for the importance of the imagination, here he emphasizes the authority of the eyewitness who possesses privileged access and information: Unlike Anderson, a veteran like Hemingway would never confuse a parade with a patrol. In Yogi's mocking comments we can see the kernel of Jake's authority as a veteran who experienced war and as a reporter who gains inside information. In privileging the eyewitness as a representative observer, Hemingway also suggests that Yogi and Jake are representatives of their particular generation, while Anderson, Hemingway's senior by 23 years, is from a generation whose experiences and aesthetic loyalties prevent him from accurately portraying the horrors of the war. Like the title In Our Time, Hemingway's

reviews of In Our Time compared him to Anderson at a time when Dark Laughter was a best seller while his book was selling only moderately well (Paris Years 328).

epigrams for The Sun Also Rises from Stein ("You are all a lost generation") and Ecclesiastes ("One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh...") emphasize the strategy of inviting readers into a community defined by a time rather than a particular place. Though Jake, like Nick, stands as a representative member of his generation, he does not attain this status by escaping from others but by "being there" and shaping and depicting their lives.

Jake's efforts to depict others begin with his journalism and develop as he narrates the stories of his subjects and becomes increasingly involved in their lives. The importance of his work as a reporter in this regard is underscored by the fact that he is the only one of the main characters who has a job. Though Hemingway reduced descriptions of Jake's work as a journalist in the published version of the novel, as late as the galley stage he had Jake introduce himself by stating, "I am a newspaper man living in Paris" (qtd. in Svoboda 134). Jake then goes on to explain that after being "invalided home" after the war and working for The Mail in New York, he started the Continental Press Association with a partner but decided that he would rather live in Paris as "European Director" than stay in New York and get rich. He enjoys his position so much that he even takes a lower salary so that no one else will try to steal it. Yet in describing his job he admits that he would prefer to become a novelist:

I write political dispatches under my own name, and feature stuff under a couple of different names, and all the trained-seal stuff is filed through our office. It is a nice job. I want to hang on to it. Like all newspaper men I have always wanted to write a novel, and I suppose, now that I am doing it, the novel will have the awful taking-the-pen-in-hand quality that afflicts newspaper men when they start to write on their own hook. (qtd. in Svoboda 135)

Elsewhere in his early drafts, Hemingway also made it obvious that Jake was meant to be the author of The Sun Also Rises. For example, when late in the novel Jake goes alone to San Sebastian, he thinks to himself, "You could lie on the beach and soak in the sun and get straightened around inside again. Maybe I would feel like writing" (qtd. in Svoboda 80). The implication is that his writing will become The Sun Also Rises. Throughout these early drafts of the novel (which was first titled Fiesta, the title it retains in its British editions), Hemingway includes other remarks on the nature of writing, as he had in Torrents of Spring and early drafts of "Big Two-Hearted River." Jake considers the advice that Hemingway had received from Stein while working on In Our Time. Jake thinks to himself,

Now when my friends read this they will say it is awful; Gertrude Stein once told me that remarks are not literature. All right, let it go at that. Only this time all the remarks are going in it and if it is not literature who claimed it was anyway. (qtd. in Svoboda 38)

Yet as Frederic Joseph Svoboda notes in Hemingway and The Sun Also Rises, "Eventually, all the 'remarks' that found their way into the first draft of the novel disappeared as Hemingway revised" (38). Indeed, throughout the process of writing The Sun Also Rises, "Hemingway continued to amend Jake's judgments, making him less a conscious commentator and more a man who is recording immediate experience" (81).

Though Jake would never become simply a recorder, like Nick, his comments and remarks became more understated as Hemingway digested additional advice from his friend, F. Scott Fitzgerald. After reading what Hemingway thought of as the final draft of his novel, Fitzgerald wrote him to convey his dissatisfaction with the introduction: "I

think that there are about 24 sneers, superiorities and nose-thumbings-at-nothing that mar the whole narrative up to p. 29 where (after a false start on the introduction of Cohn) it really gets going" (Svoboda 138).³⁵ He went on to add:

When so many people can write well + the competition is so heavy I can't imagine how you could have done these first 20 pps. so casually. You can't *play* with peoples attention -- a good man who has the power of arresting attention at will must be especially careful...

from p. 30 I begin to like the novel but Ernest I can't tell you the sense of disappointment that beginning with its elephantine facetiousness gave me. (Svoboda 139)

The remarkably flat original opening makes it is clear that at this stage of his career Hemingway still knew when to follow good advice.³⁶ He also knew how far to follow it: He cut more material than Fitzgerald recommended but kept the biographical material on Robert Cohn that Fitzgerald had found objectionable (Svoboda 103).

These revisions have allowed critics to minimize the importance of Jake's work as a journalist to his character and to the structure of the novel. Critics have been quick to do this, in part, in order to emphasize the artistry of the book and defend it from the many personal memoirs written by people who recognize themselves in the book and

³⁵ Though in A Moveable Feast (1964) Hemingway acknowledges his appreciation of The Great Gatsby (1925), he downplayed the timing and significance of Fitzgerald's advice (184-185). Later critics, however, have verified that Hemingway did receive Fitzgerald's advice in time to revise The Sun Also Rises. This was confirmed by the discovery among Hemingway's paper of the ten-page letter, which is quoted here, since it refers to page numbers matching the carbon copy of the final draft and not the galleys (Svoboda 98).

³⁶ Hemingway's earlier opening reads: "This is a novel about a lady. Her name is Lady Ashley and when the story begins she is living in Paris and it is Spring. That should be a good setting for a romantic but highly moral story. As everyone knows, Paris is a very romantic place. Spring in Paris is a very happy and romantic time. Autumn in Paris,

take Hemingway to task for deviating from the way things "really" were. Though at various stages of his drafts Hemingway drew heavily on his own experiences with people he knew, his defenders want to distance the book from its factual sources and hence from its indebtedness to journalistic techniques and themes.³⁷ Thus, Svoboda notes that while the first "thirty-two handwritten pages of the novel's original beginning seems to be something very close to journalism, if not a completely journalistic account of Hemingway's 1925 trip to Spain," as Hemingway moves into "the rest of the original draft, journalism rapidly turns to fiction" (8-9). He goes on to state, "The Sun Also Rises is not a flawed work of journalism but is superbly realized fiction" (10).³⁸ By distancing the novel from journalism, however, critics overlook the contributions journalism makes to the structure of the novel and to Jake's characterization; they also miss seeing the similarities between the novel and In Our Time.

although very beautiful, might give a note of sadness or melancholy that we shall try to keep out of this story" (qtd. in Svoboda 131).

³⁷ The novelist Harold Loeb, Lady Duff Twysden, her fiancé Pat Guthrie, the humorist Donald Ogden Stewart, Hemingway's friend Bill Smith, and Ford Maddox Ford, all are identified by name in Hemingway's early drafts. These drafts also include his wife Hadley Richardson Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, none of whom appears directly in the published version (Svoboda 8),

³⁸ Svoboda emphasizes this distinction elsewhere, noting that "the description of Jake and Bill's fishing trip has been carefully included in the novel, not as part of the sort of journalistic account that the novel has sometimes been viewed as, but for reasons that are important to the overall effect it will have in juxtaposition to other actions of the characters. A purely journalistic description of the events of June 1925 would have been far different from the idyllic week of relaxation that Hemingway described" (15). Later, he stresses that "even in the first draft of The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway carefully distanced himself from his fictional narrator; and this distancing is one thing that makes the novel much more than a simple journalistic recounting of events" (84).

In the published version of the novel, Hemingway does leave in a few key details that emphasize Jake's occupation as a reporter and suggest how this affects his telling of the story. Early in the novel, Hemingway describes a typical workday for Jake including his attendance at a news conference and work in his office (36). Significantly, Hemingway implies that Jake is working as a reporter even when this work is not overt. Not long after Robert Cohn appears in the novel, Jake wants to escape an unwanted meeting with him and comments on the ethics of being a reporter: "It was very important to discover graceful exits like that in the newspaper business, where it is such an important part of the ethics that you should never seem to be working" (11). This comment underscores the fact that Jake is working even when he does not seem to be; it also suggests that he relates differently to his implied audience than he does to the other characters. As a narrator, Jake reveals relatively little about himself, but when he does talk about himself, as he does here, his comments and conversational tone encourage readers to feel part of a secret, inner circle, since they have information about Jake and his work that the other characters do not have.

Despite Jake's comment about the need to conceal his work, Hemingway leaves suggestive traces of Jake's occupation and literary aspirations in The Sun Also Rises. For example, when Jake first describes Robert and then meets him, he seems to be working in interesting ways. After noting the circumstances of Robert's divorce, he tries to wheedle similar information out of him to use as material for gossipy news articles: "Do you know any dirt?... None of your exalted friends getting divorces?" (4, 9-10). Jake does more than reveal his cruel streak here in prodding Robert; he also affirms that Robert is a

valid subject for observation and cynically refers to the kind of story he finds to be newsworthy. Along with Jake's descriptions of Lady Brett, whose divorce and subsequent love life he also describes, his description of Robert initially puts the emphasis on his reporting skills and authority as an observer. Like a good reporter, Jake is skeptical about the stories Robert tells of himself and has them verified: "I mistrust all frank and simple people, especially when their stories hold together, and I had always had the suspicion that perhaps Robert Cohn had never been middleweight boxing champion... but I finally had somebody verify the story from Spider Kelly [Robert's boxing coach]" (4). Though Jake implies that Robert makes good news copy, the next step for him is to transform Robert's story into a literary work with more significance than mere "dirt."

As the second chapter begins, Jake further considers Robert in literary terms as a potential character for a novel. After Robert goes to New York and has his novel accepted by a publisher, he returns to Paris a changed man: "He was more enthusiastic about America than ever, and he was not so simple, and he was not so nice. The publishers had praised his novel pretty highly and it rather went to his head" (8). Robert is not too "simple" for Jake's attention after all. Later, in one of the self-reflexive traces left in the novel, Jake implies that Robert's complex character requires that he revise his earlier portrayal: "Somehow I feel that I have not shown Robert Cohn clearly... He had a nice, boyish sort of cheerfulness that had never been trained out of him, and I probably have not brought it out" (45).³⁹ Even as Jake writes about Robert, he uses Robert's own

³⁹ Another self-reflexive trace in the novel occurs when Jake visits the old man who buys tickets for the bull-fights for him every year. "He was the archivist, and all the archives of the town were in his office. That has nothing to do with the story" (96). Since this cryptic

writing as a way of asserting his literary credentials. He positions himself as being more accurate in his literary opinions than Robert or his critics: "[I]t was not really such a bad novel as the critics later called it, although it was a very poor novel" (5-6). In considering Robert, Jake uses both his reporting skills and his literary knowledge as he does throughout the novel.

Yet Jake hides his literary inclinations and aspirations from Robert. Describing Robert's time in Europe, Jake notes, "Robert Cohn had two friends, Braddock and myself. Braddock was his literary friend. I was his tennis friend" (5). Later in the novel, when Jake and his friend Bill Gorton are fishing together, they discuss his literary ambitions more directly. As they playfully discuss the importance of "Irony and Pity" in New York literary circles, Jake fails to be ironical enough for Bill, who says, "And you claim you want to be a writer, too. You're only a newspaperman. An expatriated newspaperman" (114).⁴⁰ He then proceeds to tell Jake, "Nobody that ever left their own country ever wrote anything worth printing. Not even in the newspapers... You spend all your time talking, not working... You don't work. One group claims women support you. Another group claims that you're impotent" (115). Though Bill understands Jake better than Robert, given that Hemingway's was also an expatriated newspaperman, this comment further provides a sense of dramatic irony as readers are in on a joke of which Bill is unaware. Furthermore, Bill unwittingly confirms that Jake is upholding his earlier incident cannot properly be called a "story," Jake seems to be referring to the story he gives readers, the novel itself.

statement of ethics: He is successful in appearing not to work, since despite Bill's comment he is at the time in the process of reporting on his friends' lives. Bill's reference to impotence leads to yet another level of irony when it prompts Jake to speak, for once, directly of his wound, which he describes as "an accident." Bill replies, "Never mention that... That's the sort of thing that can't be spoken of. That's what you ought to work up into a mystery" (115).⁴¹ Bill's comment to Jake shows the level of their friendship, yet it also places the reader in a more intimate relationship with Jake: Given that Jake is the narrator of The Sun Also Rises and wants to be a writer, readers are led to believe he has done exactly what Bill suggests and worked up the mystery of his wound into a novel. Thus, Bill's comment can be seen as another instance of self-reflection indicating Jake's participating in telling the story of the novel.

While Jake's wound is, as many critics have suggested, important in understanding his character, its importance to Jake's credibility as a reporter and storyteller has more to do with authenticating his observations than with any kind of detachment. At first, his wound is a kind of badge showing he is a valid witness among the group of walking wounded, while later it highlights Jake's complicated connections with the other characters he is describing. While in In Our Time Nick acts as a representative of a generation by defining a moment of "our time," in The Sun Also Rises Jake's wound

⁴⁰ This conversation obviously plays off the introduction that Hemingway deleted and Jake's comments on the deficiencies of "irony and pity" in the story he recounts.

⁴¹ Bill goes on to compare the mystery to "Henry's bicycle." This literary gossip refers to an apocryphal story of how Henry James was rendered impotent in a cycling accident (Twenties 76-77).

makes him a representative of his generation by linking him as an eye-witness to the war, and it underscores his authority as a reporter who is on the scene of the events he describes. Of course, by building authority in this way, Jake shows how a sense of community relies on exclusion as much as inclusion, and his interests and friends determine the bounds of the world that we see. This sense of privileged access is obvious when Brett introduces Jake to Count Mippipopolous and tells him the Count is "one of us... No doubt. One can always tell" (32). When Brett and the Count appear at Jake's apartment in the middle of the night, the Count's droll comments reveal the inadequacy of language alone in defining membership in this group; instead he suggests that belonging is based on bearing and recognizing scars. The Count emphasizes seeing as a form of experience when he tells Brett, "'My dear, I am sure Mr. Barnes has seen a lot. Don't think that I don't think so sir. I have seen a lot, too'" (60). While seeing accurately creates a sense of authenticity in "Big Two-Hearted River," in The Sun Also Rises seeing is not an end in itself but a means of verification and experience that remains grounded in the body. Thus, the Count removes his shirt and vest to show Brett and Jake one of his scars: "Below the line where his ribs stopped were two raised white welts... Above the small of the back were the same two scars, raised as thick as a finger" (60). It is as if Hemingway is making Jake readers' doubting Thomas, a representative of this group of walking wounded who directly sees the wounds that are a badge of membership and who can, if necessary, touch them to assure readers of their existence.

For Jake, seeing it is an activity that involves him in the scenes he describes. Jake sees the Count's wound, but it is his own wound that indicates his identification with the

community of the walking wounded and participation in the scene before him. Rather than diminishing his authority as a reporter, this enhances it. While Nick's wound is described in Chapter VI of In Our Time, it is never mentioned again and comes to represent the gap between the past and the present that readers have to fill and interpret. Jake's wound, on the other hand, remains an integral part of his identity. Though it does create a gap between Jake and other characters, especially Brett, in The Sun Also Rises Jake mediates the way readers bridge this gap by calling attention to his own participation in it. While the relationship between Nick and the Greeks who frame In Our Time is only implicit in the newsreel form of the text, Jake and Brett explicitly acknowledge their relationship with the Greek Count. In this way, Jake is not so much a realization of Nick's character as he is a more fully drawn version of the reporter who interviews the Greek King in the concluding segment of In Our Time, "L'Envoi." Like that reporter, Jake's consideration of language remains bound in the social complications of his time.

Jake's wound does more than authenticate his reporters; it causes him to become involved in these complications and in the lives of his subjects in ways that he cannot always control. This is most obvious in the way he brings Brett and Robert and then Brett and Pedro together. Appropriately enough, Jake registers the consequences of this involvement not only with his eyes and mind but also with his body, calling attention again to his physical presence in the scenes he describes. This occurs when Robert accuses Jake of "pimping" Lady Brett and then proceeds to knock him out (190-191). As a kind of double to Jake, Robert inflicts what is essentially a self-reproach, a reminder of Jake's responsibility for the debauchery that has occurred during the trip to Spain.

Later, Jake succinctly summarizes his involvement: "That was it. Send a girl off with one man. Introduce her to another to go off with him. Now go and bring her back. And sign the wire with love. That was it all right" (239). Though Jake can no more remain detached from his story than he can resist Brett's charms, he feels the need to pay for his involvement, and Robert's beating marks these payments on Jake's body. Thus, Jake is typical of other reporters of his time in struggling to reconcile an official stance of objectivity with a constant awareness of his involvement in the facts he describes.

Another physical sign of Jake's involvement in the lives of others is the bull's ear that ends up in Brett's drawer:

The bull who killed Vicente Girones was named Bocanegra, was Number 118 of the bull-breeding establishment of Sanchez Taberno, and was killed by Pedro Romero as the third bull of that same afternoon. His ear was cut by popular acclamation and given to Pedro Romero, who, in turn, gave it to Brett, who wrapped it in a handkerchief belonging to myself, and left both ear and handkerchief, along with a number of Muratti cigarette-stubs, shoved far back in the drawer of the bed-table that stood beside her bed in the Hotel Montoya, in Pamplona. (199)

The bull's ear is obviously a symbol of Jake's wounded manhood and acts as a public marker of his private anguish. Like the Count's scars, the ear also represents Jake's membership in an inside group, the aficionados, and he describes it with a reporter's precision to detail. However, in this case the ear marks a betrayal of this group's values that Jake has brought about by through his participation in the story in introducing Brett to Pedro. Her careless treatment of the ear indicates the extent of this betrayal, and indeed, this is affirmed when the inn-keeper Montoya, the most serious of aficionados, expels Jake from this group. Yet the ear also shows how he has also brought together

other seemingly unrelated individuals and groups as well: the Spanish peasants, the bull breeders, the President, the aficionados, tourists, the dance troupes, English, Americans, Jews, Protestants, and Catholics. Though this interaction is made possible by the festival, Jake precipitates the specific nexus of individuals, as indicated by the ear in his handkerchief, which similarly touches on so many lives. In this case, he does not simply gaze on another's wound or consider his own but helps symbolically to make the bull's wound. While at the beginning of the novel, Brett brings Jake into contact with widely disparate groups, from the homosexual men at the dancing-club on the Rue de la Montagne to the Count, as the novel progresses Jake is no longer a spectator observing Brett but a participant who brings her into contact with different individuals and groups.

The bull's ear also measures Jake's status as a journalist and aspirations as a writer. Like his beating from Robert, the ear, as a symbol of the reporter's need to listen, represents Jake's guilt in making rather than observing a story. Again, part of Jake's frustration and pain is not personal but public and professional. Significantly, his involvement in the lives of his characters also leads him to be responsive to complementary relationship between fiction and fact. While in In Our Time, Harold and Nick fantasize about life without complications or consequences, in The Sun Also Rises Jake is involved in a story that is nothing but complications and consequences. His work as a journalist and love for Brett mean that he cannot escape to a fantasy world but must directly confront the relationship between fantasy and reality. This does not mean that Jake does not find such an escape attractive. The fishing trip that he takes in Burguete gives him a respite from his two main subjects, Robert and Brett, and functions as a

return to the garden similar to Nick's in "Big Two-Hearted River." However, unlike Nick he does not go alone on his fishing trip nor can he leave the world of consequences completely behind.⁴² Instead, Jake goes fishing with two companions who represent his past, present, and future. Jake's friend Bill represents Jake's present predicament and future literary aspirations, and their new friend, the English veteran Wilson-Harris, represents the inescapable memory of the war. After the fishing trip, though, Jake does seem to find a world without consequences at the festival in Pamplona: "Everything became quite unreal finally and it seemed as though nothing could have any consequences. It seemed out of place to think of consequences during the fiesta" (154). However, Jake's participation in the lives of those he brings to Pamplona forces him to return to the consequences of his actions and desires. Unlike Nick, Jake cannot leave everything behind him in a garden where seeing and thinking are joined and transparent, and in the concluding chapter of the novel, he pointedly "climbed through the gardens" in Madrid on his way to meet Brett (240).

Jake's recognition of his consequences and continued involvement in others' lives result in a different conception of language in The Sun Also Rises; the reporter with the pen relies on a different language than the reporter who acts as camera. In the novel,

⁴² Edmund Wilson comments on just this difference between these two fishing trips: "The next fishing trip is strikingly different. Perhaps the first had been an idealization. Is it possible to attain to such sensuous bliss merely through going alone to the woods: smoking, fishing, and eating, with no thought about anyone else or about anything one has ever done or ever will be obliged to do? At any rate, today, in The Sun Also Rises, all the things that are wrong with human life are there on the holiday, too -- though one tries to keep them back out of the foreground and to occupy one's mind with the trout, caught

Hemingway filters his language through Jake and grounds his words in specific social contexts. In The Sun Also Rises, Hemingway shows that words are inherently social and specific to a particular context. Thus, his language is less lyrical; it is not purified through a single consciousness but signifies in use. This is evident in the language Jake and Bill share. For example, their conversation about "irony and pity" plays on literary discussions of the time and shows a common shared knowledge (Svoboda 34- 35).

Likewise, Bill uses the word "wonderful" in his drunken, apparently tongue-in-cheek postcards, and when they meet they use it together as an ironic comment on the publishing world and the reading public (70, 120). Thus, their wordplay places Bill and Jake in an exclusive literary community and indicates how they are able to criticize its values. While on their fishing trip, Bill's comical use of "utilize" similarly shows how language can create a community around certain values: "Utilize" expresses his and Jake's shared goal of getting the most pleasures for their money and time, while Wilson-Harris's later use of the word measures the extent to which he has entered their community of friends (128). Jake directly considers how language belongs to particular groups and contexts when he notes: "The English spoken language -- the upper classes, anyway -- must have fewer words than the Eskimo... The English talked with inflected phrases. One phrase to mean everything" (149). Jake indicates how the meaning of a word becomes inflected through use and inseparable from its context so that the same word never means exactly the same thing. Hemingway's own repetition of certain words and

now in a stream of the Pyrenees, and with the kidding of the friend from the States" (217-218).

Jake's hard-boiled, conversational tone enact this principle, as the written words of The Sun Also Rises become inflected like spoken words. Thus, Jake uses the seemingly simple diction of a reporter while building the meaning of words through his own participation in their use.

This repetition enhances the relationship between Jake and his readers at the expense of the other characters. Thus, when Jake first meets Bill, Bill is drunk and says that if he feels daunted he'll go off "like a cat." This phrase is one that Harvey Stone had used earlier, and thus readers are more in the know than Bill when Jake asks him if has seen Harvey (73). Even though Hemingway edited out most of the explicit suggestions that Jake "wrote" the novel, such comments make him seem to exist outside the pages of the book itself in a world where he can speak directly to readers. Yet the sense of language that develops from the specific use of words and Jake's tone and occupation as a journalist do not reflect an absolute division between fact and fiction. Jake need not choose between reading, like Harold, or living, like Nick. Rather, his use of language, like his wound, creates the space to move back and forth between fact and fiction and explore the relationship between the two. Early in the novel, when Robert tells Jake that he and Frances Clyne, his mistress, spent the night talking, Jake sardonically comments: "I could picture it. I have a rotten habit of picturing the bedroom scenes of my friends" (13). Later it becomes obvious this habit is related to his wound and his inability to have satisfying "bedroom scenes" of his own. This inability encourages his imagination and allows him to appreciate the imaginative works of others. In Pamplona, Jake is in his room reading Turgenev's A Sportsman's Sketches and trying to let the effects of alcohol

wear off when Brett comes back to the room next to his, the room she shares with her fiancée, Mike. Jake hears them talking and laughing, and finding himself suddenly sobering up, he quits reading and tries to go to sleep (147-148). Though Hemingway does not specify what else he hears, Jake's reaction suggests it is quite likely Brett and Mike having sex: "I could not sleep. There is no reason why because it is dark you should look at things differently from when it is light. The hell there is isn't!... To hell with women anyway. To hell with you, Lady Brett" (148).

After imagining this bedroom scene, Jake is still unable to sleep, so he turns the light back on and continues reading:

I read the Turgenieff. I knew that now, reading it in the oversensitized state of my mind after too much brandy, I would remember it somewhere, and afterward it would seem as though it had really happened to me. I would always have it. That was another good thing you paid for and then had. (149)

Here Jake explicitly connects fact and fiction. He has something only by paying for his involvement in the story he is telling, for his imagination, which, more than the brandy, causes him to be "oversensitized," and for his wound, which puts him in a position in which he is forced to imagine rather than directly experience such bedroom scenes. Jake's reaction here goes to the root of his identity as an individual and a writer. As an accomplished journalist, Jake is paid for his words; as an aspiring novelist, he realizes he must pay for the words he uses through his experiences and suffering. Now he reads to escape from his desires; later he will write as a substitute for fulfilling his sexual desires. While many journalists, like Hemingway, have used the facts of their observations as the

basis for their fiction, here he proposes a more complex relationship between fact and fiction in which reading fiction becomes a fact of experience as well.⁴³

As a journalist, Jake tries to transcribe reality into words; as a reader, he tries to experience words as reality; as a narrator and implied writer, he tries to convey how words and reality are inextricably and powerfully related. Again, Jake uses Robert as his foil, for Robert seems to miss the point that fact and fiction must be tested by circumstances if language is to link them together. Early in the novel, Jake criticizes Robert's reading of W.H. Hudson's The Purple Land as fact:

"The Purple Land" is a very sinister book if read too late in life. It recounts splendid imaginary amorous adventures of a perfect English gentleman in an intensely romantic land, the scenery of which is very well described. For a man to take it at thirty-four for a guide-book to what life holds is about as safe as it would be for a man of the same age to enter Wall Street direct from a French convent, equipped with a complete set of the more practical Alger books. Cohn, I

⁴³ Hemingway often described reading as a process of "having." In a 1934 article, he affirms that fiction can become a part of experience: "All good books are alike in that they are truer than if they had really happened and after you have finished reading one you will feel that all that happened to you and afterwards it all belongs to you; the good and the bad, the ecstasy, the remorse and sorrow, the people and the places and how the weather was. If you get that you can give that to people, then you are a writer" (By-Line 184). Around the same time, he made similar observations in The Green Hills of Africa, "an absolutely true book" itself meant to explore the boundaries between fiction and fact: "I still had the Sevastopol book of Tolstoi and in the same volume I was reading a story called "The Cossacks" that was very good... and I was living in that Russia again. I was thinking how real that Russia of the time of our Civil War was, as real as any other place, as Michigan, or the prairie north of town and the woods around Evans's game farm, of how, through Turgenieff, I knew that I had lived there, as I had been in the family Buddenbrooks, and had climbed in and out of the her window in Le Rouge et le Noir, or the morning we had come in the gates of Paris and seen Salcède torn apart by the horses at the Place de Grèves" (108). Likewise, in his often quoted interview with George Plimpton, he remarked, "I have tried to eliminate everything unnecessary to conveying experience to the reader so that after he or she has read something it will become a part of his or her experience and seem actually to have happened. This is very hard to do and I've worked at it very hard" (125).

believe, took every word of "The Purple Land" as literally as though it had been an R.G. Dun report. (9)

Jake pities Robert for getting his ideas from books rather than from experience:

I was sorry for him, but it was not a thing that you could do anything about, because right away you ran up against the two stubbornnesses: South America could fix it and he did not like Paris. He got the first idea out of a book, and I suppose the second came out of a book too. (12)

In response to Robert's suggestion that they go to South America, Jake notes that there are plenty of South Americans in Paris. When Robert argues that "[t]hey're not the real South Americans," Jake responds, "They look pretty real to me" (9). Though Jake's comments about The Purple Land show that he has the literary acumen to dispense judgments about the merit of different novels, he initially establishes his authority as a narrator by promising a more direct access to experience and by showing his ability as a reporter to see the difference between what is "real" and what is not. However, it is important to note that Jake's description of The Purple Land is entirely positive; it is the use to which Robert puts it that is incorrect. The problem is not that Robert gets his ideas from books but rather he fails to test romance against reality and thus accepts "truths" that would not stand the weight of experience. As a reporter and aspiring writer, this is Jake's aspiration, to test his imagination against the facts of his experience.

During his fishing trip with Bill, Jake brings fact and fiction together in his own reading. Taking a break from fishing, he describes the book he reads while waiting for Bill to return:

The book was something by A.E.W. Mason, and I was reading a wonderful story about a man who had been frozen in the Alps and then fallen into a glacier and disappeared, and his bride was going to wait twenty-four years exactly for his

body to come out on the moraine, while her true love waited too, and they were still waiting when Bill came up. (120)

Hemingway here playfully merges fact and fiction on another level, as the characters in the book continue to wait until Jake returns to reading. Jake's judgment of the book is contained in the word that he and Bill shared, "wonderful." This inflection is somewhat ironic, but given its use here and its association with Bill, a writer who "made a lot of money on his last book, and was going to make a lot more" (70), Jake really does seem to enjoy this romance and appreciate its popular success. Jake's literary evaluations suggest that he, like Hemingway himself, does not scorn a mass audience or financial rewards. As he shows, used properly and tested against reality, even the most accessible fiction can have value; this literary observation will come to have great personal resonance with Jake as a character. Conversely, Jake's comments show that complex works can be structured by transforming the factual language of the day through an attention to context and experience.

As a reporter and aspiring novelist, Jake realizes that any fiction can be as "real" as experience, and that a work must be carefully tested against reality to determine the writer's skill and the work's validity. Likewise, Jake's experience in belonging to different groups leads him to realize that "truth" is inseparable from context and use, and he comes to accept that comprises and even lies are necessary in order to participate in a community. As part of Montoya's inner circle of aficionados, Jake shows that shared lies as well as shared truths can be signs of belonging. When Montoya tells Jake that he has been instructed by the American Ambassador to pass along an invitation to Pedro and

another bull-fighter, Jake tells him, "'Don't give Pedro the message'" (172-173). This is exactly what Montoya hoped he would say, and he gives Jake his strongest approval for approving this deception. They agree that such an engagement with foreign flatterers would corrupt Pedro and lead to his ruin within a year. Jake adds, "There's one American woman down here now that collects bull-fighters," to which Montoya rejoins, "I know. They only want the young ones... [Pedro] ought to stay with his own people. He shouldn't mix in that stuff" (172). Given that it is Jake who introduces Pedro to Brett, an older, flattering foreigner, these comments later take on a bitter irony: It is Jake's betrayal of this initial lie rather than the truth of his appreciation for the bull-fights that ultimately leads to his expulsion from the community of aficionados.

While fictions effect the reality of group membership, facts can act as necessary fictions. Early in the novel, when Robert wants to get away from his mistress, Frances, he uses the excuse of going with Jake to the corner to buy a paper. When he starts back without the paper, Jake reminds him to buy one to complete his alibi, and the newspaper, a repository of facts, fulfills a lie (10-11). This foreshadows a more significant scene later in the novel when Jake first meets Pedro and accidentally tells him that he has seen him in the bull-fighting ring three times, when he really has only seen him twice. When Pedro asks him if the third time was in Madrid, Jake decides not want to explain his mistake, thinking, "I had read the accounts of his two appearances in Madrid in the bull-fight papers, so I was all right" (174). As with Jake's advice to Montoya, this lie expresses a truth, his love of bull-fighting; unlike Robert's lie, it provides him with a point of entry into a community rather than a means of escape. As Jake's experience as a reporter and

reader shows, the newspaper can offer information abstracted from local experience and connect individuals into communities, but this information can also be manipulated and used for other means. Jake's presence in the text, on the other hand, reinserts the newspaper into a specific context; his comments function as reports that correct for such possible distortions. By being on the scene, he gives his descriptions a greater sense of immediacy and authenticity, and his participation makes his observations seem truer than if they were disembodied "objective" facts.

However, even the observations and statements Jake verifies are contingent on their context: The passage of time and even the effects of a fact itself can render it false. For instance, when Bill and Jake go to Madame Lecomte's restaurant, they find it to be too crowded. Jake explains, "Some one had put it in the American Women's Club list as a quaint restaurant on the Paris quais as yet untouched by Americans, so we had to wait forty-five minutes for a table" (76). However, since Bill and Jake both know Madame Lecomte and are insiders, authentic expatriates rather than mere tourists, they give readers access to more up to date information that represents this altered reality. When Jake tells Madame Lecomte that he does not come much anymore because there are "[t]oo many compatriots" (76), she tells him, "Come at lunch time. It's not so crowded then" (77). Here Jake acts as a tour guide sharing information that he has verified through his personal experience. Similarly, when Bill and Jake analyze the bullfight as aficionados, they share their appreciation and knowledge and give readers a vantage above the contemptible tourists from Biarritz who simply follow their guidebooks (162). However, the fact that Hemingway's fiction has helped to make Pamplona and other locations around the world

into even greater tourist attractions reinforces the idea that the relationship between fact and fiction is dynamic and complex. The facts in the American Women's Club list become lies that Hemingway's fiction corrects, yet the truth of his fiction is similarly rendered false as it interacts with reality and changes it. Given these dynamic relationships, only the personal experience of an eyewitness can offer an accurate description at any given moment.

Near the end of the novel Jake returns to his work as a reporter and shows the relationship between fact and fiction can temporarily reach a state of equilibrium. After the festival is over, Jake arrives alone back in France, at San Sebastian. In returning to the place where Robert and Brett earlier had their tryst after Jake had introduced them, Jake is able to balance his role as participant and observer and fact and fiction as well. After being immersed in Spain, in the complicated story he shaped by planning the trip and inviting his friends, he is now better able to observe himself and the effects of his actions as well as all that he has seen. The importance of his work as a reporter is evident from the way that Jake's return to journalism and writing helps him achieve this balance in his perspective and, more fundamentally, in his sense of self: As soon as he arrives in San Sebastian, he buys a copy of the New York Herald and begins his imaginative and reporting work (232). Although Hemingway chose to delete the explicit description of Jake writing at this point, the published version still shows him stacking his books as he unpacks in his room and then wiring his office to forward his messages to his hotel.

As Jake's newspaper work is again visible, his work and the newspaper itself offer a commentary on the validity of "the facts." At the hotel where he is staying, a group of

rambunctious bicycle-racers have stopped before continuing their race the next day. As Jake watches them, one of the team managers speaks to him and asks if he follows the Tour de France. Jake replies, "Only in the papers" (236). When he invites Jake to watch the start of the race with him early the next morning, Jake resists but finally agrees: "We said good-bye until the next morning. In the morning when I awoke the bicycle-riders and their following cars had been on the road for three hours. I had coffee and the papers in bed and then dressed and took my bathing-suit down to the beach" (237). Later, after his swim, Jake goes back to the hotel: "The bicycle-racers had left several copies of L'Auto around, and I gathered them up in the reading-room and took them out and sat in an easy chair in the sun to read about and catch up on French sporting life" (238). For Jake, the newspapers are implicated in his lie to the manager, and they mark a substitute for reality and paradoxically a return to reality as well. This incident, which echoes Cohn's earlier use of the newspaper as an alibi, demonstrates, that newspapers do not simply represent absolute, objective facts anymore than the novel represents absolute fiction. Rather than denying the validity of the newspapers, this realization underscores that such distinctions of authenticity can only be made contingently in terms of context and use and further suggests that fiction can conversely enhance reality and make it more real.

In the end, Jake's acceptance of this relationship between fact and fiction allows him to accept as well his involvement in the story. When Brett's telegram arrives instead of the telegrams from the office he was expecting, it offers Jake his "next story"-- not an article, but the basis for the story he is giving readers in the novel. Though Jake again follows his ethics and hides his work, he is reporting again and preparing his work as a

novelist: He is taking in reality and fiction and ready to begin writing both news reports and his novel. However, in order for Jake to transform Brett's story, he has to go to the scene and verify one last fact. This fact, paradoxically, is that a fiction has structured all that has preceded this final moment in the story: In the end, Jake confronts the fiction that his wound has enabled. When Brett continues to play out their drama, asserting they could have been happy together had he not been wounded, he concludes the novel by saying, "Isn't it pretty to think so?" (247). Thus, Jake acknowledges the relationship they have shared is an illusion, though it has shaped the facts of his life and made experience more real for him. In the words of Wallace Stevens, himself a reporter turned poet, Jake, a reporter turned novelist, realizes that such a fiction is "the necessary angel," the willed belief that does not violate reality but makes it more meaningful, more real. However, Jake has also come to realize that such a fiction must be constantly tested against reality and proved through its use. The fiction that Jake shares with Brett no longer stands such a test, and, to use another Stevens phrase, Jake has come recognize "disillusion as the last illusion" -- the belief that one is without illusions can be the most limiting illusion of all (Ordinary 468).

Jake's personal attitude, which is crystallized in his last comment and presented as being representative of his generation, reflects the attitude of his profession as well in accepting that the necessary fictions of belief must be reflected in the reporting of the facts. His skepticism about the simple objectivity of the facts and his consideration of illusion characterizes the attitude of journalists during the 1920s in the wake of the Great War and the rise of public relation firms:

Nothing could have been more persuasive than the war experience in convincing American newspapermen that facts themselves were not to be trusted. Reporters had long taken pride in their own cynicism, but this expressed itself in a love of being close to, and conversant with, the "inside story" of political and economic life. Their cynicism had sneered at popular illusions while relishing hard, stubborn, and secret facts. But in the war and after, journalists began to see *everything* as illusion, since it was so evidently the product of self-conscious artists of illusion. (Schudson 142)

In this context, the idea of objectivity in journalism was more of a reaction than an inevitable development: "The ideal of objectivity in journalism, like related ideals in law and the social sciences at the same time, was founded on a confidence that the loss of faith was irretrievable" (Schudson 159). With this loss of faith, "Journalists came to believe in objectivity, to the extent that they did, because they wanted to, needed to, were forced by ordinary human aspirations to seek escape from their own deep convictions of doubt and drift" (Schudson 159). In other words, objectivity itself became a necessary fiction for journalism as a profession, but individual journalists had to test this fiction in their everyday practices and an awareness of the inevitable subjectivity of their reporting.

In terms of Jake's reporting, his wound, his relationship with Brett and Robert, and his final realization parallel these developments in journalism. His wound represents his loss of faith, his disillusionment, and his compensation in allowing him to believe that he is objective observer with access to the inside story. Yet Jake comes to let go of this deceptively simple understanding of his identity as an individual and a reporter. He finally recognizes the limits of this illusion and the extent to which he participates in the story that he tells; in this way, he anticipates the acceptance of the participant reporter that journalism would begin to accept in the 1930s and embrace more fully in the 1960s

(Schudson 162). As he stated in the earlier opening of the novel, his story "is not going to be splendid and cool and detached after all." The force of this recognition gains its power by not being realized until the closing lines. When Jake realizes that disillusion is the last illusion, he accepts that for reporting to be meaningful it must be tested against the fictions of belief that motivate reporters and their subjects alike; he also realizes that for any fiction to survive, it must similarly interact with reality and be tested against it. It thus follows that the terms fact and fiction can only be considered as absolute as terms that make sense within specific context and circumstances. The equilibrium behind fact and fiction that Jake achieves at San Sebastian and the honesty of his closing remark suggest that he has reached these conclusions through the experiences that he describes in the novel. Thus, it seems that Jake will be able to move beyond the illusion of disillusion that characterizes "the lost generation" and the profession of journalists and seek new fictions that make reality more, rather than less, real. To the extent that The Sun Also Rises is Jake's book, he has done just that, offered his readers a fiction that is both an experience and an opportunity to move beyond disillusion. It is as if Jake has returned to a plain sense of things: a deeper sense of reality animated by ever evolving fictions.

Perhaps no writer in the twentieth century made greater claims than Hemingway about writing the truth while so successfully propagating lies about his own life.⁴⁴ As Wilson observed, the Hemingway who appeared in the magazines, "arrogant, belligerent

⁴⁴ Sheridan Baker, while privileging fiction over fact, writes of this intersection of the two, "Hemingway's constant pursuit of 'truth' leads to uncomfortably high factual component in his fiction -- and to an uncomfortably high fictional component in his

and boastful, is certainly the worst-invented character to be found in the author's work. If he is obnoxious, the effect is somewhat mitigated by the fact that he is intrinsically incredible" (226). However, early in Hemingway's career, when he accepted insightful advice and when his own experiences as a reporter were still fresh, he used models from journalism to explore successfully the relationship between fact and fiction and create two works that seem intrinsically authenticate for very different reasons. In Our Time uses the newsreel form to surpass its shortcomings, and it illustrates the changes in perception brought about by such technology and the cultural shocks of the Great War. The search for immediacy, objectivity, and a language without lies found in "Big Two-Hearted River" reflects one aspect of post-War journalism, while The Sun Also Rises represents another, more complicated aspect. In Jake's growing awareness of his participation in the story he observes and in his exploration of how fact and fiction interact, he reveals both the limits of his own disillusion and the limits of a reporter's claims to objectivity. He realizes what Hemingway's two early works prove: Facts can enhance how fiction is structured and perceived, just as fiction can enhance readers' perception of the facts of reality.

factual statements about himself -- all fact so becoming fiction in his view that he no longer wishes to distinguish the two" (37).

Chapter Four: Divided Identities, Desiring Reporters
in Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men
and James Agee and Walker Evans's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men

In two very different works, James Agee and Walker Evans's Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Three Tenant Families (1941) and Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men (1935), Agee and Hurston create reporting selves that provide a sense of immediacy and individual presence. Their participatory reporting is typical of the 1930s, a time when the failure of the media to cover adequately the Depression and its effects created distrust in objective reporting and the institutions of the press. While Agee's and Hurston's reporters counter this tendency with the authenticity of the eyewitness, they, like other committed reporters, also face personal conflict and tension as they reflect on the act of observing and their own roles in the situations they describe. In these two works, Agee and Hurston, despite their obvious differences in race and gender, explore these issues in ways that reflect some of their biographical similarities: As southerners whose authority derives, in part, from the return home, they look both towards the connections with the past they find in their subjects and towards the future reception of their works by largely white, affluent, northern audiences. As I argue, the conflicted, desiring reporters who emerge from this sense of doubleness offer a powerful commentary on a culture in crisis. At a time when production and consumption were increasingly disconnected and economically out of balance, they connect their subjects' world of production with their audiences' world of consumption and explore both an individual and collective need for a sense of wholeness and integrity. Furthermore, in offering readings of cultural artifacts,

their two conflicted, embodied reporters suggest how individual acts of interpretation and observation can have larger, social ramifications in terms of culture and community.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Mules and Men both complicate methods of reporting and defy expectations and classifications, but they play off different assumptions and influences. Agee creates a fiercely anti-popular, anti-journalistic work in the popular Depression-era genre of the journalistic photo-documentary, while Hurston creates a popular, partially journalistic work through the academic form of the anthropological study. Agee's book obviously engages modernist expectations about audience and form. According to Laurence Bergreen, one of Agee's biographers, Agee patterned Let Us Now Praise Famous Men after his heroes, Marcel Proust and James Joyce: "In emulation of Joyce, the patron saint of modern letters, he had written a book most likely to be appreciated not by the general public but by other writers." He "knew it would not be an easy book to love, for he had created an aggressively antipopular, avant-garde work whose value, if any, would in all likelihood not be recognized in his time. He supposed it would baffle and offend the casual reader in search of entertainment and diversion" (257). Hurston's book, on the other hand, picks up on the popular interest in the folk and anthropology that made Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict cultural icons: "In the fall of 1928, Margaret Mead's book Coming of Age in Samoa... had become a surprise hit with lay readers -- and had put the budding field of anthropology on the map. This surely alerted Hurston to the scientific and commercial possibilities of her own work" (Boyd 183).

In these contexts, the use of journalistic reporters presented a possible pitfall for both writers by potentially limiting how seriously their works would be received. As

Paul Ashdown notes, Agee did not "dislike the work of journalism as much as he implied," though he did shape Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, in part, as an "anti-journalistic manifesto." In this way, Agee anticipated his later critical reception: "[I]t has become obligatory in the cultic literature written about Agee since his death at age forty-five in 1955 to denigrate the energy he expended on journalism" as "only the vestigial talents of a spent poet draining himself on the ephemeral and the spurious" (Ashdown xiii-xv). While being aware of the critical distinction between timeless literature associated with a select audience and timely journalism associated with mass production and a mass audience, Agee uses a journalistic reporter to defy such expectations and complicate the perceived limitations of what reporting could do. While the European modernists influenced Agee's work, the reporting self he creates shows that despite his affronts to his readers and to conventions Agee did not seek an audience limited to other avant-garde writers. At times, Agee's reporter seems eager to reach and cajole a broad audience; at other times, he seems to reject all audiences as cultural consumers and identifies instead with the tenant farmers by suggesting that they engage in similar acts of producing private works of art. In the end, the failure of this reporter to reconcile his double perspective and identify completely with his subjects links his tragic sense of identity with the economic tragedy of their lives. More broadly, this failure also suggests that American culture is itself divided and incomplete.

While for Agee the use of a journalistic reporter might be seen as threatening the seriousness of his artistry, for Hurston the use of a journalistic reporter in Mules and Men could be seen as threatening the scientific, analytic value of her work. While providing a point of entry for a popular audience, her reporter and the journalistic aspects of Mules

and Men have often been criticized by academic and literary audiences. In a less than flattering, confidential letter written on behalf of Hurston's application for a Guggenheim fellowship, Franz Boas, the most important anthropologist of his day and Hurston's teacher at Barnard, wrote Henry Allen Moe, the secretary of the foundation, "On the whole her methods are more journalistic than scientific... and I am not under the impression that she is just the right caliber for a Guggenheim Fellowship" (qtd. in Boyd 252). Though Hurston's last successful writing would be done as a reporter covering the notorious Ruby McCollum murder case for a black newspaper, her journalistic methods have also been compared unfavorably to her creative writing (Boyd 415). Hurston's first biographer, Robert E. Hemenway, claims that her journalistic fidelity to the truth detracted from her art and suggests that her fiction improved as she used folk material less directly. He notes the difference between "scrupulous reportage appropriate to anthropological description and the unprincipled selectivity characterizing esthetic construction. The reporter describes as much as she can of the event. The artist uses the event for her own selfish purposes" (73). As I argue, Hurston uses her reporter in Mules and Men to emphasize her individual self in interesting ways that are only partially selfish. While Agee uses his reporter to try to confront different audiences, Hurston challenges her different audiences' expectations while still trying to engage and even charm them. While Agee's reporter becomes a reader of private art, Hurston's reporter becomes a public performer whose divided self reflects a similar sense of community; this community is characterized not by the tragic loss of purity Agee describes but by a positive affirmation based on a shared ability to adapt and incorporate different influences.

In her reading comparing Agee and Hurston, Helene Sonnet Retman also finds their use of reporters potentially limiting. She notes both writers share "a profoundly personal and self-conscious narration built upon participant observation and inspired by a prevalent romanticization of the underprivileged" (203-204). Though Retman is right to point to these reporters as a key link between Agee's journalistic experiment and Hurston's popular scientific study, both authors' personal experiences complicate any such "romanticization of the underprivileged." As I am arguing, Agee's and Hurston's identification with their subjects and reflections as participant-observers provide an important commentary on their cultural moment and the relations between cultural production and consumption. In this regard, the emphasis on the individual reporter as the locus of meaning-making goes beyond readers' expectations of the genres in which they wrote and largely accounts for why both texts disappeared for a time after their initial publication: On the surface, they seemed to be removed from the central political concerns of the Great Depression and contemporary battles for economic and racial equality. Yet what the critics of the 1930s and 1940s found to be so off-putting has been reevaluated by later critics, and both texts reemerged in the context of the 1960s as politics were redefined with an emphasis on the "personal." Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, with its emphasis on the individual reactions of the reporter, was an important precursor to "New Journalism, while its iconoclastic emphasis on individual rebellion and literary experimentation made it a favorite on campuses both among student activists and professors (Bergreen 261). Likewise, Agee's embrace of visual techniques and the value of photographs and film is now seen as a prime example of an innovative hybrid form, the "modernist documentary" or "new reportage," that developed between the wars and

"tried to absorb modernism's lessons for politically accountable ends." This is "an extremely flexible literary form, porous to many avant-garde influences and particularly intertextual with the technological mass-media" (Keith Williams 164-165). In Hurston's case, her recording of individual black expression and performances in language, which contemporaries like Richard Wright found to be apolitical and blind to the oppression of racism, has come to be read as an affirmation of black identity and a celebration of a distinctly proud black culture largely removed from the direct effects of racial discrimination. Her reporter in Mules and Men is no valued for linking these affirmations of the folk to the literature of the Harlem Renaissance and for challenging the limiting expectations placed on observers, particularly female observers, in the anthropological writing of her time.

Contemporary criticism remains focused on interpreting the role of the individual reporter in both texts. In Patterns for America: Modernism and the Concept of Culture, Susan Hegeman sees Agee's text as simply a reflection of the self: "In Agee's revision of the documentary form, the point is not to show how 'they' get along (or do things differently), but to reveal *oneself*, through one's (thoroughly dissected) relation to them. The self is recentered as the object of interest, the reason for writing" (188, 191). Hegeman reads the later reception of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men through this focus on the self, which she characterizes as a means of avoiding the politics and difficulties of cultural representation. She argues, "For Cold War aesthetes, Praise redirected the documentary project from its roots in the New Deal modernization program, to a depoliticized act of moral introspection and aesthetic play." She further suggests that the text abandons its ostensible purpose in representing another culture and claims that it

represents "the terminus of the kinds of 'cultural' concerns represented by its earlier counterparts -- indeed, as challenging, from the perspective of high art, the political and moral value of representing the cultural other at all" (159). Likewise, Retman suggests that Agee's intense and notoriously involved descriptions of things are simply a way for him to explore his identity through his own sexual desires. Noting that "Agee flouts the primary taboo of modern fieldwork" in describing his desire for his subjects, she writes, "These object-relations finally testify to Agee's formulation of himself: his intense identifications with the tenants' things permit him to figuratively undo the barrier between subject and object in order to gain an intimate and illusory understanding of the Other" (223, 245).

While Agee's individual male reporter has been used to criticize the limits of his sympathies in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, Hurston's individual female reporter has been seen as intimately linked to her subjects and used to redeem the value of Mules and Men. Hurston's most recent biographer, Valerie Boyd, sees Hurston's reporter as central to her success in Mules and Men, a text which she describes as "part folklore, part hoodoo chronicle, and part immersion journalism": "Inserting herself into the narrative as a semifictional and self-effacing Zora, Hurston effects as much intimacy with the reader as she achieved with Big Sweet, Mack Ford, Luke Turner, and all the men and women who vividly populate her book" (280). Boyd also notes that the power of oral art and the immediacy of its "natural setting" are captured by the "reporter created by Hurston the folklorist to dramatize the process of collecting and make the reader feel part of the scene" (164). Similarly, other recent critics have identified her reporter as the means by which Hurston challenges the limiting racial and gender assumptions of

ethnography and she has been described as anticipating later feminist and postmodern texts and subsequent innovations in anthropology (Nichols 468).

Rather than reading Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Mules and Men according to the definition of politics in the 1930s as a strictly collective endeavor or according to current definitions of politics focused on personal identity and behavior, both works can be seen as challenging the "narrow genealogy of polarized relations between aesthetics and politics, or between difficulty and accessibility, textuality and content" common in the 1930s (Williams and Matthew 1). From this perspective, it becomes clear that Agee does not give up the project of cultural representation nor does he simply identify with his subjects. Agee, like Hurston, creates a reporter who mediates different understandings of cultural representation and definitions of community. By considering Agee's "James" and Hurston's "Zora" on equal terms, as constructed, mediating reporters, I argue that both of these individual reporters challenge audiences' expectations while engaging the central issues of their own conflicted times.¹

Agee's suggestive characterization of James as "a spy, traveling as a journalist" in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men could just as easily apply to Zora in Mules and Men (xxii). Both Agee's and Hurston's reporters are spies acting as native informants and participant-observers, insiders and outsiders, and, like all spies, they are forced to consider the implications of their double-identities. This doubleness operates in many

¹ Like other recent critics, I use "Zora" and "James" to make a critical point rather than to suggest a personal sense of connection with Hurston or Agee. As Retman notes, an uncritical use of "Zora" can reproduce "an essentialist stereotype of African-American women as all giving, earth-mothers who are rooted firmly in a 'folk' spirituality." She suggests "to some degree, Hurston colludes with this discourse, particularly in her attempts to gain authority through invocations of authenticity as both a scholarly folklorist and woman born of the 'folk'" (160).

ways.² Within Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Mules and Men, Agee and Hurston use their reporters to explore their divided obligations to the past and the present. As displaced southerners, commissioned, in a sense, to write their respective books about the South they had left behind, they examine the relationship between the South and North in ways that involve their individual identities and experiences. The specificity of Agee's and Hurston's assignments and the expectations of their professions underscore the need to interpret these reporters, who are as intriguing as any fictional characters, in the cultural context of their day. Agee makes this point when he has James critique journalism. He claims that "honest journalism" is a contradiction in terms, defines journalism as a "successful form of lying," and sees his relationship to his journalistic assignment as "curious" (7, 235). However, he also suggests that journalism is valuable when it is understood and interpreted within its immediate context: "Journalism is true in the sense that everything is true to the state of being and to what conditioned and produced it." In a footnote, he adds, "Looked at in this way a page of newspaper can have all the wealth of a sheet of fossils, or a painting" (234). Similarly, the journalistic aspects of Mules and Men suggest the complex functions of her reporter and the ways she engages both immediate questions of audience and broader cultural concerns. While the core of the text is seventy Negro folktales gathered in Florida and an account of investigations into hoodoo in New Orleans, "Hurston 'did more than record these tales,' as the black critic Henry Lee Moon noted in his New Republic review. 'Alert and keenly

² This idea of doubleness follows, in part, from W.E.B. Dubois's idea of "double-consciousness" in The Souls of Black Folk (1903). Though I abstract this idea from the specific context of race relations that Dubois considers, I relate it to race and racism as well as other divisive social factors present in American culture during the 1930s.

observant, she studied the *mores*, folkways, and superstitions, the social and economic life of these people as an essential background for her book'" (qtd. in Boyd 280). In other words, Hurston uses her reporter, Zora, to reveal how the folk tales that are in the foreground of her text are inextricably connected to a broader social and economic context.

Thus, the comments in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men about how to read the newspaper provide a model for reading James and Zora as well. However, the way Agee equates a newspaper with a sheet of fossils and a painting also points to the challenges in reading James's identity as a reporter. By making James an embodied participant-observer, Agee emphasizes his immediate physical sensation, sexual desires, and personal consciousness, and he also tries to "naturalize" his language and remove it from the contested realm of culture. Yet this attempt to turn a sheet of text into "a sheet of fossils" ultimately underscores the process by which language is used and interpreted in a specific context. This is evident when James examines a "scissored hexagon of newsprint" that adorns the wall of the Gudger's front room (166). At first, he suggests that words can become objects rather than signs and that the newsprint is a beautiful thing that can be experienced rather than interpreted.³ Yet the text that he includes from this newsprint is clearly shaped by his selection, memory, and imagination, and emerges as a signifying cultural artifact. The newsprint refers to similar events as the "Newsreel" sections of John Dos Passos's U.S.A (1930, 1932, 1936) -- Communism, art, war, class divisions, and strikes -- and also suggests provocative connections among individuals and world events (Praise 166-167). Even as James tries to see the newsprint through the

³ Agee's views of language were influenced by one of his well-known professors at Harvard, I.A. Richards (Bergreen 82-83).

tenants' eyes as an object adorning their homes, he seems to craft and interpret language based on the full range of his experience. Though Agee will return to the question of whether the tenant farmers themselves exist apart from the necessity of such acts of interpretation, James's presentation of the newsprint suggests that he cannot help but read their seemingly isolated lives in a broader context. Likewise, for Agee's readers, his reporting self becomes, like the newsprint, both an embodied presence in the text and an entity to be interpreted according to its "state of being and to what conditioned and produced it."

This attempt to read the newsprint through the tenants' eyes is significant in terms of how Agee relates to his readers. While readers of journalism and documentary forms in the 1930s became accustomed to participant-reporters guiding their reactions, Agee frustrated such expectations through James's conflicting attempts to identify with his subjects and respond to the situation he describes. Agee's footnotes, appendices, digressions, and hesitations call attention to the book's composition and the contingency of his own experiences and literary choices, just as James's reflections call attention to his divided affinities in the scenes he describes. In his influential Documentary Expression and Thirties America, William Stott notes, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men is "a classic of documentary" precisely because Agee's "extraordinary participation in the narrative of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men... set the book apart from other documentary writing" (x, 298). Thus, Agee raises typical suspicions about mainstream journalism and its "objectivity," but in emphasizing the individual desires and singular identity of his reporter he also confounds a simple sense of perspective. Like the newsprint, his reporter

needs to be read in the specificity of his embodied presence and interpreted in the context of the conditions that produce his responses.

In Mules and Men, Hurston shapes language in similar ways to point towards the context as well as the content of her observations. Rather than using an extended anthropological analysis of social conditions and categories, as she does at times in her later work, Tell My Horse (1938), in Mules and Men Hurston dramatizes Zora's participation in the text. In the "Folk Tales," Hurston shows Zora telling folk tales and singing songs, while in the "Hoodoo" section she focuses almost exclusively on her initiations and investigations into hoodoo. Hurston shapes her reporting self, "Zora," as an agent who initiates action, interacts with her subjects, and exemplifies key experiences. By describing the tellers of folk tales more as characters than anthropological subjects and by placing these characters within a specific setting that includes Zora herself, Hurston gives the written word the immediacy and specificity of oral communication. Yet, at the same time, she uses various devices to call attention to her language as that of an anthropologist with a broader perspective. In Chapter III, for example, she provides the meaning of words in a footnote, uses footnotes that simply refer the reader to the glossary, defines words in parentheses, and identifies a word in quotation marks as a "local term" (45, 51, 59, 56). As a reporter, Zora uses rather than analyzes language. However, Zora's divided affinities between the world of her subjects and the world of her audience emerge as she performs with her subjects and negotiates the different senses of identity implied between "I" and "Ah." As in Their Eyes Were Watching God (1937), Hurston contrasts, without comment, different kinds of language in Mules and Men. The difference between words used dramatically for immediate effect

and words used as objects that can be categorized and studied creates a sense of a double identity between the reporter who participates in the telling of the stories and the detached anthropologist who classifies the stories and the language they contain. Just as Agee's presentation of newsprint and analysis of journalism indicate how his language is both immediate and part of a social network of relationships, Hurston's language is experienced in its immediacy through Zora's immersion in black, southern culture, even as her anthropological references serve as a reminder that these local references are necessarily shaped and interpreted from her broader perspective.

The relevance of a larger cultural context is found in Agee's and Hurston's language and also in the ways their own experiences are reflected in their texts. Early in Agee's life in Knoxville, Agee saw in his father and his old, mountaineering family the promise of immediate experience and spontaneity; Agee dwelled on these positive aspects particularly after his father's early death (Moreau 24-25). Meanwhile, in his mother's family, Agee found a cosmopolitan sense of culture; his mother claimed Walt Whitman as an ancestor and had painters and musicians in her family (Bergreen 9). After Agee went from an Episcopalian high school for farmers in Tennessee to Philips Exeter, then to Harvard, these conflicting origins became more pronounced, and he exaggerated his Tennessee origins in order to differentiate himself from his classmates. At Exeter he even earned the nickname "Springheel" for his careless dress and hygiene and for the "the countrified, loping manner in which he walked" (Bergreen 35-36). While Agee was pursuing his literary ambitions and working as a journalist for Henry Luce's Fortune, these issues were still on his mind, and he leapt at the opportunity to go south and investigate the economic reality of tenant farmers. In fact, he and Evans first went to his

home state of Tennessee looking for suitable subjects before settling on Alabama (Moreau 135). While critics have read Agee's work as an individual rebellion against journalism and mass culture, the assignment was obviously also a means for him to address conflicting aspects of his family background and connect poor southerners with the urge for artistic expression, a subject that had occupied his thoughts since his childhood. Agee's rebellion, in other words, used journalism not only against itself but also as a means of exploring larger points about the subjects of representation and the question he first encountered in his family of whether culture should be defined as a lived set of beliefs or in the production and reception of artifacts.

Born in Alabama, Hurston moved with her family to the uniquely independent, all-black community of Eatonville, Florida. After the death of her mother, she drifted for several years before making her way North as she pursued an education. She ended up attending Morgan Academy in Baltimore, then Howard University; after arriving in New York, she became the only black student at Barnard, and, finally, studied anthropology with Franz Boas as a graduate student at Columbia (Boyd 76, 78, 99, 263). In New York, she used her southern background to differentiate herself from her fellow black writers, and the funding she received for her two folklore trips to the South recognized both her accomplishments and the advantages of her background in allowing her access to her subjects.⁴ Given her ignominious treatment by her father and stepmother, her trips back to Eatonville offered her a way to vindicate herself through her recent success, and the text she produced, Mules and Men, also became a way for her to explore her sense of

⁴ Mules and Men combines Hurston's two trips into one narrative. The first trip was sponsored by Carter G. Woodson, director of the Association for the Study of Negro life and History; the second trip was sponsored by Hurston's patron, Mrs. R. Osgood Mason (Boyd 142, 159).

obligation to her sponsors, supporters, and audience while also putting forth her own ideas of folklore and black culture (Hemenway 100).

While Agee and Hurton went North seeking economic and educational opportunity, the geographic displacements that they later experienced as writers more broadly reflect the divisions resulting from the increasingly centralized production and distribution of cultural products during the 1920s and throughout the Depression and New Deal. The rise of the broadcasting, recording, and advertising industries and the consolidation of the publication industry made New York the capital of mass culture, while the increasing prominence of academic critics and small journals and reviews made it the center of more "serious" art.⁵ At the same time, the influence of New Deal theater, writing, photography, and archival projects made Washington increasingly important as a place where national cultural projects were organized, funded, and collected. In addition to his work with Luce, Agee was involved in the New Deal both through his reporting on the TVA and other New Deal policies and through Evan's work with the FSA, and Hurston herself would later work with the Federal Theater and Federal Writer's Project. Both writers thus participated first hand in this process of cultural centralization.⁶ Significantly, this split between cultural centers and peripheries also led to an increased interest in regionalist works like Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Mules and Men (Hegeman 130).

⁵ See Ann Douglas's introduction to Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s, "Orphans: Loss and Liberation."

⁶ Roy Stryker's typified this process in his efforts as head of the FSA's project to create a photographic record of the nation: "Stryker emphasized the nation through an invocation of the anonymous region: in terms of production, he insisted upon a centralized office and archive, in spite of the FSA's eleven regional offices" (Retman 122-123).

In these texts, Agee and Hurston play off these tensions between the center and periphery and challenge the assumptions that underlie them. According to the typical Depression-era on-the-road reportage, Agee could be seen as going to document a lived reality thought to be missing from the mainstream media and government reports. This reality was presumed to be most "real" when documented by committed individuals who traveled to places least influenced by such media and government representations (Stott 72). In Evans' introduction to Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, he notes that Agee went to the South in flight from New York, "especially from the whole world of high-minded, well-bred, money-hued culture, whether authoritarian or libertarian" (xi). At first, the authenticity of the rural South seems to be found in its innocence from the outside world and its impoverished simplicity; only as the text unfolds do James's experiences come to complicate these assumptions. Likewise, Hurston, as an anthropologist, went in search a black culture closer to its African roots and hence presumably innocent of white influences. In his brief forward to Hurston's book, Boas states that Mules and Men

throws into relief also the peculiar amalgamation of African and European tradition which is so important for understanding historically the character of American Negro life, with its strong African background in the West Indies, the importance of which diminishes with increasing distance from the south (3).

While recognizing inevitable European influences on "the character of American Negro life," Boas proposes that it has some epicenter in the South where its essence can be found. In Mules and Men, Hurston begins with this assumption but challenges the idea of such a cohesive racial and cultural center as she depicts Zora's various experiences.

On one level, Agee and Hurston each seem to follow a spatialized concept of culture in which group identity is defined largely by location. This idea of culture was common at the time, and it came to influence how anthropologists and journalists

conceived of their position in-between cultures, considered their effects as participant-observers on the process of observation, and accepted, however reluctantly, their need to make cross-cultural comparisons (Hegeman 30).⁷ This spatialized sense of culture, despite its various implications, seemed to offer the possibility of identifying homogenous local cultures in contrast to the divisive national culture. In trying to escape the divided loyalties of their own lives and return to their southern origins, Agee and Hurston can also be seen as trying to escape the influences and problems of contemporary society for a more simple and unified sense of culture based on a singular sense of place.

However, the impossibility of such a unified culture is reflected in the sense of doubleness their reporters experience in returning to the South. This doubleness characterizes as well the performances of their reporters as they record uneducated southern subjects for an educated northern audience. Their individual responses to their audiences' expectations complicate their observations and respective sense of identity and place, as do important issues of time arising from acts of memory and the specific

⁷ Hegeman, building on the work of Warren Susman, argues that in the 1930s there was a full realization of the "spatial culture concept" (147). She traces this concept to Boas and the way he conceived of cultural differences as a matter more of location than development. Interestingly, Hegeman virtually ignores Hurston and offers a very unsympathetic reading of Agee. Equating region with class and taste, so that the middle class equals the Midwest equals the middlebrow, Hegeman sees Agee's study of the tenants as simply an examination of the self originating in his desire to "distance" himself from his middle-class origins and distaste for middlebrow writing (134, 186, 191). She follows Paula Rabinowitz's assertion that "Agee cannot escape the confessional narrative of bourgeois selfhood: the story that encodes the middle class as the subject and object of its own narcissistic and self-loathing gaze" (54). Whereas Stott finds that Agee's understanding of his subjects makes *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* distinctive, Hegeman finds Agee's understanding to be a form of "condescension" that mars the book as a whole (Hegeman 181, 184). However, neither Rabinowitz nor Hegeman explore Agee's southern origins or the personal appeal of his assignment; while arguing that Agee too easily claims to understand the tenant farmers, neither examines why he would want to do so or considers his responses to these issues in his writing.

circumstances of their writing "assignments." Agee was to create a magazine article on a topical subject to promote awareness and possibly reform; Hurston was to preserve a supposedly vanishing culture by finding folk tales and hoodoo rituals and setting "them down before it's too late" (Mules 14). While their past experiences and origins add to their authority in creating their reporting selves, Agee and Hurston also typify the fact that "often an idea of the country is an idea of childhood" as well, and both face the possibility of creating nostalgic, sentimental images of rural and small town life (Country 297). As Retman notes, in similar works of nonfiction, "the prevalence of this nostalgic iconography seems to imply perversely that capitalism somehow needed saving from itself. Much of the popular culture of the decade participated in the construction of a golden, explicitly rural, patriarchal and segregated past" (126).

While both works make reference to such images, Agee and Hurston ultimately deviate from these simplistic assumptions precisely through the complex perspective and language of their reporters, James and Zora. Their need to reconnect with their pasts implies a need to make social and cultural connections as well, and the claims of memory and the expectations of their audiences heighten their awareness of being outsiders and insiders. Agee and Hurston use James and Zora in surprising ways to explore desire and the intersections of spatial and temporal conceptions of culture. Even as James and Zora struggle to belong to the groups that emblematically represent their childhoods, they write to the groups to which their adult selves and their audiences belong. Thus, their authority is grounded in a past that cannot be fully recovered and in a sense of the present and individual presence that cannot be fully rendered in language.

These divisions are typified in a remarkable scene late in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men in which Agee describes how James's ancestry and "blood" make him particularly sensitive to the lives of the white tenant farmers he observes in Alabama. As he recollects his first dinner with the Gudgers, the tenant family that hosts him and Evans, he casts himself as a child seeking their protection. Though the Gudgers are roughly his age, he feels, as they sit together in their kitchen, that they "seemed not other than my own parents," and that everything around them was familiar

as if well known in a deep past and long years lost; so that I could wish that all my chance life was in truth the betrayal, the curable delusion, that it seemed, and that this was my right home, right earth, right blood, to which I would never have true right. For half my blood is just this; and half my right of speech; and by bland chance alone is my life so softened and sophisticated in the years of my defenselessness, and I am robbed of a royalty I can not only never claim, but never properly much desire or regret. And so in this quiet introit, and in all the time we have stayed in this house, and in all we have sought, and in each detail of it, there is so keen, sad, and precious a nostalgia as I can scarcely otherwise know; a knowledge of brief truancy into the sources of my life, whereto I have no rightful access, having paid no price beyond love and sorrow. (415)

In his intense nostalgia, James seems to invoke the idealized, segregated past typical of Depression reportage. Yet the satisfaction in the moment and sense of understanding that make this nostalgia possible are undermined by an intense and seemingly tragic fragmentation as well. While James claims a collective memory "as if" it is well known "in a deep past" he experiences through his body and blood, this passage paradoxically shows just how much "regret" is evoked through his lost ties to his father's family.⁸ Cut

⁸ Though his sympathy with his subjects cannot be fully realized, in my reading Agee does largely avoid the economic tourism that he and others found to be common in documentary works of the 1930s, such as You Have Seen Their Faces by Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, An American Exodus by Dorothea Lange and Paul Taylor, among others (Stott 51). Retman describes this perspective as it appears in the WPA guides: "Driven by an aestheticized notion of the ordinary, the everyday and the common man, the guide writers sought to find the 'real' thing in their travels and

off from this past, these claims to memory leave him not whole but "half" from the experience. As is typical in both texts, Agee's reporter implies a greater context not through social analysis but through actions and desires. Further, the sense of being half and the implicit desire to be whole exemplify how Agee and Hurston establish their authority through their portrayal of these divided narrators. James and Zora are "half" identified with their northern readers and "half" tied to their southern subjects through their claims to a common "blood." This desire to belong and feel whole and the reality of being caught in-between are fundamental to understanding these reporters and the ideas of community and culture they ultimately suggest.

The seeming simplicity of James's and Zora's southern childhoods is further complicated by the way they explore and depict desire. James specifically explores the origins of his sexual desires when he remembers a masturbatory experience on his Grandfather's porch in Tennessee. This memory brings his identification with the South into focus even as it reduces the scope of his desire to his individual identity (279-280; 378-379).⁹ Through this memory, James vindicates his later voyeurism on the Gudgers' ramshackle porch and his attraction towards Annie Mae Gudger, her sister, Emma, and Ivy, the young wife of Bud Woods, whom he describes as a "serenely hot and simple nymph" (225, 280, 372). Though James can never "claim" his inappropriate desires or act on them, he suggests they are rooted in half his background. Not only does he have a "blood" right to describe the white farmers, his understanding of them is tied to the way

subsequent writings, in the form of legends, anecdotes and places of local significance. As a result, when writers documented various 'authentic' folk groups for the travel guides, they objectified the subjects of their research -- the community's inhabitants -- as exotic bearers of the Real, to be observed by tourists from other states" (22).

⁹ Agee's depiction of the porch as a place of individual meditation contrasts directly with Hurston's use of the porch as a place where individuals share stories (Wall 663).

they stir his memories and desires. While these desires reflect his guilt at having left the South for the North, they also go to the very heart of his identity and help explain the scope of his gaze and his choice of poor southern white farmers as his subjects.

While such a choice could suggest a simplified, segregated past, James ultimately betrays such a simplistic sense of nostalgia. Throughout the text, he reverses the white stereotypical view of sexualized black bodies; instead white bodies are sexualized while blacks are given a sense of dignity that puts them beyond his sexual gaze. For example, when a group of black singers is forced by a white landlord to stop on their way to church and sing hymns and a bawdy song, then listen to sexual jokes, James sees in them a sense of dignity and propriety absent from the white landlord and tenants (28). Likewise, in the famous scene in which James and Walker encounter a black couple walking near a church, their purity and dignity is used as a foil for James's own guilt and divided feelings (40). Though Agee claimed that his southern past and even his "black" childhood name, Rufus, offered him a greater insight into the lives of southern blacks than northerners have, in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men his reporter places blacks beyond the bounds of his desires and hence beyond the bounds of his observations (Flye 147).

While Agee's emphasis on the individual body and perspective of his reporter seems to allow him to bracket off social issues such as race, Agee repeatedly describes James's apparently unified identity breaking down. As he reveals the divided halves of his reporter, the underlying social tensions mediated through James's embodied presence are revealed as well. Like his consideration of the "halves" of his blood, this is described during his first dinner with the Gudgers when he notes the food is repulsive "if you are not used to it." It has

the odor and a sort of wateriness and discouraged tepidity, which combine to make the food seem unclean, sticky, and sallow with some invisible sort of disease, yet this the odor and consistency and temper and these are the true tastes of home; I know this even of myself; and much as my reflexes are twitching in refusal of each mouthful a true homesick and simple fondness for it has so strong hold of me that in fact there is no fight to speak of and no faking of enjoyment of it. (416)

James's body, which seems to unify the text, actually betrays his divided perspective: He is divided between his citified, northern perspective in the present and his memories of a rural, southern past. These divisions reflect Agee's divisions as well between the specific sources of his sympathy and his ability to recount his observations to a general audience. These conflicts are only tenuously resolved in the intricacies of language, so that James's twitching at each mouthful is "no fight to speak of" and his repulsion is a fondness so that nothing is "faked." Homesick, James cannot really swallow the return home.

Hurston similarly uses the body of her reporter as a means of organizing the structure of her text. However, in her case, the perils faced by her reporter underscore her more tenuous authority as a black woman writer writing in a discipline that is almost entirely white and male and writing for a popular audience that is likely to be mostly white as well. Like Agee, Hurston chooses to claim her ties to her southern roots, and she thereby differentiates herself from her black Harlem Renaissance peers. As Hemenway notes, Hurston was one of the few writers of the Harlem Renaissance to know the rural South intimately in her experience and in her language as a storyteller (61). Comparing her to another black folklore collector, Arthur Huff Fauset, his comments reveal Hurston's eventual success in establishing her authority as a southerner:

Yet even the New Jersey-born Fauset, a Philadelphia schoolteacher, was not a native of the southern scene, and he, too, experienced problems penetrating to the roots of the southern folk experience... Fauset's race was in some ways less important than his northern origins. Hurston, a daughter of Eatonville, with the

"map of Florida on her tongue" and a common experience with rural southern black people, presumably would make new breakthroughs. (90)

While Hurston could choose how to present her geographic origins, she also had to consider that her white audience would likely identify her with her black, southern subjects solely on the basis of race. In his "Forward," Boas writes:

It is the great merit of Miss Hurston's work that she entered into the homely life of the southern Negro as one of them and was fully accepted as such by the companions of her childhood. Thus she has been able to penetrate through that affected demeanor by which the Negro excludes the White observer effectively from participating in his true inner life. (3)

While Agee argues that his reporter can "half" identify with his subjects, Hurston's reporter is seen from the beginning as being "fully" accepted by her subjects "as one of them" and must thus mediate as well "the disjuncture between Hurston's understanding of herself as a member of particular communities and the membership her readers would ascribe to her" (Domina 199-200).

In depicting her reporter, Hurston uses these assumptions about race to her advantage. While Agee claims more of an affinity with his subjects than his readers, Hurston subtly develops and complicates Zora's relationships with both her readers and subjects and calls attention to the fact that her identity is divided between her southern roots and northern experiences. Knowing that Zora is seen as "one of them," Hurston uses this expectation to underscore her access to information unavailable to her white colleagues. At the same time, she reminds her readers that she is observing her subjects with a knowledge gained through her northern, formal education at a white university and that she is "one of them" as well. In a well-known passage early in Mules and Men, she writes,

When I pitched headforemost into the world, I landed in the crib of negroism... But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see it for wearing it. It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that (9).

Zora here emphasizes that she is seeing as well as being seen, and her description of a "spy-glass" rather than a telescope echoes Agee's idea the reporter as spy. James's desire, however, manifests itself in his gaze: He chooses what objects to see and develops a sense of self through his reflections on these objects. As a woman, Hurston can make no such assumptions, and she instead develops the identity of her reporter through the attention that Zora's body receives. As Zora attracts and influences this attention, she becomes alternately powerful and vulnerable.

These differences in agency, choice, and expectations, are prominently registered in the different ways that Agee and Hurston deal with the idea of education. James tries to shed his formal education to emphasize his connection with his subjects, while Zora, as she does in discussing "the chemise," calls attention to her education even as she redefines its value. During the composition of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, Agee mulled over his intended audience and its status and educational level. At one point, he asked his publisher to print the book on newsprint and bind it like a government publication in order to keep the cost down and make it widely available as a kind of topical report: "Since it was inspired by the tenant farmers of the South and dedicated to them, he decided that it should be made available in an inexpensive edition to be sold for no more than \$1.50" (Moreau 174). He also considered writing in a language accessible to the tenants, as he notes in a 1939 letter to his former teacher and lifelong friend, Fr. James Harold Flye:

I made a try lately of writing the book in such language that anyone who can read and is seriously interested can understand it... The lives of these families belong first (if to any one) to people like them and only secondarily to the "educated" such as myself. If I have done this piece of spiritual burglary no matter in what "reverence" and wish for "honesty", the least I can do is to return the property where it belongs, not limit its language to those who can least know what it means. But I can't and should not sacrifice "educated" ideas and interests which the "uneducated" have no chance or reason, yet, to be other than bored by; and until I can keep these yet put them in credible language I guess there's nothing better I can do about it than write as to the "educated." (Flye 114-115)

Agee's impulse to write for the tenants survives in the way he writes to them through the direct address he includes throughout Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, particularly in the "Inductions" section (360-370). In these passages, Agee does not aim for an "educated" audience but writes to his "uneducated" subjects, those most capable of recognizing the reality he is describing.

Like Boas's forward to Hurston's book, Evans's introduction to the reprinted edition of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men helps reveal the terms by which Agee constructed his reporting self, particularly with regards to his education:

I think he felt he was elaborately masked, but what you saw right away -- alas for conspiracy -- was a faint rubbing of Harvard and Exeter, a hint of family gentility, and a trace of romantic idealism... His accent was more or less unplaceable and it was somewhat variable. For instance, in Alabama it veered toward country-southern, and I may say he got away with this to the families and to himself. (ix)

In examining the role of formal education in the lives of the tenant farmers, Agee questions the benefits of his own education and wonders whether attending Harvard actually brings any advantages (311).¹⁰ Yet Evans emphasizes that education cannot simply be discarded and that despite Agee's best performances it inflects language and a sense of self. Nonetheless, Evans seems a little taken in by Agee's performance: "Back-

¹⁰ Despite these comments, Agee was acutely aware of the terrible handicaps the white and black tenant children faced in attending totally inadequate schools (297, 309).

country poor life wasn't really far from him, actually. He had some of it in his blood, through relatives in Tennessee" (xi). In echoing the idea of a common "blood," Evans also calls attention to the fact that Agee, unlike most other documentary writers, identifies directly with his subjects, but his comments suggest that experiences inevitably makes any complete sense of identification impossible.

As he does in describing his reporter's body, Agee also deconstructs the possibility of a complete identification with his subjects in his consideration of James's consciousness and inability to undo his education and experience. Just as Zora describes the chemise she can take off and examine through her college education, Agee describes education producing a double sense of consciousness. For him, it is the instrument necessary for acknowledging rural beauty and the means of surviving in an urban world. At one point, James projects his divided self onto the farmers, whom he sees as unified and whole rather than alienated and divided. Yet in finding them to be "profoundly members in nature," he suggests the tenant farmers must remain unaware of the beauty in which they are immersed:

I would say too that there is a purity in this existence *in* and *as* 'beauty,' which can so scarcely be conscious of itself and its world as such, which is inevitably lost in consciousness, and that is a serious loss.

But so are resourcefulness against deceit and against strangling: and so are pleasure, and joy, and love: and a human being who is deprived of these and of this consciousness is deprived almost of existence itself. (315)

While the tenant farmers exist in a state of beauty inaccessible to anyone with a consciousness marked by education and separation, this lack of consciousness makes them unable to perceive this beauty or protect their own existence.¹¹ Though this

¹¹ In describing authentic experience as being based on closeness to the land and natural elements, Agee, while renouncing the racial premises of much Agrarian criticism,

distinction seems predicated at first on a simplistic contrast between country and city, James's reporter at once makes such observations possible and reveals their limitations. His attempt to connect with his subjects is at once a personal act to connect his present and past selves and a social act to connect his subjects and readers; his failure to do either to his satisfaction shows the difficulty of creating a holistic sense of identity or community from diverse cultural sources.¹²

Though Agee ultimately shows James as being alienated both from his subjects and readers, this does not prevent him from "collecting" observations, since, for, Agee, appreciating beauty is an individual act. In Hurston's estimation, however, the ability to perceive the beauty of folk practices requires an awareness of public performance and a sense of communal reception, and so to the extent that her education alienates her from her subjects it threatens her study as well as her sense of self. In describing her first trip

participates in a similar strain of anti-modernism (Praise 130, 215; Flye 148). For an account of the anti-modernism within modernism itself, see T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880 - 1920.

¹² Critics have both condemned this attention to consciousness as paternalistic and praised its modernist sensibilities. In "Post/Modern Documentary: Orwell, Agee and the New Reportage," Keith Williams locates the distinctiveness of the text in its handling of consciousness: "Agee acknowledged the ideological impasse in which his own discourse was caught: its very subjects were disabled from fully understanding his self-conscious analysis of their predicament by the facts of that predicament itself as they were lived... Let Us Now Praise Famous Men may not have succeeded in negotiating all the disjunctions in consciousness between the creators, subjects and audiences of thirties documentary discourse, but its transitional post/modern form strove to objectify them more fully than perhaps any other reportage... of the period" (177). Stott, in his similar consideration of the formal innovations of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, comments on how Agee's complex consciousness distinguishes him from the simple consciousness of the tenants, as evident in his ability to don different disguises (274-275). Though both critics make insightful observations, Williams does not ground the distinction that Agee makes between his reporter and the tenant farmers in Agee's own experiences, while Stott concludes his reading with a moral that abstracts Agee's reporter from a personal and cultural context, claiming "life was like that: suffering, whatever its cause, could not be prevented and could be redeemed, if at all, only by redeeming consciousness" (314).

to Florida to collect folk material, she blames her failure on "the glamour of Barnard College" and the fact that she was still speaking "Barndardese" (Dust Tracks 687).

However, while "Agee constantly reminds us of the painful embarrassment his position as a Harvard-educated, white, male writer creates for all his subjects, his self among them" and attempts to discard the value of this education, Hurston cannot have Zora discard the value of her education so easily if she is to maintain her authority with her audience (Rabinowitz 51). Instead, Hurston refers to education in ways that highlight her connections with both her subjects and her audience. In moving Zora to the center of her text, Hurston acknowledges the assumptions of her readers even as she challenges them, and Zora establishes her authority as a perceiving subject rather than merely an object of attention. She explains why she began her study in her hometown, Eatonville, Florida:

I didn't go back there so that the home folks could make admiration over me because I had been up North to college and come back with a diploma and a Chevrolet. I knew that they were not going to pay either one of those items too much mind... I'd still be just Zora to the neighbors. If I had exalted myself to impress the town, somebody would have sent me word in a match-box that I had been up North there and had rubbed the hair off of my head against some college wall, and then come back there with a lot of form and fashion and outside show to the world. But they'd stand flat-footed and tell me that they didn't have me, neither my sham-polish, to study 'bout. And that would have been that. (9-10)

Here, Hurston's reporter, "just Zora," presumes to know how she will be received by the town and in doing so shows she possesses access to this community's values, opinions, language, and expressions. At the same time, she pointedly mentions her college education, twice noting credentials to the outside world. As Retman notes,

Ironically, her apparent disavowal of her academic credentials ends up advancing them. While her neighbors may not pay attention to her accomplishments up North, her readers most likely will. However, even as she alludes to her schooling up North, she positions herself as "Lucy Hurston's daughter," an authentic, native informant: as both a skilled Columbia-trained ethnographer and an Eatonville mother's daughter, she is able to offer up down-home expressions

like "a Kaiser baby," and then provide an explanatory footnote that translates the idiom to a broader audience of readers. (161).

Like Agee, Hurston uses a reporter to focus her text on a single individual and to bracket off issues of race. Though she initially claims that she chose to begin her study in Florida because it includes black people from many different kinds of backgrounds and "white people from all over the world," she avoids any extended social analysis of race and excludes whites from her direct observations (9). In fact, she begins her investigation in Eatonville not only because it is her hometown but also because it is an all black community offering a unified sense of culture. Describing another town, Wood Bridge, she notes, "It is lacking in Eatonville's feeling of unity. In fact, a white woman lives there" (19). Yet Hurston does not merely affirm Zora's insider status because of her race but repeatedly calls attention to the fact that Zora is an educated outsider as well. While education tragically removes James from his subjects, it provides Zora with the distance necessary for her to see and speak to two worlds.

While Agee's reporter betrays a unified sense of self and community through his different physical reactions, Hurston's reporter betrays similar ideas of unity by repeatedly returning to considerations of education. In referring to her formal, northern education to appeal to her audience, Zora does not simply affirm its value. Rather, she slowly calls this education into question and replaces it with the typical education of the anthropologist, the initiation rite, and with an education grounded in the cultures she describes in the text. Hurston's more exacting reporting methods as an anthropologist also challenge the value of her formal education. While Agee's reporter presumes to speak for his subjects and record their thoughts, Zora not only reports on her subjects but also records their speech in writing (Rabinowitz 69). Her education represents a potential

impediment to her identifying completely with her subjects in and through their language. While Agee suggests that James cannot undo his education, Zora shows that she needs to augment her education with further experience and learn to negotiate different kinds of language.

Hurston begins to question different kinds of education in the "Folktales" section of Mules and Men set in Florida. In one of the early folk stories or "lies" that she collects in Eatonville, Robert Williams, a town resident, tells of a girl who returns home after seven years of schooling. The girl's father, who is evidently illiterate, asks her to write a letter to his brother. He begins dictating, "Now tell 'im, 'Dear Brother, our chile is done come home from school and all finished up and we is very proud of her.'" Though the daughter has no problem transcribing these words, his next statement poses some trouble: "Now tell 'im some mo'. 'Our mule is dead but Ah got another mule and when Ah say (clucking sound of tongue and teeth) he moved from de word.'" When the father asks what is wrong, she tells him, "Ah can't spell (clucking sound)." The father is shocked: "You mean to tell me you been off to school seben years and can't spell (clucking sound)? Why Ah could spell dat myself and Ah ain't been to school a day in mah life. Well jes' say (clucking sound) he'll know what yo' mean and go on wid de letter" (43-44). A later story complements the meaning of this story. Jim Allen, another Eatonville resident, tells his listeners, the old expressions "all got a hidden meanin', jus like de Bible. Everybody can't understand what they mean. Most people is thin-brained. They's born wid they feet under de moon. Some folks is born wid they feet on de sun and they kin seek out de inside meanin' of words." (124). The lie that he then tells suggests that a college education is no guarantee of understanding different meanings. When a boy

returns home after seven years of schooling, his father tells the mother not to worry anymore about their troublesome cow: "We don't need to strain wid dis cow. We got a son inside that's been to school for seben years and had done learnt everything. He'll know jus' what to do wid a kickin' cow" (125). However, when the boy tells his father to sit on the cow to calm it, the father bounces off out of control bringing the story to a comical end.

In both lies, the effects of education play out in actions and in language. The first lie relates directly to Zora, her pride in her homecoming, and her fears that it will not be successful from an anthropological standpoint. It also highlights the challenges Zora faces in representing her identity and her subjects in language. In writing "(clucking sound)" it is unclear if Zora has solved the girl's problem or simply shown it is her problem as well. Can the girl, like Zora, transcribe "our chile is done come home from school" when years of schooling have trained her to hear and write another way? Even as Hurston raises these questions her reporter faces in recording the language of her subjects for an outside audience, she highlights the centrality of her reporter in the text itself. Zora prompts both of these lies and participates in their telling; even as she collects the shared materials of the folk, she moves to the center of the book and dramatizes these questions of language and identity through her individual performance.

The day after hearing the first of these stories, Zora considers her past and present selves and shows how, like the daughter, she is both empowered and conflicted by her education and memories: "The next afternoon I sat on the porch again. The young'uns had the grassy lane that ran past the left side of the house playing the same games that I had played in the same lane years before... I tried to write a letter but the games were

too exciting" (57-58). While Agee uses a direct address to the tenants to make his text seem, in part, like a letter back to them, Hurston seems to be writing a letter from inside the community of her subjects to the outside world of her audience, and she, like the daughter, falters. Whereas Agee uses his past to identify with the tenants and authorize his text, Zora's return to the past and identification with the girls temporarily silences her. She seems torn in language: She struggles to be both "I" and "Ah" and is unable to write a sentence that contains both a "grassy lane" and "young'uns." Despite Boas's claim and Zora's earlier affirmation that she is already an insider, she still needs to achieve this status and gain the means to represent her subjects. The initiation rites that allow her to do both underscore her authority even as they suggest that race is a necessary but not sufficient factor in the access she enjoys. The racial unity of a culture proves to be as elusive as geographic unity, and it is only Zora's increasing facility in performing with her subjects and in shaping her language that brings about her success as a reporter.

While country food calls attention to the in-between state of Agee's reporter, laughter reveals Zora's in-between status as an insider and outsider. At first, she seems to suggest she already understands the laughter that befuddles the white investigator:

[T]he Negro, in spite of his open-faced laughter, his seeming acquiescence, is particularly evasive. You see we are a polite people and we do not say to our questioner, "Get out of here!" We smile and tell him or her something that satisfies the white person because, knowing so little about us, he doesn't know what he is missing. The Indian resists curiosity by a stony silence. The Negro offers a feather-bed resistance. That is, we let the probe enter, but it never comes out. It gets smothered under a lot of laughter and pleasantries. (10)

Hurston describes this resistance in terms of reading and writing. "The theory behind our tactics: 'The white man is always trying to know into somebody else's business. All right, I'll set something outside the door of my mind for him to play with and handle. He can

read my writing but he sho' can't read my mind'" (10). Zora's references to "we" and "our" and even the fact that she makes these statements in writing suggest that she, too, may use "feather-bed tactics," so that her mind may be harder to read than her book.

Hurston's challenges to her reader, however, are not meant to dismiss their attention. If Agee is "fiercely anti-popular," Hurston pulls readers into her text while slowly making them dependent on the perspective of her reporter. As Hurston shows, Zora realizes that she may not speak so easily as a member of this group, and she begins to recognize the difficulties in entering her subjects' lives and recording their stories. Her academic, northern credentials, her way of speaking, her signs of status, and her intrusive gaze mean that she is liable receive feather-bed tactics herself. Taken for a spy, she is unable to use her spy-glass. Early in the text, Zora acknowledges she might receive such a reception outside of her hometown: "I knew that even *I* was going to have some hindrance among strangers. But here in Eatonville I knew everybody was going to help me" (10). In fact, when Zora leaves Eatonville for Polk County, no one tells her at first why she is being ostracized (63). On the first payday after her arrival, the workers stage a dance, and Zora is ignored and "doomed to be a wallflower," "a new role" for her (64). Outside of the dance, around a bonfire, she meets with "open-faced laughter": "I stood there awkwardly, knowing that the too-ready laughter and aimless talk was a window-dressing for my benefit. The brother in black puts a laugh in every vacant place in his mind. His laugh has a hundred meanings" (64-65). In order to investigate these meanings, Zora shows how her ability to perform allows her to supplement the access she gains because of her race; only through this performance can she understand her subjects and report on their lives and culture. When a man introduces himself to her as Mr. Pitts,

she notes, "I laughed heartily. The whole fire laughed at his quick comeback and more people came out to listen" (66). Pitts lets her know the men are scared to talk to her because her Chevrolet makes her look like a revenue officer or a detective, and Zora explains that her bootlegger lover bought it for her (63). Her laughter and her story make her initiation a success, and she breaks down the resistance to gain access to the inside meanings of her subjects' laughter and language. This change in Zora's status and identity as a reporter and participant is registered in Hurston's language: Before she speaks with Pitts, she is "I"; afterwards she is "Ah" (66). Soon, Zora becomes the center of attention at the dance, and as she sings the songs she also records, she participates in laughter that now signifies a shared sense of understanding: "I laughed and the crowd laughed and Pitts laughed. Very successful woofing" (67). Interestingly, as she emphasizes her success to her readers she is "I" again.

Zora's initiation reflects back on Hurston and her ability to use language to reach audiences in the swamps and in the city, blacks and whites. She shapes Zora as a believable, active, and creative reporter. Zora is also difficult to define: Though she seems to laugh for her subjects and write for her audience, sometimes she gives the impression that she is writing for her subjects and laughing at her audience. This role of the trickster storyteller is most evident in the concluding piece of Mules and Men when she identifies with one of the clever animals of the folk tales: "I'm sitting here like Sis Cat, washing my face and usin' my manners" (228). More often than not, Zora has it both ways. In this "woofing" scene, she calls attention to her car, her Macy's dress, and her use of formal language to remind her readers they share certain experiences and assumptions in common, even as she also reminds them that only she, as a black,

southern anthropologist, possesses the ability to "probe" the feather bed. To understand the text then, readers must read Zora's words while also observing her reactions; as a reporter, she begins to bring her performance in language together with her performance with her subjects.

The way Zora succeeds in her performance at the dance while James fails in his performance at dinner sheds some light on the intersections of Mules and Men and Let Us Praise Famous Men in terms of their reporters and sense of audience. Hurston links the authority of her discipline and mentors to the reinvented, individual reporter she portrays. Responding to the demands of her publisher to write a popular book in an academic genre and her own aspirations to make black folklore widely available, Hurston uses her reporter to stake out a space between two worlds and create an authority that is uniquely her own.¹³ Agee, on the other hand, resists the demands of his publishers to produce a brief article and, later, a cohesive book. Instead, he produces a difficult text that rejects the myth of the reinvented individual in favor of the image of the alienated, modernist writer whose formal innovations are unappreciated by a popular audience. Yet Agee does not simply reach for an elite audience; rather, as his consideration of education suggests, he tries to connect with his uneducated subjects and cajole a popular audience. Agee's inevitable failure to reconnect with his past and with his subjects is paralleled in his inevitable failure to connect with his audience. Rather than solving the problem of

¹³ Following the demands of her publisher, Lippincott, to produce a longer "\$3.50 book," she added the hoodoo section from material previously published as a journal article (Boyd 253). Writing to Boas, she explained that Lippincott "wants a very readable book that the average reader can understand, at the same time one that will have value as a reference book. I have inserted the between-story conversation and business because when I offered it without it, every publisher said it was too monotonous" (qtd. in Hemenway 163).

how to write an "educated" text to an "uneducated" audience, Agee embraces his failure to do so and makes it the center of his text and the chief characteristic of his reporter. Later critics would support this view of the purposeful and necessary failure of the text, claiming that Agee sets his goals above his audience and beyond the genre in which he is writing; eventually, the initial commercial failure of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men enhanced its reputation (Hegeman 177).

James's final musings from the porch of the Gudgers' house serve as a kind of ironic commentary on Agee's conception of his audience. Describing the enigmatic sound of what may be foxes, James notes that "at all times it was beyond even the illusion of full apprehension, and was noble, frightening and distinguished: a work of great, private, and unambiguous art which was irrelevant to audience" (466). Agee's foxes, like Hurston's Sis' Cat, conclude his work with the narrator turning mysteriously inward. Though Agee seems to reject rather than puzzle his audience, this move can be seen as part of the larger pattern of purposeful failure that characterizes the text as a whole.¹⁴ Agee's reporter mediates the apparently unsolvable problem of writing a book for sophisticated readers while addressing parts of it to his barely literate subjects. He mediates as well the fact that as a reporter he represents a mass-market publication

¹⁴ Of course, suggesting a work of art is "irrelevant to audience" can also be a means of enticing an audience that appreciates such a strategy of rejection. As Pierre Bourdieu argues, rejecting a popular audience for an audience of other writers and trained readers is a modernist strategy that lowers a work's immediate commercial value while enhancing its long-term literary value (Field 164). Recent critics often read Agee's work through this lens of modernism. As Keith Williams notes, "The disturbing flock of questions about reality, truth, subjectivity and language raised by modernist writing, which the interwar cult of 'objective' factuality failed to settle, swarm back towards, and are even welcomed into, Agee's text" (173). See also Thomas Strychacz's Modernism, Mass Culture, and Professionalism and my chapter, "The Journalist, the Immigrant, and the Family: Willa Cather's Popular Modernism."

known for its clarity of language, while as a writer he strives for a private work of art. It is the narrator, the reporter and rebel, who allows Agee to reveal the inherent ambiguities he otherwise denies. These ambiguities are embodied in James's desires and revealed in moments of crisis.

Hurston approaches her audience differently in Mules to Men. As she portrays Zora recording folk tales, Hurston describes Zora's relationship to an immediate audience of auditors as a way of shaping the relationship Hurston has with her own audience of readers. Hurston's reporter mediates issues of identity and the demands of different times and cultures. Zora's presence allows Hurston to condense "a two-and-a-half-year expedition into one year and nine months, with a one-year segment (Florida) and a nine-month segment (New Orleans)" and shape "Mules and Men in somewhat the same manner in which Henry David Thoreau created a unified experience in *Walden*" (Boyd 165). While Zora ends up becoming Sis' Cat, her role as a reporter is more clearly to lead the reader into the text. If James is a reporter-artist, Zora is more of a complicated reporter-guide: She earns her readers' trust, keeps their attention through her performance, and yet redefines the assumptions of this relationship; he also turns away mysteriously at key moments. After initially meeting her readers' expectations, she portrays the typical education of the anthropologist and then goes on to redefine the authority of her public identity on her own terms. In this way, her performing reporter becomes the expert insider.

In the "Folk Tales" section, Zora calls attention to her formal education even as she is initiated into the culture of feather-bed laughter; in the "Hoodoo" section she suggests that her education in hoodoo is more valuable to her. As she undergoes one of

several hoodoo initiation rites, she notes, "no one may approach the Altar without the crown, and none may wear the crown without preparation. *It must be earned...* The crown without the preparation means no more than a college diploma without the four year's work" (188; italics in original). While here Zora equates earning a hoodoo crown with earning a college diploma, she later suggests that a crown may be more of an achievement. Even as Hurston redefines her relationship to her readers by redefining her portrayal of education, she refrains from alienating them by having Zora avoid direct commentary on hoodoo's effectiveness.¹⁵

When she comes closest to such claims, it is often to address indirectly the questions of race she had bracketed off in "Folk Tales." In one case, Zora recounts the story of an "unreconstructed" white planter who kills a black servant girl and is then cursed by the girl's father. By embedding this story in a chapter intended "to illustrate the attitude of negroes of the Deep South," Zora avoids stating her own opinions about race relations and hoodoo's effectiveness (215). In another case, Zora justifies her belief in one hoodoo practitioner, Dr. Jenkins, by describing his clientele: "Let me state here that most of his clients are white and upper-class people at that" (212). She also describes how Jenkins, who is training her at the time, carries out one of her own wishes:

Once Dr. Jenkins put a light on a wish of mine that a certain influential white woman would help me, and assured me that she would never lose interest in me as long as she lived. The next morning at ten o'clock I received a wire from her stating that she would stand by me as long as she lives. (212)

Though she does not mention her white patron, Mason, by name, Hurston is clearly referring to her. While flattering Mason, Hurston also suggests that access to the

¹⁵ On occasion, she comes close to such direct comments. In describing a death curse, Zora notes, "Every night for ninety days Pierre slept in his holy place in a black draped coffin. And the man died" (199).

knowledge of hoodoo frees her from Mason's control. Though Hurston had published the hoodoo material before in a folklore article, Hurston uses it in Mules and Men to reevaluate the way she presents her reporter, Zora, in terms of her own relationship to her patrons and audience. At the beginning of her introduction, Zora embraces Boas's endorsement and permission to carry out her study; here, she claims a more powerful sense of authority for herself and turns her obligations to her patrons, publisher, and audience into a statement of independence (9). Her increasingly "subjective" observations thus reveal her increasing "objectivity" as she frees herself from the assumptions and limits of her white audience.¹⁶

In describing Jenkins, Zora also suggests that he may know more than her fellow black academics:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, the well-known negro sociologist came to New Orleans on business while I was there and since I had to see Dr. Jenkins, he went with me. Without being asked, Dr. Jenkins told him that he would receive a sudden notice to go on a long trip. The next day, Dr. Johnson received a wire sending him to West Africa. (212)

The implication here is that if Jenkins knows more than Johnson, one of Zora's early supporters in New York, then Zora's training in hoodoo might give her more power than her college education in carrying out her study and, in some measure, relieve her of her past obligations (Boyd 90, 96). However, in order to complete this education in hoodoo, Zora needs to have the proper attitude: "Mouths don't empty themselves unless the ears

¹⁶ Keith Walters argues that throughout the introduction "Hurston indeed signified on the very whites who had made the book's existence possible: Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, Dr. Boas, and Mrs. R. Osgood Mason. Part of Hurston's revenge, then, was to mock both the privilege and the racism of these patrons even as she thanked them for their help, which, I have no doubt, she truly appreciated." Following Henry Gates's argument in The Signifying Monkey, he also claims Hurston was able to do this because of her divided voice and understanding of different languages and traditions (345-346).

are sympathetic and knowing" (178). Several times in the text, hoodoo practitioners question whether Zora has this necessary belief in hoodoo (189, 223). Since this question is one that Hurston's readers are likely to ask as well, it goes directly to the conflicting basis for her authority: She must believe in hoodoo to learn about it and enter a world unavailable to her white audience, but she must not profess her belief in order to retain credibility with this audience. While in "Folklore" Zora's black subjects see in her presence marks of white authority, in "Hoodoo" her white readers may question her claims to authority because of her identification with her subjects' beliefs. To maintain her own authority, Hurston shows how Zora's collecting trip, which is made possible by her academic credentials, becomes in itself a valuable education unavailable to her teachers, patrons, or audience. She dramatizes Zora's successful completion of this education in the initiations rites she undergoes and in her reaction to Luke Turner, heir to the most famous hoodoo practitioner, Marie Leveau. Commenting on his request that she take over his hoodoo practice, Zora responds, "He wanted me to stay with him to the end. It has been a great sorrow to me that I could not say yes" (195).

The way Hurston hides the increasingly independent authority of her reporter in plain view is reflected in the attention to her exposed body in the "Hoodoo" section. Zora's body, like James's, registers unstated conflicts and divisions. This is exemplified by her description of the three days she lays naked and prostrate, completing a "search for the spirit that he might accept me or reject me according to his will" (189). The woodcut illustration by Miguel Covarrubias accompanying the text shows her naked body and dramatically returns attention to Zora as an embodied participant (190). As D.A. Boxwell writes, here Zora's body "itself becomes a kind of runic ethnographic text in this

same rite" (612). Yet in this "text," Zora's face is turned away as if to call into question whether Hurston's white readers can read Zora's mind or just her words. In viewing her body, these readers may be more like the audiences who come to Congo Square each week to watch what they take to be a hoodoo dance: "The white people come to look on, and think they see all, when they only see a dance" (183). Through her performances, Zora redefines Boas's affirmation in his "Forward." According to him, Zora is "able to penetrate thought that affected demeanor by which the Negro excludes the White observer" and gain "the confidence of the voodoo doctors"; "[a]dded to all this is the charm of a loveable personality and of a revealing style which makes Miss Hurston's work an unusual contribution to our knowledge of the true inner life of the Negro" (3). Just as Agee charms Evans into believing his accent, Hurston seems to charm Boas into believing her "revealing style."¹⁷

Both Agee and Hurston describe the captivating, embodied presence of their reporters. In their performances, these reporters emphasize their access to the communities they are describing, balance their conflicting desires and loyalties, take on different disguises for different audiences, and mediate complex social conflicts. Yet these performances raise risks as well. The questions of audience and the social tensions that both authors face resurface in moments of extreme danger for their narrator-reporters. For Agee, this crisis reaches its apex during James's solitary drive in the countryside. When he takes a break from his drive, he enters a diner where he encounters a group of teen-age boys, and Agee calls attention to the performance of his reporter.

¹⁷ Hurston also uses limited references to whites in "Folk Tales" to suggest the power of language to signify differently for different audiences. For example, in the "John" and "Massa" stories, the ingenuity of the slave, John, in outsmarting his masters reflects on Hurston's own inventiveness and playfulness in her writing (Meisenhelder 19).

James "decided to assume no disguise in mannerism, but to be just as I was, which was what they would hate, and to let them make what they wanted of it and to take whatever might come" (381). This moment of physical danger reflects the imperfections of his disguise as a spy. Both disappointed and relieved when no fight occurs, James leaves after his meal and continues his drive through the stillness of a Sunday afternoon. His thoughts become more morbid and he considers wrecking his car and committing suicide. The recollection of a woman, Via (Agee's wife at the time), and more importantly, James desire to write, save him from this urge for death: "If I was ever in my life going to do one page of decent writing or one good minute of movies that was all in hell I wanted" (384). Language is what is wanted; while the complications of desire both underpin and undermine James's identity, this desire finds an outlet in the writing of the text itself. As with Zora, James transforms the irreconcilable tensions within the text into a performance in language for his readers.

However, this moment of self-recognition belies the passivity of Agee's reporter and his identification, oddly enough, with his car. As he drives in a rainstorm, he becomes "a sort of passive-active brain suspended at the center of a machine" and notes that in those driving conditions "your senses are translated, they pervade the car, so that you are all four wheels as sensitively as if each were a fingertip" (408). After a half-willed "accident," he looks back at his car stuck in a ditch: "I began to feel laughter toward it as if it were a new dealer, a county dietician, an editor of Fortune, or an article in the New Republic; and so, too, at myself" (410). This odd equation of a car with James's body returns the focus of the book squarely back to his work as a journalist. James's identification of the car with himself and then with journalism underscores his

paradoxical position as a journalist trying to identify with his subjects and find a place outside the public marketplace while inevitably drawing on his education and authority as a graduate of Harvard, employee of Fortune, and writer for magazines like the New Republic. In laughing at himself, Agee's reporter, like Hurston's, only seems to leave behind his northern self as well as his "patron" and his writing assignment; rather than erasing the origins of his assignment and his authority as a reporter, he mediates such conflicting aspects of his identity through the perceptions of his body. He becomes, instead, a reporter-spy and retains the part of his identity represented in the complex associations of his car. In fact, it is this "accident" that leads to the events described in the book, since James then proceeds to walk back to the Gudgers' home and accept their invitation to stay with them for the night, which in turn leads to the following six weeks of tenant farm life (409). Later, his car continues to play an important part in his observations, as when James bonds with Gudger by driving him to work and observes him working in the lumberyard from the vantage of his car (429, 92). This on-going identification with his car is more than an idiosyncrasy or issue of practicality: It illustrates the part of James's identity shaped by his life in the North and in the city, for as Raymond Williams notes, the car is more than just a sign of prosperity or motion but rather represents a distinctive "city" way of looking at the country (Country 296).

The car plays a similarly important role in Zora's story: It represents danger and escape and underscores the inevitably urban aspects of her perspective. Zora's car helps her gain acceptance in the social life of Eatonville and, eventually, with the workers "on the job" in Polk County, and it also marks important breaks within the text. For example, at the end of the introduction, Zora emphasizes her presence in the text by locating

herself just outside Eatonville and switching from the past to the present tense in acknowledging Mason's support of her project (12). After this acknowledgement, the first chapter begins with Zora crossing the Maitland-Eatonville line and entering the all black township. By acknowledging Mason as Zora drives across the line from the white world to the black world, Hurston shows how the mobility of the car enables the transition from "Hurston" the grateful academic to "Zora" the playful and increasingly independent participant-reporter. While James tries, unsuccessfully, to leave behind the perspective implied by his car and his education, Zora more successfully transforms her perspective, as evident in her later descriptions of the car. At times it seems to be a character in its own right, as when she leaves Eatonville and decides to stop in Polk Country rather than going on farther: "The little Chevrolet was all against it" (62).¹⁸ When she arrives in Eatonville, she sees the residents familiarly gathered on the store porch and "hailed them as I went into neutral... Then everybody crowded around the car to help greet me" (13). Though as a reporter Zora is supposed to be in "neutral," Hurston actually uses the car to show how Zora becomes the center of attention as a storyteller. Even before Zora is out of the car, one of the residents of the town starts to tell a "lie," while another suggests they tell the first story while driving in the car to a party (14-15). Hurston thus uses the car to give her reporter a sense of immediacy, as if she were bringing her readers along for the ride and the stories as well.

The continued presence of the car indicates that her crossing into the black communities of Florida is not an absolute break, and, from the beginning, she associates

¹⁸ Hurston's use of a car on her two trips reflects the realities of the South at the time. During her collecting first trip, she bought a car, which she dubbed "Sassy Susie," after her brother and sister living in Florida agreed that having a car would be the best way to avoid the harsh and humiliating Jim Crow conditions on the trains (Boyd 143).

her Chevrolet with the way the city, her education, and her powerful connections remain part of her perspective (9). This complex perspective is inseparable from her being, as it is for the woman in "Can't You Line It?," a song included in the appendix "Negro Songs with Music." Set to the rhythm of the men working on the railroad, the song describes "a woman walking 'cross the field / Her mouth exhausting like an automobile" (247). As in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, the car in Mules and Men represents more than just mechanization or social status, but implies a way of looking at the world that is as inescapable as the body itself. Indeed, Zora's car brackets her experiences in Polk County. While she welcomes the attention her body receives attention in Eatonville, when she arrives in Polk County and the workers' quarters at the Everglades Cypress Lumber Company, she finds such attention to be more problematic. As suggested earlier, her car raises the suspicions of the black workers on the job in Polk County: "They were accustomed to strange women dropping into the quarters, but not in shiny gray Chevrolets... The car made me look too prosperous" (63).

While Agee's male reporter establishes his presence and explores his desires through the act of seeing and the freedom of driving, Zora's sense of identity is at first expressed in the way that she attracts the male gaze through her appearance, wit, clothes, singing, folk collecting, and car. This puts Zora in direct competition with the other women on the job. When Zora's friend, the strong-willed Big Sweet, alerts her of the imminent danger posed by two particularly jealous women, Zora

thought of all I had to live for and turned cold at the thought of dying in a violent manner in a sordid saw-mill camp. But for my very life I knew I couldn't leave Big Sweet even if the fight came. She had been too faithful to me. So I assured her that I wasn't going unless she did. My only weapons were my teeth and toenails. (147)

In this rare instance of Zora describing her thoughts directly, her conflicting loyalties and desires emerge in her language: Like James, she cannot always maintain the consistency of her disguises, and her cosmopolitan perspective surfaces in the uncharacteristically stilted and formal phrasing of "dying in a violent manner" and the adjective "sordid," a surprising choice given her positive descriptions of life on the job. Yet this outside perspective is contrasted with her connection to Big Sweet; her loyalties, like her body of "teeth and toe nails," appear fragmented. Though Zora escapes from this threat, when she returns to another party at Big Sweet's invitation, one of the women draws a knife on Zora and starts a massive brawl. Tellingly, Zora escapes in her car (174-175).

For both James and Zora, their return to a pastoral, settled rural life is belied by their reliance on the emblem of mechanization and mobility, the car, and the car points to the contradictions they experience as reporters. While different perspectives and social issues are mediated through these individual reporters, they are unable to resolve these issues by fully recovering their southern childhoods or leaving behind their urban pasts. For Agee, the car represents a loss of control: When James identifies with his car, he considers suicide, almost loses his life, and leaves his decisions to chance. In brooding on the pristine middle-class porches he sees from the car, he identifies with his own middle class background and implicitly contrasts this with the Gudgers' ramshackle porch and his necessarily incomplete identification with his subjects. By way of contrast, Hurston's female reporter does not indulge in the fantasy of a unified self or use her gaze to explore desire as James does. Instead, Zora emphasizes her authority as a participant through her unique access to the black communities she describes, but she also maintains her authority as an observer and writer by recalling the affinities that she shares with her

urban, white, northern audience. For her, the car represents a means of immersing herself in black communities and a way to call attention to status as an outsider. The car at times separates Zora from her subjects and at times joins her with them, and it is used by Hurston to achieve a similar sense of separation and control in her writing. Thus, the "Folk Tales" section begins and ends with Zora in her car, and the "Hoodoo" section begins with her describing the passing of time and her arrival in New Orleans from behind the wheel.¹⁹

The way Agee identifies journalism with James's car suggests the extent to which the reporter's perspective is inextricably implicated in the structures of cultural production and contemporary societal issues. As Raymond Williams describes in The Long Revolution, journalism plays an important role in the on-going revolutions of industrialization, the extension of democracy, and the accompanying transformations in culture (10-14).²⁰ In this broad context, Agee's and Hurston's reporters inevitably remain within existing structures of cultural production even as they attempt to report on cultures that are ostensibly outside the main strands of this "long revolution." As I am arguing, the conflicts in this situation are registered in the language and bodies of Agee's and Hurston's mediating reporters; however, both reporters also address these conflicts through their specific observations and reading of cultural artifacts. In these readings, they situate these artifacts in relation to mass produced commodities, and they clarify the

¹⁹ An old Studebaker even figures prominently in some of the hoodoo rites that Zora describes there (192-195).

²⁰ Finding a common function in all kinds of communication, Williams writes, "Since our way of seeing things is literally our way of living, the process of communication is in fact the process of community: the sharing of common meanings, and hence common activities and purposes; the offering, reception and comparison of new meanings, leading to the tension and achievements of growth and change." (55)

relationship between the culture of their subjects and the culture of their readers while addressing their own divided desires.

Agee has James evaluate cultural products in terms of their aesthetic qualities, and he suggests that mass produced commodities can be redeemed as artifacts through individual use. In keeping with his "private" conception of art, the artifact seems to be created and interpreted in the private shelter of a "pure," local culture. Paradoxically, however, it becomes clear from his consideration of consciousness that James's ability to evaluate artifacts in this way requires the perspective of someone, like himself, who crosses cultural borders. At the same time, as we have seen, these border crossings put a unified sense of identity very much at risk and inevitably call into question the social implications of how such borders are constructed and maintained. For Hurston, desire is described through Zora's ability to hold and control a collective, public gaze, and the products of folk culture she examines are constructed through collective transmission, variation, and correction (Hemenway 54-55). For her, then, cultural production involves compromise and redefinition; as in her consideration of education, Hurston shows that the purposes and values of commodities are modified as they are used and moved across borders. Thus, cultural products, like individual identities, are subject to constant transformation. While Agee isolates the artifact from the mass market in order for James to examine it in terms of individual desire, Hurston examines Zora's desire to belong to the community and shows how communal values affect perception and interpretation.

In both Let Us Now Praise Famous Men and Mules and Men, the specific cultural boundaries that the reporters cross relate more broadly to issues of consumption and production. Written to centers of consumption, both texts are premised on a return to

cultures of production and an examination of the lives of rural southerners who produce cotton, lumber, turpentine, and other agricultural products and who command only a minimal ability to buy and consume the finished cultural and consumer goods that characterize northern, urban culture.²¹ In Raymond Williams's terms, Agee and Hurston examine how social and cultural relationships between country and city are economic relationships as well (Country 37, 257, 279). Though both works can be seen as part of the pastoral tradition, the ways Agee and Hurston internalize the split between city and country in particular reporters underscores the importance of the context in which they are created. As these reporters enter supposedly "pure" communities of production, they find inevitable outside influences and reflect on their own position as insiders and outsiders. As reporters participating in the broad mass market through their writing, they offer readings of commodities that show how the cultural boundaries between consumption and production are redefined from within these communities themselves.

In Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, Agee shows how the commodities that represent an oppressive economic system are redeemed through their use, as the tenant farmers, the lowest members of this system, make meaningful artifacts from otherwise meaningless mass produced objects. This process is evident in the difference between the advertisements that appear in Evans's photographs and in Agee's descriptions. In one of Evans's photographs of the public space of a small town, a span of just a few buildings includes three posters for Coca-Cola and one for Dr. Pepper. These advertisements, the visual center of the photograph, catch the sunlight and literally overshadow the people

²¹ Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein describe this division between centers of consumption and peripheries of production in Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities.

walking below them with their indistinct faces hidden in darkness. In another photograph, two Coca-Cola advertisements peek out from a ramshackle general store, while across a short space a poster for Nehi stares blankly from a brick wall. As in several other photographs, these advertisements speak for the absent people and provide a ghostly reminder of the way their desires have been commodified. The perfectly stenciled letters of the advertisements stand in stark contrast to the empty spaces and ragged edges of the decayed buildings; they are traces of the ineffable logic of capitalism that wears away human but not corporate bodies. By way of contrast, in the photographs of the private spaces of the tenants' homes, the advertisements there have taken on the worn, soiled quality of the tenants' faces, clothes, and hands. Used as decorations, these advertisements bear the marks of personal attention and the human touch: They are shaped by use to reflect the embodied limits of personal desires, and in this way they are redeemed from their mass production and the delusions of collective fantasies to become as unique and individual as the tenant farmers who value them and the reporter who observes them.

This contrast among Evans's photographs is born out by Agee's descriptions of these advertisements within the tenants' homes. Using his desiring reporter, he also places the advertisements in the context of bodily presence. In a section on the Gudgers' home, James describes personal photographs, published images, and advertisements, including "[a] calendar, advertising -----'s shoes, depicting a pretty brunette with ornate red lips, in a wide-brimmed red hat, cuddling red flowers. The title is Cherie, and written twice, in pencil, in a schoolchild's hand: Louise, Louise" (164). Against the absurdly distant image and banality of the advertisement stands the signature of Louise, one of the

Gudger daughters, a tentative statement of individuality whose fragility and impermanence is emphasized by being written in pencil. After describing "a strip of scarlet paper with a large white fish" and a brand name on it, Agee ends the section by noting, "At the right of the mantel, in whitewash, all its whorlings sharp, the print of a child's hand" (165). In contrast to the idealized, mass produced images, the mark of an individual gesture again makes a unique impression and redefines the previous images. A similar description of the Rickets' mantel seems to be nothing more than a long list of the advertisements and images from cheap publications they use as decorations. However, the last few items emphasize the ironic contrast between the tenants' hard lives, focused on the basic needs of survival, and the empty promises and bourgeois admonishments of the advertisements and religious publications:

Love's Gift Divine, You Can't Afford *NOT*, Soft, Lovely Hands, You Owe It to Her, You Owe It to Him, You Owe It to Them, Country Gentleman, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me but for your children, and your children's children, Energize, Save, At Last, Don't be a Stick-in-the-Mud, et cetera. (200-201)

As with the earlier examples of newsprint, meaning here emerges from the juxtaposition of texts and from the contrast between the farmers' limited perspective and James's broader cross-cultural perspective. What the tenants' see as images, James inevitably sees as a text to be interpreted. The reporter who wishes leave a mass market culture for a "pure" culture of production cannot help but recognize that his salary is ultimately paid by these advertisements that are inescapable. Caught between two cultures and two ways of seeing, he identifies with the advertisements, which he sees as being caught between their status as decorative things and as texts signifying in this wider context of industrialization and the market.

The implications of this process of interpretation reflect back on Agee's text itself and the way that meaning is made through a correspondence of words and ideas. Thus, the idea of "owing" and "saving" relate ironically to the debts that bind the farmers to their land and to their landlords, making it impossible for them to ever become "gentlemen"; the idea of "soft hands" is belied by the way their bodies have been hardened and twisted by incessant labor and poor diets. Likewise, the religious language resonates with the connections across generations that Agee emphasizes in his text, both in terms of the curse of the tenant farmer's poverty and Agee's own sense of family roots. As James and his readers recognize that these words are not just decorative things but also signifying ideas, the impossibility of escaping from a broader context of meaning is underscored by the final "et cetera." It is at once a sign of the endlessly stimulated desire necessary for consumer capitalism to function and a sign of James's own proliferating desires and language in his unwieldy text. In other words, it is a sign that James's identity is double and conflicted and a sign that as a reporter he is inevitably part of the culture he critiques.

As James evaluates the cultural artifacts of the farmers and their reactions to urban consumer culture, a more conscious aesthetic evaluation emerges based on his "private" conception of art and reactions to mass consumer culture. This evaluation underscores the irony of the farmers' aspirations to identify with city consumers and James's own aspirations as a Fortune reporter trying to identify with rural producers. This can be seen by comparing one of Evans's most famous photographs in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, a "portrait" of a pair of farmer's boots, to Agee's description of a farmer's work shoes. In the photograph, the boots seem to take on the personality of their

owner and even speak for the unique hardship of his life. James similarly describes the artful "personal treatment" many of the farmers give their mass-made shoes:

Many men, by no means all, like to cut holes through their uppers for foot-spread and for ventilation: and in this they differ a good deal between utility and art. You seldom see purely utilitarian slashes: even the bluntest of these are liable to be patterned a little more than mere uses requires: on the other hand, some shoes have been worked with a wonderful amount of patience and studiousness toward a kind of beauty, taking the memory of an ordinary sandal for a model, and greatly elaborating and improving it. I have seen shoes so beautifully worked in this way that their durability was greatly reduced. (262-263)²²

In responding to the needs of the body, the farmers surpass utilitarian desires and transform mass-produced goods into individual works of art. As Phyllis Frus argues, when writers at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century began to see themselves as laborers, they "moved to reserve a space for the nonutilitarian, the noncommercial, the 'more than real' literary production, that is, for works that transcended their ties to the immediate occasion, their association with the market, and their appeal to an uncritical mass public" (30). In his description, Agee does just his; he tries to develop his identification with the farmers in terms of a common, nonutilitarian aesthetic outside associations with the market.

As Agee suggests, the difference between James and the farmers is a matter of consciousness. While here this transformation of the commodity into the artifact is conscious, James elsewhere describes the farmers performing this process of cultural production unconsciously throughout their lives. In wearing their workclothes, for example, the men turn commodified images into individual works of art that are literally shaped by the body. "[I]n new workclothes a man has the shy and silly formal charm of a

²² Agee goes on to attribute greater creativity to southern blacks, as he does elsewhere in the text (263-264).

mail-order-catalogue engraving"; these garments at first have "the massive yet delicate beauty of most things which are turned out most cheaply in great tribes by machines: and on this basis of structure they are changed into marvels of nature" (267). While the workclothes begin with a kind of artificial beauty, just as the men wearing them appear as charmingly artificial as a catalogue image, labor, use, time, and contact with the body seem to make them inevitably into works of art that are not only individual but apparently "natural":

The texture and the color change in union by sweat, sun, laundering, between the steady pressures of its use and age: both, at length, into realms of fine softness and marvel of draping and velvet plays of light which chamois and silk can only suggest, not touch; and into a region and scale of blues, subtle, delicious, and deft beyond what I have ever seen elsewhere approached except in rare skies, the smoky light some days are filmed with, and some of the blues of Cezanne... and I saw no two which did not hold some exquisiteness of its own. (267)

Gudgers' overalls, in particular, exemplify these qualities. His "middle-aged" overalls "are lost out of all machinery into a full prime of nature"; the material of his old pair "sleeps against all salients of the body in complete peace, and in its loose hangings, from the knee downward, is fallen and wandered in the first full loss of form into foldings I believe no sculptor has ever touched" (268-269). Unlike sculptors, however, Gudger's body, rather than his mind, creates these artifacts.

In describing the women's dresses and Rickett's workshirt, James similarly emphasizes how the necessity of the farmers' lives and the "natural" artistry of their bodies transform the mass-produced sacks they use for material into works of art.

Describing Mrs. Woods's work dresses, he notes they have

no sleeves; wide hemmed holes cut for the arms; no collar; a wide triangle cut for nursing, and hemmed, in coarse stitching like the armholes; a broad skirt reaching about two inches below the knee, and falling in thick folds: the grain of the cloth defined here and there in dark grease, the whole garment clayed and sweated; the

faded yet bold trademarks showing through in unexpected parts of the material: a garment very little different in some respects from those of the women of the ancient Greeks, and probably very closely matched in Thessaly or on Euboea. (277)

Interestingly, James's education and comparative perspective causes him to recognize the trademarks and compare the dresses to Classical culture. Similarly, Ricketts'

shirt is home made out of a fertilizer sack. The cloth, by use and washing, is of a heavy and delicious look: as if pure cream were pressed into a fabric an eighth of an inch thick, and were cut and sewn into a garment. The faded lettering and branding is still visible, upside down, in red and blue and black. It is made in earnest imitation of store shirts but in part by heaviness of cloth and still more by lack of skill is enlarged in details such as the collar, and simplified, and improved, and is sewn with tough hand stitches, and is in fact a much more handsome shirt than might ever be bought: but socially and economically, it is of like but less significance with Ricketts' cornshuck hat. (274-275)

The way James reads these items recalls Raymond Williams' description of how rural life is idealized: "Take first the idealization of a 'natural' or 'moral' economy on which so many have relied, as a contrast to the thrusting ruthlessness of the new capitalism. There was very little that was moral or natural about it" (Country 37). As Williams suggests, while subsistence farming seems to be outside of the market, in fact it is not. Likewise, in valuing these items of clothing as natural, classical folk art, preferable to store bought shirts, James, nonetheless acknowledges the advertisements and logos that remain despite this process of individual transformation. Indeed, a cross-cultural context is implied in both of James's comparisons. His reference to the ancient Greeks reflects his education while his reference to social and economic groups reflects elements of Agee's assignment for Fortune. In other words, Agee's own education and work as a journalist inevitably leave traces in his text, just as the market leaves traces of trademarks on these clothes, and these traces belie his search for a rural culture and artifacts outside of the market.

Agee later picks up on his disparagement of the tendency of poor white and black farmers to value store bought hats and reveals his own bias against mass produced goods, a bias that reflects his own knowledge of social categories and awareness of the aesthetics of modernism (272). In describing Gudger's hat, he writes that it is certain

that his head-covering, like his sunday belt and the pull-over sweater he wants, are city symbols against a rural tradition: indeed, it is industrial, or is the symbol almost of a skilled trade: a handsome, twenty-five-cent machinist's cap made of ticking in bold stripes of blue-white and dark blue, drawing all possible elements of his square-chopped, goodlooking, and ineradicably rural face into city and machine suggestions. (271)

In emphasizing the "machinist" aspect of this hat, Agee implicitly criticizes its worth and reinforces the idea that the mass produced commodity can only be redeemed as it comes to bear the mark of the hand and body. Implicitly, James's own disguises as a spy-reporter are reflected in the way he reads others' performances, and his implicit criticism of Gudger for taking on "city and machine suggestions" despite his "rural face" reflects his own anxiety in disguising himself in the rural identity of the farmers.

Just as he tries to align his text with the nonutilitarian aspects of the farmers' boots, Agee tries to align himself with the farmers as cultural producers in the sections that preface Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. Wanting his book to be part of personal experience, he writes words to be spoken and heard. Creating a book only "out of necessity," he rejects the possibility of the book being advertised as a commodity: "Of any attempt on the part of the publishers, or others, to disguise or in any way to ingratiate this volume, the authors must express their regret, their intense disapproval, and, as observers awaiting new contributions to their subject, their complaisance" (xv-xvi). Agee similarly seemed to have identified with the farmers' culture of production in his own performance as a reporter, despite the fact that he worked for the glossy magazines that

form a prominent part of the new consumer culture. Thus, Evans describes how Agee wore his clothes in a way that attempted to achieve a sense of naturalness like that achieved by the farmers:

His clothes were deliberately cheap, not only because he was poor but because he wanted to be able to forget them. He would work a suit into fitting him perfectly by the simple method of not taking it off much. In due time the cloth would mold itself to his frame. Cleaning and pressing would have undone this beautiful process. I exaggerate, but it did seem sometimes that wind, rain, work, and mockery were his tailors. (ix-x)

In Agee's presentation of his reporter James, he also shows how James similarly overshoots his mark and belies his background and intentions through his performance: "On another score, he felt that wearing good, expensive clothes involved him in some sort of claim to superiority of the social kind. Here he occasionally confused purposes and fell over into a knowingly comical inverted dandyism" (x). Agee's internal conflicts, comparative evaluation of the farmer's culture, and paternalistic certainty in knowing what's best for them, all set James apart from the farmers and show that in his eagerness to identify with them he sometimes overestimates his own ability to make such a complete adjustment. The problem is that even if Agee's book is not marketed or "disguised," his reporter cannot completely do away with his own "disguise" and simply enter the world of his subjects. With his northern, formal education, modernist opposition to mass marketed commodities, and awareness of the power of advertising, James cannot help but read the farmers' culture from a cross-cultural perspective that accounts for the values of both producers and consumers. His identity is inevitably split, and, despite his efforts, he is unable to produce a private work of art or capture a pure sense of culture. Yet if James's evaluations reveal a split identity, they also suggest the necessity of such a split; the ability to read the farmers' culture, values, and meaningful

artifacts requires the sympathy of an insider and the perspective of an outsider. Thus, the elements of urban consumer culture that remain in James's perspective are necessary to read the significance of the corresponding elements in the tenants' use of advertisements for decorations and trademarked sacks for clothes. The divisions James tries to disguise in his own identity and devalues in his subjects actually form a crucial element of his reporting.

Agee's ultimate uncertainty in how to value these divisions is revealed in the ways that James describes how Louise, one of the Gudgers' daughters, and Paralee, one of the Rickett's daughters, wear their "town" dresses. Writing directly to Louise, James notes her dress "looked almost though not quite like the 'party-dress' of a little girl your age in town, of people whose mothers are so nice they would never speak to yours unless about putting less starch in the cuffs, please." After detailing the dress, James notes that it also betrays its country origins

by a sort of uncertain embarrassedness in which this whole sweet artifact set itself around the animal liveness of your country way. And then, too, you yourself gave it way, Louise, for your skin was a special quiet glowing gold color, which can never come upon the skin of nicely made little girls in towns and cities, but only to those who came straight out of the earth and are continually upon it in the shining of the sun, active and sweating... it is entirely obvious that you are not what this dress is pretending you are, Louise, and that the whole thing is a put-up job. (367)

James similarly describes Paralee's dress, noting that it

is fully and exactly of the kind which middle class girls of her age wear in town on Saturday afternoons. And yet it isn't exactly of that kind. In the wish for brilliance and emphasis and propriety, everything is overstepped. The orange and blue and white stripes are far more anxiously bold than any worn by town girls, save now and then a negress, and the fit is almost too sharp and sporting, and the strength, deftness and flexibility of her body betray her, and the dress, and her deeply tanned, rural, strongly freckled face, her too-carefully done hair, the use with this garment of all the jewelry she has, and above all the excitement, the blend of confidence and terror, and the desperately searching hope which blaze in

her eyes, all these betray her still more hopelessly, so that she would inspire the fear inspired by all who are over-eager or who would "climb," and seems almost as if she has stolen the dress. (283-284)

In both cases, the girls' dresses transform their identities and overwhelm their audience; yet their performances remain incomplete failures. In these ways, their performances are like Agee's own in shaping his reporter, James. Just as James cannot decide whether the imperfections in the girls' performances are a tragic deficiency or a mark of salvation from the corruptions of the marketplace, Agee cannot decide on his own evaluation of Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. He tries to shape it as a beautiful performance yet does not want it to be received as an artifact that meets popular, middle-class demands. Likewise, James is torn between claiming to succeed in his identification with his subjects and documenting his successive failures as a reporter divided between two worlds.

Although Agee's reporter genuinely seems to appreciate the tenants and their culture, his description of the girls' dresses reveals the implicit social anxieties behind his evaluations. In advocating the beauty and purity of the tenants' culture, he is also removing possibilities for racial "mixing" or social "climbing." This apparent reification of social categories is not simply elitist, however, since it is a commentary on the sense of loss James experiences in developing a dual perspective of country and city. Furthermore, it is a commentary on the context in which Agee is writing: In the midst of a massive economic crisis brought about by a lack of consumption, Agee tries to interpret commodities as cultural goods from a strictly producer's perspective, but his reporter's identity is too thoroughly enmeshed in an urban, consumer culture and modernist methods of evaluating cultural goods. Just as Paralee's body betrays her, Agee's

reporter's body betrays him through his desires and perceptions; his interpretations ultimately reveal his imperfect performance and the fissures at the core of his identity. James tries to guide his audience's reactions, as Paralee does, but, like her, it is the complexity of his performance rather than its success that is so striking.

Agee's attempts to locate cultural production in individual artifacts and his efforts to control his text through James's individual readings stand in contrast to the way Hurston shapes her text. The performance of her reporter, Zora, is tied to collectively transmitted stories and rituals and set against the backdrop of an immediate, discerning public. This can be seen when comparing Paralee's flamboyant dress with one of Zora's own. When, at a party, Zora is finally told that she appears suspiciously rich to the others on the job, she notes the differences between herself and the other women:

I mentally cursed the \$12.74 dress from Macy's that I had on among all the \$1.98 mail-order dresses. I looked about and noted the number of bungalow aprons and even the rolled down paper bags on the heads of several women. I did look different and resolved to fix all that no later than the next morning. (66)

Clearly, as a trained anthropologist, Hurston would have noticed such distinctions without needing someone to point them out to her. However, by calling attention to Zora's apparent innocence, she serves to remind readers that Zora is both different from her subjects in her cosmopolitan sophistication and different from her readers in her ability to fit in with her subjects by simply changing her clothes. As Boyd notes, her reaction to the dress recalls the chemise in the introduction and suggests that Zora "saw things from a dual perspective, both from within the community and from without" (167). She adds that Hurston's technique, which "falls somewhere between scientific reporting and personal journalism," "produces a repeated pattern of experience. Zora becomes a

member of each community she encounters, accepted by the virtue of race and her sympathy with communal ways" (195).

Though Boyd's characterizations are apt, Zora's difficulties in entering these communities suggest that while her sympathies and her race gain her admittance they do not guarantee her success. While Zora's return to the South, like James's, exemplifies the return of an individual trained in reading cultural goods to the scene of production, she does not see consumption and production as absolutely distinct nor does she read cultural artifacts in solitude, as James does. Instead, she comes to understand how her subjects negotiate these two realms by observing their public performances and by participating in such performances herself. Though Zora's innocence of the effects of her Macy's dress in the turpentine camp seems feigned, workers on the job are not, like James's subjects, innocent of how to read mass-produced commodities, as their "\$1.98 mail-order dresses" and repeated references to the Sears and Roebuck catalogue make clear (28, 123). In fact, it is her subjects' access to such catalogues that allows them to make the distinction between their dresses and Zora's in the first place. While Agee shows an implicit parallel between his reporter's and his subjects' performances, he shows that only James is capable of reading these performances. Though James sees both himself and his subjects failing to live up to the purity of a particular culture or to escape the boundaries of culture, this failure is measured by Agee's standards, not his subjects. Zora's subjects, on the other hand, read her performance in ways similar to how she reads theirs.

Since Zora participates in the collective production and transmission of folk materials, her reporting exists in an immediate communal context. In a strategy typical of the 1930s, Hurston transforms abstract, often dehumanizing, social and economic trends

by showing how these trends are experienced by an individual committed to the idea of communal culture (Susman 172). Even as Hurston shapes Zora to establish her individual authority as a writer, she shows how Zora "celebrates the art of the community" (Boyd 166). Even the emphasis on Zora's creative powers can be seen as in keeping with the rules of the folk stories she preserves, as she later shows that a playfulness in stretching the bounds of authority is a typical move for the black storyteller.²³ This playfulness is also suggestive of her own possible use of "feather-bed" laughter. As Hurston notes in the glossary, "There is a strong suspicion that the devil is an extension of the story-makers while God is the supposedly impregnable white masters, who are nevertheless defeated by the Negroes" (230). Thus, the way Hurston stretches the expectations of her audience corresponds to the way black singers, storytellers, and hoodoo practitioners in Mules and Men find a power beyond racist oppression through their lies, songs, and rituals.

Notably, at the beginning of both the "Folk" and "Hoodoo" sections Zora serves as the initial storyteller and remembers a genesis story even before she arrives at her destination and begins to collect material (11, 176). In both cases, Zora recalls these opening genesis stories she is driving in her car. In arriving ready to listen yet with "her mouth exhausting like an automobile," like the woman in the song, Zora does not try to deny her urban perspective but slowly transforms it. By performing along with her subjects rather than providing anthropological analysis, she shows how the urban culture of consumption interacts with a more peripheral, rural culture of production. Though she

²³ Some have suggested that the entire text is more of a personal recollection than a record of Hurston's field work: "Arna Bontemps testified that many of the Mules and Men tales were a vivid part of Hurston's storytelling repertoire when she arrived in New York, well before she ever studied or collected folklore" (Boyd 166-167).

initially seems to accept the idea of a pure community that Agee and her audience also seem to value, she ultimately shows that such an idea is as impossible to achieve as a pure, unified identity for her reporter. Instead, she shows how the divisions within her reporter's identity make sense in the context of a community that recognizes and incorporates such divisions itself.

This is exemplified by the song "John Henry," which, like Zora herself, changes as it crosses such cultural boundaries. On the one hand, Hurston discounts the value of "John Henry" since it is not entirely created within the black community and since it is already familiar to whites; she underscores its familiarity by making it the first song in her Appendix (233). Hurston distinguishes it from her other folk materials and explains that the hero who appears in many of the lies is "Jack or John -- not *John Henry*, who occupies the same place in Negro folk-lore that Casey Jones does in white lore and if anything is more recent" (11). In the "Glossary," writing in a distinctly academic voice, Hurston repeats this analysis:

This is a song of the railroad camps and is suited to the spiking rhythm, though it is, like all the other work songs, sung in the jook and other social songs. It is not a very old song, being younger by far than Casey Jones and like that song being the celebration of bravery... *John Henry has no place in Negro folk-lore except in this one circumstance.* The story told in the ballad is of John Henry, who is a great steel-driver, growing jealous when the company installs a steam drill. (230; italics in original)

After summarizing John Henry's deadly competition with the steam drill, she notes that the song "is told in direct dialogue for the greater part. The last three verses show internal evidence of being interpolated from English ballads" (230).

Hurston's evaluation of the song in terms of its hybrid origins reflects back onto her reporter Zora and the text of Mules and Men. Like the song, which interpolates

English ballads, Mules and Men interpolates some of the conventions of anthropological writing, such as footnotes, a glossary, and appendices, into the immediate language and drama of the lying sessions and hoodoo rituals. The way Hurston seems to deny the anthropological significance of this song corresponds to the way she seems to deny the anthropological knowledge of her reporter, Zora. Instead, she shows how both acquire significance in the context of a collective performance and reception. The way the song belies the idea of a pure, geographically cohesive culture also reflects Zora's position of being in-between worlds, and "John Henry" shows how a sense of presence can redeem the alienating effects of a mechanized consumer culture. Though it tells the story of increasing industrialization, the rhythm of the song comes directly from the body and the breathing of the railroad workers. Likewise, Hurston, in shaping Zora as an anthropological reporter to be presented to a broad, popular audience, is participating in the long revolution in which such cultural artifacts do not simply reflect increasing industrialization but also shape the structures of feeling which characterize these on-going transformations.

Just as the worker's presence in the rhythm of this song undermines any distinction between production and consumption, Zora's performance in the text, her sense of an embodied presence, and her divided loyalties undermine such distinctions between cultures of production and consumption. Despite Hurston's comments on "John Henry," it represents Zora's clearest alignment with the workers that she is describing and her most obvious form of participation in their lives and culture (Nichols 472). At the party in which Zora's proves her understanding of featherbed laughter, her singing of "John Henry" fully convinces everyone that she belongs to their community:

By the time that the song was over, before Joe Willard lifted me down from the table I knew that I was in the inner circle. I had first to convince the "job" that I was not an enemy in the person of the law; and, second, I had to prove that I was their kind. "John Henry" got me over my second hurdle. (67)

Significantly, "John Henry" is one of the only items that Hurston includes both in Zora's performance and in her own brief analysis in the appendices. In this way, the song links Hurston to her reporter, Zora; it also suggests the ways in which Zora's perspective depends on comparisons. Interestingly, after Zora begins to share in the singing of this song, she also begins to share her car with the workers:

After that my car was everybody's car. James Presley, Slim and I teamed up and we had to do "John Henry" wherever we appeared. We soon had a reputation... After that I got confidential and told them all what I wanted. At first they couldn't conceive of anybody wanting to put down "lies." But when I got the idea over we had a lying contest... I not only collected a great deal of material but it started individuals coming to me privately to tell me stories they had no chance to tell during the contest. (67-68)

Thus, the emblems of an urban, industrial perspective, the car and "John Henry," become the means by which Zora penetrates the culture and the private lives of her subjects.

While Agee finds that such signs of urban consumer culture divide his identity and separate him from his subjects, Zora more successfully mediates this split in her identity through performances which take into account the perspectives of both her immediate audience and her readers. In this way, Zora's car, her language, and her singing of John Henry all show that she can come to belong as an insider without losing her outside perspective.

"John Henry" also exemplifies how Zora mediates between cultures of consumption and production. Even as it comes to hold a special place in her individual performance, it emphasizes that she is not the only cultural producer: Just as she shares her car, she also shares the stage in singing and shares as well the power to produce and

interpret such cultural works. The workers on the job do not simply consume the cultural commodities produced elsewhere but produce their own cultural products and contribute directly to Hurston's text. As one of the residents of Eatonville, John French, says in telling a lie, "Zora, Ah'm gointer tell one, but you be sho and tell de folks Ah tole it" (49). Likewise, by the end of her time in Polk County, Big Sweet tells her, "You come here tuh see and lissen and Ah means fuh yuh tuh do it" (171). By creating a reporter who participates in the rites and rituals she observes and gives voice to her subjects, Hurston democratizes the ability to speak even as she emphasizes Zora's special perspective as an insider and outsider. From these relationships, Zora emerges as more than just an observer; she is a catalyst, a performer, an editor of others who knows how to develop her authority both within and beyond the communities she describes.

Agee's and Hurston's emphasis on these individual reporters, though more appealing to later readers than to their contemporaries, reveal fissures that correspond to the tensions of their own time. In returning to a particular place to report on "pure" cultures, James and Zora end up undermining the idea that such purity is possible in modern America. Instead, they reveal how their own identities as reporters are implicated in personal and social issues just as the communities they describe are implicated not only in specific cultural questions but also in the troubled economic and social fabric of the nation as a whole. While Agee and Hurston use their reporters' performances to shape their works and address these issues, these performances provide their own terms of critique as well. The frustrations and failures described by Agee's reporter reflect back on a sense of childhood that cannot be recovered across the intervening years of education and experience, but they are also a commentary on social

boundaries that can neither be ignored nor entirely overcome. His performance reflects social anxieties about a fluid society and a reliance on advertising that creates desires separate from individual bodies and needs; these factors threaten to erase the beauty found in individual lives and personal interpretation. While James's acts of reading underscore his roles as an employee of Fortune and identity as son of a mountain man and modernist rebel, they also privilege the emphasis on the individual as an evaluator of cultural worth. What distinguishes Agee from the limited perspective of many other liberal writers of the 1930s is that he portrays the necessary failure of isolated individuals in achieving and maintaining social distinctions. James's own partial performance, enacted in the difficult modernist language and structure of Agee's text, offers a challenge to readers by suggesting that all personal sympathies and social concern are inherently partial and incomplete. If James's performance sometimes misses the mark and falls victim to simplistic categories, so, too, do readings which fail to account for the indelible effects on a cultural object of a "state of being and to what conditioned and produced it."

Hurston offers the other side of the same idea. For her, the "failure" to maintain a pure sense of personal or communal identity is not failure at all but actually looks forward to adaptation and change. As she transforms her education, she transforms her criteria of evaluation as well, finding that the state of being in-between need not alienate individuals but that it can instead provide a common basis for shared experience and cultural production. In the midst of the Great Depression, Agee cannot help but read the penciled autograph in the context of the empty advertising that surrounds it, and, like his reading of journalism itself, he finds this connection between fragile individuals and economic and social categories necessary to his reading but disturbing in its implications.

Hurston, instead, gradually changes the rules by which her individual reporter is connected to a larger social context. The ability of the workers to sing John Henry to the rhythm of their breathing shows they produce not only commodities but also a significant culture of their own. Similarly, the fact that Zora sings this song, which she claims has almost no place in folklore, as an entry into the community of her subjects shows how the individual might change the rules of production. In the context of a responsive, communal audience, she shows how culture itself can adapt to changing means of production and cross existing social and economic boundaries. Her divided reporter, then, finds a home in a culture that sees such divisions as a possibility for growth. While James experiences the car as a loss of control, reads the advertising in clothes that impoverished bodies have made beautiful, and values the workers' shoes for going beyond utility and conformity, Zora jumps on a table, sings a song of a steel driving man, and drives away in her car with her fellow performers. She accepts the fact that as a reporter she necessarily participates in the modernizing process. Though this process encroaches on "pure" cultures, it makes their representation, and perhaps even their survival, possible in such reports as her own.

Chapter Five: Warren's Narrating Journalist and the New Dawn of Cold-War Culture
in All the King's Men

There,
The apocalyptic blaze of
New dawn

Bursts.

Temperature at heart of fireball:
50,000,000 degrees centigrade

Hiroshima Time: 8:16 A.M., August, 6, 1945.

from Robert Penn Warren's "New Dawn"

By August 6, 1945, Robert Penn Warren had completed a draft of All the King's Men (1946), his best-known novel. However, at the urging of his editor at Harcourt, Brace, Lambert Davis, he revised the novel again in the fall of 1945. He cut quite a bit of introductory material and made the new introduction more ominous and changed the ending by adding a marriage after the death of three of the characters (Blottner 221).¹ The action in the novel ends in 1939, the year that Warren began seriously working on it while in Italy, and, as is well known, the "King" of the title, Willie Stark, is based on two historical figures, Huey Long, and to a lesser extent, Mussolini, both of whom Warren had seen in action first-hand.² This history of composition suggests some of the ways that

¹ The original introduction is included in the "restored" edition of the novel as Appendix A. All references to All the King's Men are taken from the originally published edition of the novel.

² Warren first saw Long in 1934 when he was a professor at Louisiana State University, and he observed Mussolini's machinations while in Italy on a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1939. The first version of the novel was a play, Proud Flesh, which Warren began while

the thematic concerns of the novel are connected to the larger historical moment in which it was written: Far from being just a Southern or historical novel, All the King's Men represents the cultural shifts brought about by World War II and signals the incipient roots of the Cold War culture in the United States. While the revised introduction points to the novel's on-going concern with identity in the atomic age, the revised conclusion shows how definitions of identity would come to be contained in the Cold War nuclear family. In between these heavily revised sections of his novel, Warren examines other issues related to new conceptions of identity, most notably the evolving power of the image and the relation between the individual and history shaped by the "the fall out" of the war and the Great Depression. Significantly, all of these issues are tied together in Warren's narrator, the reporter Jack Burden,.

In the conclusion of the novel, Jack Burden tells his mother not to go to Europe: "All hell's about to break loose there and not long either" (430). The novel leaves its readers as the war was about to begin, and the war itself forms the missing period between the action the novel describes and its publication. The novel, though its first-person narrator, speaks to its readers from the moment in 1939 when "all hell's about to break loose" to just after those two moments in August, 1945, when hell broke loose again over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In this way, All the King's Men acts as a bridge between the Depression and the Cold War culture that would begin as World War II came to an end. The novel's abrupt conclusion parallels this abrupt transformation, and the

in Italy, and he later turned the novel back into a play (Blottner 170). See All the King's Men: Three Stage Versions.

narrator, Jack, shows how many individuals accommodated their lives to these changes and made sense of the past from the other side of the war.

Jack's own surprising transformation from a hard-boiled reporter to a husband exemplifies the historical divide the novel reflects in its structure. As he traces the rise and fall of Willie Stark, from naïve "Cousin Willie" to Machiavellian governor and proto-fascist "Boss" of an unnamed southern state, Jack uses his inside access as the "newspaper fellow who is sort of a secretary to Willie" to consider the mystery of Willie's success, his education in the imperfections of human nature, and the extent to which he represents the will of the people (250). Jack's work as a reporter casts him in the hard-boiled role typical of the Depression era investigator, as does his language.³ Like many hard-boiled narrators, he confronts the sordid details of life in language that is often metaphorical and hyperbolic, yet at the same time he appeals directly to readers' sympathy. However, Jack differs from the typical hard-boiled investigator in that he does not work alone and remain an outsider with affinities mostly for other outsiders (McCann 60). His work and indeed his identity develop through his relationships with political insiders, first with Willie, and, when he marries, with his wife, daughter of a governor. Through the relationships, he embraces the Cold War, middle class values of home and family.

Jack's transformation involves a new understanding of the relationship between history and personal memory. While as a reporter, he records history, as the narrator, he

³ All the King's Men was described from the first as a hard-boiled novel (Blottner 228); Slavoj Žižek recently referred to it as "a unique *noir* novel" (52).

remembers, and the political subject of his story is presented in the fragment structure of the novel, which reflects the recursive process of making meaning from memory. In the midst of the Depression, Willie promises to lead the people from economic deprivation through his combative attack on the established order, but his assassination at the hand of Adam Stanton, Jack's friend since childhood, at a moment when he is reconsidering his methods, leaves the question of his legacy unresolved. For Jack, Willie's death is as transformative as his life: It serves as the symbolic explosion that leads him to seek a new way of life and a different understanding of history. While Long's assassination itself had occurred in 1939 and figured prominently into the early drafts of the novel, Warren's revised introduction and conclusion emphasize the threats of fascism and nuclear annihilation, while the emergence of Jack's story presents the adjustments that individuals would make to the new post-war reality.⁴ As Willie's story becomes Jack's story as well, Jack's identity becomes fixed in the socially acceptable role of husband, and he, like so many Americans in the post-War period, finds a refuge from the nuclear threat in the nuclear family and in grounding his identity in the private rather than the public sphere. The break in attitude, tone, and structure in the conclusion mark it as separate from the rest of the novel, and it is from this position of separateness that Jack redefines his understanding of history and comes to terms with his own memories, finding, as Warren would find in his poem "Wind and Gibbon," "History is not truth. Truth is in the telling" (Collected 580).

⁴ In "The Pastness of *All the King's Men*," Glen M. Clark notes how Warren manipulates the historical dates of Long's career to create a rhetorical significance that includes the

The conclusion of the novel, with its unanticipated marriage and striking change of tone does not mar the novel's tragic form so much as point to a parallel between the structure of the novel and the historical and cultural changes it "contains."⁵ The conclusion serves as a literary response to the threats of fascism and the atomic bomb and prefigures the similar responses that the nation as a whole would make to these threats.⁶ Like other important artifacts of the early Cold War period, it celebrates "freedom" and "individualism" while also participating in a new cultural logic that limits the possibilities of the individual within various containment strategies. At the same time, the conclusion works against an idea of perception based on relativism; it suggests that a measure of certainty and stability are necessary for historical interpretation and an adequate understanding of the individual subject. In depicting Jack's transformation from a hard-boiled journalist and political consultant into a husband and historian, Warren embodies these changes in the life of a single individual.

The novel directly and indirectly refers to the dawning nuclear age. For example, Warren gives two key male characters, Adam and Willie, absolute qualities, and they

reader in the destruction the novel anticipates (554-556).

⁵ See Robert B. Heilman's "Melpomene as Wallflower; or the Reading of Tragedy" for a consideration of the novel as a tragedy.

⁶ While Warren was taken to task by early critics for not criticizing Huey Long more explicitly, his characterization of Willie Stark is typical of Warren's ambivalent admiration and distrust for the "Great Men" of history, and it certainly reflects his own misgivings of Long, Roosevelt, and the New Deal (Ruppersburg 10-13).

function like the opposite charges of an atom and prefigure the absolute oppositions of the Cold War. In summarizing their relationship after their deaths, Jack identifies Adam as "the man of ideas" and Willie as the man "the man of fact," and observes that this dichotomy in their personalities made them "doomed to destroy each other" as representatives of "the terrible division of their age" (436). While earlier in the novel, this distinction was dichotomy was not so absolute, in the revised conclusion Jack describes these characters in the strictly binary and destructive terms that would resurface in the Cold War language of mutually assured destruction and a sense of self and other doomed to destroy each other.

A similar binary is suggested by Willie's assassination and the suicide of Jack's long-time friend and neighbor, Judge Irwin, who is later revealed to be Jack's biological father. Since both men are father figures to Jack, both of their deaths cause him to reconsider his sense of responsibility as a participant in history. Their deaths are like two bombs, and, in fact, two key images directly reveal the connection between the sense of doom that Jack finds in these charged, paired relationships and the dropping of the atom bomb. In considering the origins of the culminating destruction in the book, Jack identifies the chain reaction as beginning with Willie's son, Tom, and his involvement with a young woman of questionable reputation, Sybil Frey, who identifies him as the father of her unborn baby. The concluding machinations in Warren's plot can be traced back to Sybil's father, Marvin Frey: When he decides to use his daughter's pregnancy for personal gain, he sets in motion the reactions that lead to the deaths that conclude the

novel.⁷ Significantly, Jack describes Marvin as "that unique agglomeration of atomic energy known as Marvin Frey" (331). This "atomic energy" ultimately reaches Adam Stanton, who Jack describes as having the force of "an atom busting machine" (212). When the atom meets the atom busting machine, the result is two "explosions" -- the suicide of the Judge and the assassination of the Governor. The revised introduction of the novel reflects the threat and knowledge of these two reactions, while the revised conclusion, with Jack's marriage to Anne Stanton and new view of history, reflects how he responds to these two events and tries to contain them, just as Warren's novel itself is in part an effort to respond to two explosions in August, 1945.

Jack sees the reaction brought about by the atom and the atom busting machine in the context of the father-son relationship: Fathers unwittingly shape their sons to bring about their own deaths, their own "inevitable doom." However, Jack's personal reaction, as a son, seems anything but inevitable: He goes from being a hard-boiled reporter to being a husband, and he goes from being skeptical of father figures to affectionately

⁷ While Warren's plot has been criticized for its machinations, in the context of my argument this chain of events parallels the chain reactions of nuclear fission and suggests the need to identify causes and effects in the writing of history. The concluding events can be summarized as follows: Following Tom's tryst with Sybil, her father decides he pregnancy may have some political and hence financial value to himself and pursues this opportunity by appealing to Willie's political rival, MacMurfee. In an effort to increase his power and extricate himself from the situation, Willie has Jack try to intimidate Irwin with the hopes that he will support Willie instead of MacMurfee. The "dirt" Jack finds on the Judge and later reveals to him leads him to commit suicide. This leads to Willie's death as well. In order to undercut MacMurfee's power over Willie, Tiny Duffy, Willie's Lieutenant Governor, convinces him to get the support of Gummy Larson, one of MacMurfee's cronies, by giving him the contract to build Willie's new hospital. When Tom is later paralyzed, Willie has a change of heart and, among other things, renounces

accepting them. What makes this transformation so jarring is that Jack's narration of the story and sense of identity is so firmly intertwined with his occupation as a reporter and later as a kind of secretary to Willie. In fact, Jack identifies himself as a reporter working for the Chronicle long before he identifies himself by name (13). Yet this occupation seems opposed to the married life that Jack accepts as the novel ends.

In 1936, the year in which the main action of the novel begins, Jack is Willie's right hand-man -- a press agent, researcher, detective, and intermediary -- and his work reflects his earlier training as a journalist working for the Chronicle and as a "Student of History" working on his Ph.D. in history at the state university. Jack quit work on his dissertation because of his inability to understand the subject of his research, the antebellum figure, Cass Mastern, his supposed great-uncle, and he later quit work on the Chronicle because of the trouble that arises when he endorses the political upstart Willie. Even after Willie hires him, Jack remains known to the other characters as the "newspaper fellow who is sort of a secretary to Willie" (250), and the story he narrates seems to come directly from the preliminary writing he did while on the job:

I just wrote because I had got in the habit. You can build up an awful lot of habits in six years, and you can fill an awful lot of little black books in that time and put them in a safety-deposit box when they get full because they aren't something to leave around and because they would be worth their weight in gold to some parties to get their hands on. Not that they ever got their hands on them, I never needed money that bad. But I had the habit of saving them. A man's got to carry something besides a corroded liver with him out of that dark backwood and abysm of time, and it might as well be little black books. The little black books lie up there in the safety-deposit box, and there are your works of days and hands all cozy in the dark in the little box and the world's great axis grinds. (20)

his two mistresses, Sadie Burke and Anne Stanton, and cancels his deal with Gummy. In revenge, Sadie and Duffy tell Anne's brother, Adam, of her affair, and he kills Willie.

However, Jack does redeem the little black books in the story he tells. In this sense, he is the typical journalist who aspires to write a novel from the material of his reporting. Throughout almost the entire novel, he maintains the typical attitude of the hard-boiled reporter that he displays in this passage: He is both stoical and sentimental, and he makes tough-guy remarks to other characters while offering direct remarks tempered with pathos to the reader.

The novel begins, like most hard-boiled detective stories, after a murder has already occurred: At the end of the first chapter we learn that Adam, the Judge, and Willie are all dead by the time that Jack begins telling the story. Later, Jack describes his research on Irwin as "the 'Case of the Upright Judge,'" and when he concludes his investigation into this case, he uses hard-boiled descriptions of "clues" (191):

For nothing is lost, nothing is ever lost. There is always the clue, the canceled check, the smear of lipstick, the footprint in the canna bed, the condom on the park path, the twitch in the old wound, the baby shoes dipped in bronze, the taint in the blood stream. And all times are one time, and all those dead in the past never lived before our definition gives them life, and out of the shadow their eyes implore us.

That is what all of us historical researchers believe.
And we love truth. (228)

Jack's certainty in "truth" contrasts with the ability of the historical researcher, like himself, to give the dead new life through interpretative definitions: This suggests that the truth of the past is recognized and even constructed in the present. In the conclusion, Jack realizes these implications and accepts that it is not simply the objective accumulation of clues that leads to truth but the way that these clues are arranged into a narrative. However, in order for him to do this, he first must admit he has participated in

the making of history and yet separate himself from its immediate claims and threats. A sense of separateness and security in the home, typical of Cold War culture, finally lets Jack redefine his idea of history and write it himself; it is from the home that he transforms his journalism and his political black books into the stuff of narrative.

The question of a proper perspective runs through Jack's work as both a journalist and historian. Though his work as a journalist seems to require objectivity, he has no illusions about the objectivity of the newspaper, and his early view of history as an objective chain of events that simply needs to be uncovered and recorded runs completely contrary to his experience as a newspaperman. From the beginning of the novel, he provides an inside view of the press's production and manipulation of the political image and notes what gets reported and how. In the first chapter, he describes his relationship with Tiny Duffy in terms of the policies of the paper for which he works: "Duffy was a friend of mine. At least, he knew that I worked for the Chronicle, which at that time was supporting the Joe Harrison outfit. Joe Harrison was Governor then. And Duffy was one of Harrison's boys" (13). Throughout the novel, Jack continues to reveal the biases of the newspapers and correct them as he shares his story. In this way, Jack gains trust as his readers' representative and shares the important facts that are not fit to print; thus, his work as a journalist is crucial to his credibility as a narrator. In an early, crucial scene Willie realizes that he has been set up in that support for his first bid for governor comes from one of his opponents in order for him to split the "hick" vote. Jack gets "the inside scoop" on Willie's campaign from the political strategist, Sadie Burke, and makes this distinction clear about what he puts in his reports and what he gives his readers as the

narrator and implied author of the novel: "Listen, Sadie... we've been pals for a long time and you needn't lie to uncle. I don't put everything I know in the papers, but I know that Willie isn't in this race because you admire his oratory" (74). Jack is more than a member of the Fourth Estate correcting the excesses of government: As the readers' representative, he metaphorically acts as a moderating member of the legislature, and mediates between the extremes of his two main father figures, Governor Willie Stark, the executive branch, and Judge Irwin, the judicial branch. In providing readers with the facts, he at first downplays that he is an inside participant with his own opinions and biases and not simply a neutral observer.

Jack's work for Willie allows him to cling to his assumptions about objective journalism, and, despite evidence to the contrary, he continues to believe "that the meaning of history was in the facts, absolute and isolated from subjective consciousness" (Cullick 120). Willie's view that "Man is conceived in sin and born and in corruption and he passeth from the stink of the didie to the stench of the shroud" (191) may account for why Jack works for Willie rather than finding another job with a newspaper. Willie's attitude towards history is as deterministic and hard-boiled as his own, and yet he seems more objective than the newspapers in that he pursues a broader range of interests on behalf of his constituents. Though he manipulates the media and has the support of some newspapers, Willie, unlike the newspapers, operates with no false claims as far as Jack is concerned.

Only after Willie, Adam, and Irwin die does Jack acknowledge the extent to which he is an active participant in the shaping of events and accept that he must take a

similarly active role in constructing an historical narrative. Only then does he realize "that the facts of history are meaningless until they are ordered into a narrative by a shaping consciousness" (Cullick 120).⁸ However, Jack does not affirm the power of the individual, shaping consciousness and accept his participation in history until he is in the safety of the family and separate from his earlier work recording history from a first-hand perspective. In other words, Jack is able to take responsibility for his active role in history only after he is safe from its effects. While the typical hard-boiled character renounces personal desire to remain true to a vision of the isolated, independent individual, Jack pursues personal desires and reconciles himself to social institutions when he marries Anne Stanton in the conclusion of the novel (McCann 73-74). From this secure perspective, he is able to shape a new picture of the world from the context of personal images of memory. Jack's work as hard-boiled reporter and right-hand man to Willie make this change seem unlikely, as do the repeated descriptions of Anne as an aging "old-maid," which Warren left in the novel after he revised the conclusion to include their marriage. However, Warren does provide evidence for this transformation in Jack's character in the stereotypical ways he responds to the women around him and in the different ways he reads the images of memory and the media.

The drastic changes in Jack's personality and his different roles in the novel are in keeping with the cultural attitudes of the time and the turn towards the family and

⁸ Jonathan S. Cullick's Making History: The Biographical Narratives of Robert Penn Warren is instructive in situating these changes in historical methods. However, he does not adequately account for how and why Jack's attitudes towards history change in this way.

polarized gender roles that began to take shape during the war. Given the association of journalism with the male public sphere of politics, it is not surprising that these changing conceptions of gender were often portrayed in terms of the work of the reporter as they are in All the King's Men. For example, in the popular movie His Girl Friday (1940), a woman reporter, Hilde Johnson, decides to remarry her ex-husband and newspaper boss after expressing her hope that they "will be able to combine their fast-paced careers with serene domesticity" (May 40). Interestingly, in the original version of the movie, Front Page (1931), the character Hilde Johnson is a man and thus there is obviously no marriage plot. Though much of the dialogues actually remains the same in the remake, His Girl Friday, like All the King's Men, adds a marriage into the original story in a way that situates the narrative more firmly on the nuclear family and traditional gender roles. Likewise, another popular movie, Penny Serenade (1941) "begins with Roger (Cary Grant), the restless newspaperman, wooing Julie (Irene Dunn), the young working woman," but once they adopt a child, "gone from the screen are the whirring presses and the impressive headlines emerging from the workplace" (May 143, 145). In these two movies of the early 1940s, then, the relationship between the public and private spheres is considered through an examination of gender roles and the relationship between work on the newspaper and the increasing importance of the sanctity of the home.

Like the reporters in these movies, Jack becomes a husband and moves from work to the home. Initially, though, such a conclusion seems unlikely given his earlier experiences with married life and his typically hard-boiled gender stereotypes. In one of the few times he mentions his first wife, Lois, Jack describes her this way:

I had loved Lois the machine, the way you love the filet mignon or the Georgia peach, but I definitely was not in love with Lois the person... the machine-Lois which I had innocently loved began to resemble a beautiful luscious bivalve open and pulsing in the glimmering deep and I was some small speck of marine life being drawn remorselessly... Or it resembled a greedy, avid, delicious quagmire which would swallow up the lost, benighted traveler with a last tired, liquid, contented sigh. Yes, in that greedy quagmire, the solemn temples, the gorgeous palaces, towers, battlements, libraries, museums, huts, hospitals, houses, cities, and all the works of man might be swallowed up, with the last luxurious sigh. (304)

Jack's fantastically hyperbolic, misogynist metaphors contrasting "hard" men and "soft" women typify the hard-boiled femme fatale whose sexuality is both alluring and threatening. When the two were married, the conflict between the feminine home and the hard-boiled place of work reaches its absurd conclusion in matters of "grooming":

I was accustomed to thirty-dollar suits, shirts that had been worn two days, a bimonthly haircut, unpolished shoes, a hat with a brim that looped and sagged, and fingernails always broken and sometimes dirty... And as the pressure to improve my grooming increased, so the resistance increased, too... The crisis came when I polished a shoe with a new tie. (305-306)

A bit later in the novel, Jack again contrasts work and the home when he visits Lucy Stark, Willie's wife. As Willie puts his work, ambitions, and affairs ahead of his family, Lucy gives up living in the governor's mansion and moves to a country house that Jack equates with her sex:

But the faded-white decent house itself... is like nothing so much as a respectable, middle-aged woman, in a clean gray gingham dress, with white stockings and black kid shoes, the pepper-and-salt hair coiled on her head, sitting in her rocker with her hands folded across her stomach to take a little ease, now the day's work is done and the menfolks are in the field and it's not yet time to think about supper and strain the evening milk. (333)

In contrast to his life with Lois, Jack finds Lucy's housekeeping and appearance appealing as an expression of the essence of domesticity and American femininity. However, she is

no more real than Lois; rather she is an image of something that Jack, at this point, prefers to admire from afar. He claims that Lucy has "the kind of face you would put on the United States Madonna if you were going to paint her. But you aren't, and meanwhile it is the kind of face they try to put on advertisements of ready-mix cake flour and patented diapers and whole-wheat bread" (334).

Jack makes these observations when Lucy, suspecting Tom is in trouble, summons Jack to tell her what is going on. Just as Jack contrasts the contamination of the outside world of "politics" with what he considers to be a pure, feminine sphere, Lucy is shocked to find the line between the family and politics has been blurred when Willie's political enemies take advantage of Tom getting a girl pregnant. When Jack tells her, "'There's some politics mixed up, too,'" she responds, "'Oh, God, politics... Politics... Oh God, in this too'" (335). While Lucy hopes to keep the family and home outside of politics, Jack's work as a reporter and political consultant lead him to consider how the home as an image that can be manipulated for political ends. In the first chapter, after Willie and his entourage arrive at his father's house, Jack notes all of the home improvements Willie has bought for his father and realizes that he has avoided any that might interfere with his political image. For example, Willie does not have the house painted, since that might cause some envy on the part of the neighbors and would certainly lower the value of the house as a symbol of his "hick" roots. On the other hand, he does put in running water and an indoor bathroom, since "you can't see a commode from the road when you pass by. It doesn't hit you in the eye or run out and bite you in the leg. And what the voter doesn't know doesn't prey on his mind" (23). Lucy, on the

other hand, sees the home as a distinctly private space to share with her family, and at the dinner table, she is happy "in her element" until Willie is called away on political business (34). Later in the novel, after they begin to live separately, Willie continues to use the image of the home as a source of political capital. After Lucy moves out to the country, he

used to go out to the poultry farm occasionally, to keep appearances. Two or three times the papers -- the administration papers, that is -- ran photographs of him standing with his wife and kid in front of a hen yard or incubator house. The hens didn't do any harm either. They gave a nice, homey atmosphere. They inspired confidence. (156)

Again, the newspapers play a key role in creating these gendered political images, and Jack, by having worked as a political secretary and reporter, is aware of what Willie is doing. He is clearly aware that the newspapers have a political agenda and are not "objective," and he corrects their distorted view for the reader. Just as Jack understands the home can function as an image shaped for political benefits, he is sure that the average voter, whom he assumes is male, willingly participates in the illusion of the domestic image while being aware to an extent of the reality behind it. The voter

wanted both Mom's gingerbread and the black-lace and didn't hold it against the Boss for having both. What he would have held against the Boss was a divorce... That would have been very different, and would have robbed the voter of something he valued, the nice warm glow of complacency, the picture that flattered him and his own fat or thin wife standing in front of the henhouse. (328)

Though Jack acknowledges, to an extent, how belief shapes perception, he is not yet willingly to concede that such beliefs shape the narratives of history. As a former reporter, he does, however, interpret these images and the beliefs behind them for his readers, as he does when he offers a possible caption to a photograph of the farm home:

The Boss would still go out to see her now and then, to keep up appearances, and have his picture taken among the white leghorns. Sometimes Tom Stark would stand there with him and perhaps, Lucy, with the white leghorns in the foreground and a wire fence behind. *Governor Willie Stark and Family*, the caption would read. (327)

From the beginning of the novel, Jack helps to create the images that make Willie's constituents feel "solid, substantial, and virtuous," and the objectivity he seems to claim for writing journalism and history are not borne out by the facts of his own participation (327). In the first chapter, at Willie's father's house, he follows along when a photographer suggests that Willie be photographed with the old dog, Buck. As Jack moves the foul smelling dog, he mocks a newspaper photographer's idea that the photograph will be "the nuts." Yet when they are done with the outdoor shoot, they all move to Willie's old room to photograph him in the place where he studied law and made his start in the world, and Jack acknowledges: "That was my idea. It would be the nuts all right. The Boss sitting there with an old schoolbook in his hands. A good example for the tots" (27).

All of this is told retrospectively, of course, and even at this early point in the novel Jack describes the distinction between the political image and the personal image, the distinction that he will finally work to resolve in the conclusion of the novel. For the photographers and reporters under Jack's guidance, and presumably for the readers of newspapers, the room has a fixed significance as a space: It is a set piece representing, in the present, Willie's humble origins and status as a typically American self-made man. For Jack, however, the present is overlaid with the past and future, and the room leads to a consideration of time as he tries to ascertain what motivated Willie's transformation

from hick to governor. His thoughts show that rather than a single meaning, the room represents various versions of "now" depending on whether one views the room from a political or a personal perspective. When they enter the room, Willie notes that the only thing missing is a bedpan, a "thunder-mug" and this leads Jack to imagine Willie in the room years before:

The wind would come down a thousand miles and pound on the house and the sash would rattle and inside him something would be big and coiling slow and clotting till he would hold his breath and the blood would beat in his head with a hollow sound as though his head were a cave as big as the dark outside. He wouldn't have any name for what was big inside him. Maybe there isn't any name. (28)

Here, Jack's contrasts the public facade and the private language of the self. While the photographic image represents a single meaning for public consumption, it cannot capture the changes that have occurred over time and the multiple meanings whose traces remain in the present. Jack recognizes these changes in his own personal image of Willie, and his sarcastic comment about the "thunder-mug" illustrates this distinction between the image that is captured on film and the image that develops in memory over time: "That was all that was missing from the room, the kid and the thunder-mug. Otherwise it was perfect" (28). Though Jack helps arrange the image for the public, he values his own image more. As the photographer arranges Willie and the props, he "wandered off downstairs and left them preparing the documents for posterity" (28).

As a reporter with access to how the public image is constructed and a hard-boiled narrator who shares his inner thoughts, Jack considers what the photograph cannot, the personal and philosophical issues in the scene at hand -- time, memory, and the act of

becoming. In his historical study of Cass Mastern, the subject of his uncompleted dissertation, and in the study of Willie Stark that he puts before us, Jack makes similar connections between private motivations and public conduct, just as Warren himself did in his studies of John Brown, Thomas Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, and John James Audubon. Ultimately, however, Jack separates the public and private images as he does here. He finds that in his own life the personal images of memory offer interpretative plentitude and represent the very core of identity, and they can provide the safety from which to pursue historical investigations. For Jack, the most significant of these images is from a day in 1915, when he was swimming with Adam and Anne Stanton on a beach near his hometown of Burden's Landing. He speculates that on "that day I first saw Anne and Adam as separate, individual people... And perhaps, too, that day I first saw myself as a person." What "happened" that day was precisely the creation of a particularly significant image:

We get very few of the true images in our head of the kind I am talking about, the kind which become more and more vivid for us as if the passage of the years did not obscure their reality, but, year by year, drew off another veil to expose a meaning which we had only dimly surmised at first. Very probably the last veil will not be removed, for there are not enough years, but the brightness of the image increases and our conviction increases that the brightness is meaning, or the legend of meaning, and without the image our lives would be nothing except an old piece of film rolled on a spool and thrown into a desk drawer among the unanswered questions. (118-119)

The "true" image then, unlike a political image in the newspaper, is inseparable from its context. It is not simply developed or discarded like "an old piece of film" at the end of the day but rather invites a continual process of interpretation that increases rather than exhausts a sense of meaning. While as a reporter Jack sees the falsity in the production of

images, as a private consumer he sees in the consumption of private images this endless development that is tied to the development of individual identity.

Later in the novel, Jack shows how the meaning found in this image continues to increase. He remembers the night he realized he was in love with Anne and how this image, "rapturous" in its possibilities, provided a key to understanding across time:

I had the feeling of being on the teetering verge of a most tremendous discovery... Then I thought of the image of the face on the water, under the purple-green darkening sky, with the white gull flying over. It was almost a shock to remember that, to have the image come back, for the thing which had, apparently, provoked the rapture had itself been lost and forgotten in the rapture which had exploded out into the whole universe. (277)

Jack suggests that without such personally significant images, life would merely be experienced as a series of discontinuous "negatives," images consumed and discarded according to the exigencies of circumstances. The difference between the two is evident in an image that Jack has of Anne serving a tennis ball:

[I]t is too bad the Greeks didn't play tennis, for if they had played tennis they would have put Anne Stanton on a Greek vase. But on second thought, I guess they would not have done it. That is the moment which, for all its poise, is too airy, too tiptoe, too keyed up. It is the moment just before the stroke, before the explosion, and the Greeks didn't put that kind of moment on a vase. So that moment is not on a vase in a museum, but is inside my head, where nobody else can see it but me. (274)

Significantly, these two images point precisely to the containment strategy that Jack assumes in the conclusion of the novel when he redeems these images and makes them the basis of his life by marrying Anne. Both images are explicitly linked to explosions and the alluring threat of female attraction, a typical Cold War move (May 110).

Remembering and interpreting the image contain its meanings and emotions in the moment

before the explosion, when its potential can be privately held; forgetting would allow the image to explode into the universe. Thus, private images can be contained and endlessly interpreted, while public moments like Willie's assassination are as fleeting and explosive as a photographer's flashbulb or a detonated bomb. In these two key examples, the image is related both to the explosive threats of the Cold War and the containment strategy of the postwar family with its turn toward the private and reification of gender roles.

When Jack later finds out about Anne's affair with Willie, his hard-boiled attitude cannot prevent him from being horrified, like Lucy, to find that even in his private image "there's some politics mixed up, too." When he temporarily loses his image of her, he tries to lose himself and his personal memories by reliving American history from the arrival of Europeans to their final destination in California (309):

We went different ways in the world, as I have said, but I had with me always that image of the little girl on the waters of the bay, all innocence and trustfulness, under the stormy sky. Then, there came the day when that image was taken from me... So I fled west from the fact, and in the West, at the end of History, the Last Man on that Last Coast, on my hotel bed, I had discovered the dream. That dream was the dream that all life is but the dark heave of blood and the twitch of the nerve. (311)

As Jack compares his way of thinking about history at the time of his trip with his way of thinking about history as he narrates the story, he contrasts two overlain images of Anne. The first is when she floated on the water, and the second is from a summer a few years later, when she had lain naked on his bed and he had impulsively decided not to consummate their relationship:

[L]ying there, she had seemed to be again the little girl who had, on the day of the picnic, floated on the waters of the bay, with her eyes closed under the stormy and grape-purple sky and the single white gull passing over, very high. As she lay

there the image came into my head, and I had wanted to call her name... She trusted me, but perhaps for that moment of hesitation I did not trust myself, and looked back upon the past as something precious about to be snatched away from us and was afraid of the future. I had not understood then what I think I have now come to understand: that we can keep the past only by having the future, for they are forever tied together. Therefore I lacked some essential confidence in the world and in myself. (311)

In the conclusion, Jack finally connects his interpretation of personal images to his interpretation of social history. Once he feels separate from the past and its threats, he can recover and redeem this image and write history as he trades the newsroom and the governor's office for the security of the home. Just as Jack can only judge his public life once he has entered the safety of a separate private life, so too can he connect the past and the future only when he feels safe from the dangers of making history himself. Paradoxically, Jack can only report on history and recognize his own participation when that participation has ended and he is no longer a reporter.

The "Great Twitch" theory of history Jack develops in Long Beach represents his first explanation of the connection between individual and social history. According to this theory, the individual is a biological machine with no free will. This lets Jack "believe that nobody had any responsibility for anything and there was no god but the Great Twitch" (435). From this perspective, history is not found in interpretation and constructed narratives, but in the inevitable accumulation of knowledge that is science. Accordingly, Jack judges his past as an endless biological pattern of twitches. Referring to himself in the third person, he decides "that the girl I had known that summer a long time back... hadn't loved him, but had merely had a mysterious itch in the blood and he was handy and the word *love* was a word for the mysterious itch" (309). Similarly, he

finds that Anne Stanton means nothing more to him than the words "*Anne Stanton*," a name representing "a rather complicated piece of mechanism" (311). Tellingly, he confirms this theory in the desert close to where the atomic bomb was being developed and tested as Warren finished his novel: In Don Jon, New Mexico, he meets a man returning to Arkansas from California, a man whose only remarkable feature is "a twitch in the left cheek" (313-314).

Jack ultimately counters "the Great Twitch" with a theory of history as a giant "web." Rather than seeing the present as determined in advance by the past, the web describes the present as the beginning of an endless string of reactions emanating into the future. Rather than denying the responsibility of the individual, this theory emphasizes it. As Jack wonders why he had not been able to understand Cass Mastern, he realizes Cass had accepted this view of history: "He learned that the world is like an enormous spider web and if you touch it, however lightly, at any point, the vibration ripples to the remotest perimeter" (188). Yet the price for this historical vision high: There is no friction, no loss of energy as every action touches upon the next in the reactions that follow. As Cass notes in his journal, "[I]t was as though the vibration set up in the whole fabric of the world by my act had spread infinitely and with every increasing power and no man could know the end (178)." Eventually, "the drowsy spider feels the tingle and... springs out to fling the gossamer coils about you who have touched the web and then inject the black, numbing poison under your hide" (188-189). In the conclusion, Jack combines his two theories to help explain the seemingly senseless deaths that occur in the novel and decides that Irwin, Willie, and Adam, though "doomed... lived in the

agony of the will." As he struggles to see the role of belief and individual perspective in the construction of history, he begins to accept that "[h]istory is blind, but man is not" (436).

Both theories are apocalyptic, the first looking backward to find an inevitable doom manifest in the present, the second looking from the present to the future reactions that will lead to destruction. The difference between the two does, however, have significant implications for how Jack reports history. The Great Twitch theory means all he need do is the record facts that culminate inevitably in the present, while the web theory requires that he interpret the past with an eye to the future. The web theory is also like the Cold War theory of mutually assured destruction in that it offers the possibility of endlessly deferring a final apocalyptic moment. Though there is a sense of impending doom, the ongoing ability to reinterpret the significance of the past in terms of the future means that at any given moment significance of the past can be deflected and changed. There is also an emphasis on the personal in this act of interpretation. As long as the girl serving the tennis ball is kept in the mind rather than in a museum, the clock can be stopped right before the explosion. By emphasizing the power of the shaping consciousness, the web theory suggests that history can be contained in private images of memory. Its emphasis on individual consumption and interpretation is thus in line with the sense of American individualism that would be celebrated throughout the Cold War period.

As Jack accepts the implications of his new view of history, he is transformed from a Depression-era hard-boiled reporter to a Cold War husband. His gender

stereotypes similarly change so that he no longer sees women as sexual threats and the home as a trap but instead embraces his earlier domestic vision with a woman as the "Madonna" of the home. Jack's reactions as a reporter and as a reader of the press measure these changes in his personality. At first Jack, like many observers in the first half of the century, associates the newspaper with the gritty reality of the male world and politics; indeed, at this time William Dean Howells and others came saw the journalist as the very essence of the male world and realism in literature (Robertson 30). However, as the inexpensive newspaper created a popular image of the hard-boiled male reporter, the popular press also came to be associated with the feminine domestic sphere as illustrated magazines gained prominence. As the novel progresses, Jack is associated first with the newspaper and then with these illustrated magazines, and he goes from producing newspapers as a reporter to consuming picture magazines as a reader.

As Warren was writing All the King's Men, other hard-boiled writers were similarly responding to a contrast between pulp magazines and "slicks." The pulps, which contained very few advertisements or photographs, were largely considered a male domain outside of the direct forces of the marketplace, while the slick magazines, which got their name from the high quality paper on which they were printed and which carried many illustrations, photographs, and advertisements, were aimed mostly at women as consumers in the marketplace. Many of the hard-boiled writers of this era began their careers writing for pulp magazines and found themselves caught between the cultural authority of the male literary critics and the market power of female readers (McCann 48-51). These distinctions of taste are important for Warren's hard-boiled narrator, and

Jack's increasing acceptance of slick picture magazines measures a change in his attitude towards women, the family, and mainstream culture. It also indicates how he redeems his image of Anne by putting this image in the context of the picture magazine rather than in the context of the political images he constructs and interprets in the newspapers.

Jack's first wife, Lois, uses slick magazines as a guide to consumer culture in the manner that became typical of postwar brides. While Jack's hard-boiled taste comes from his work on the Chronicle, Lois and her friends derive their sense of taste and culture from these magazines, much to Jack's disgust:⁹

They all read Vanity Fair or Harper's Bazaar (according to sex, and some read both) and Smart Set, and they quoted Dorothy Parker, and those who had been merely to Chicago licked the spittle of those who had been to New York, and those who had been merely to New York licked the spittle of those who had been to Paris. (305)

In particular, Lois seems to get many of her ideas about sexuality from these magazines, and she liked to tell all of her friends that she and Jack "are perfectly adjusted sexually... for she was very advanced in what with her passed for thought and was very sophisticated in her language" (303). This language of "adjustment" points to the immensely popular psychology books of the post-War period and the increasingly frank discussion of sexuality in women's magazines. As Elaine Tyler May shows, the strict

⁹ Jack's relationship with Anne Stanton shows the other side of the cultural equation, the hard-boiled writer's reservations about the criticism of academic elites. Jack connects critically approved, "good" writing with what he sees as Anne's increasingly sterile life: "More and more, as the years passed, she devoted herself to sporadic readings -- biography (Daniel Boone or Marie Antoinette), what is called 'good fiction,' books on social betterment -- and to work without pay for a settlement house and an orphanage" (308). Jack, in typical hard-boiled fashion, scorns both the market and the critics.

sexual morality of the 1950s frowned on sex outside of marriage but allowed for such discussions of sexuality within the context of marriage:

[U]nlike Victorian mothers who were expected to be reluctant sexual partners who tolerated sex for reproduction only, wives in the postwar era were recognized as sexual enthusiasts whose insistence on conjugal satisfaction would contribute to erotically charged marriages. Sexual containment -- unlike sexual repression -- would enhance family togetherness, which would keep both men and women happy at home and would, in turn, foster wholesome childbearing. (102-103)

The linking of gender roles to picture magazines in All the King's Men also prefigures the arguments that Betty Friedan makes in her influential feminist critique, The Feminine Mystique (1963), which became an early contributor to the increasingly political analysis of gender, the home, and popular culture during the 1960s. Friedan shows how illustrated magazines misrepresented and contained women's lives in the post-War period, and she describes the marked break from the relative freedom of the pre-War years and the dramatic change in how women's lives were represented.

Jack's character undergoes a similar change in his conception of women's roles. Initially he favors Sadie Burke, his more powerful and equally hard-boiled female counterpart, and rejects the sexually charged yet confining, consumer driven home he shares with Lois as well as the maternal domesticity of Lucy's home. His acceptance of this latter view of gender relations and the home and his acceptance of the role of husband can be traced in his direct responses to picture magazines. When Tom Stark lies in a coma, Jack sits in the waiting room of the hospital and comments on the picture magazines:

I went back to my picture magazines, but I turned the pages over with the greatest care as though I couldn't afford to make a sound in the special kind of devouring

stillness there was in the room. That stillness lasted a long time, while I kept on looking at the pictures of girls in bathing suits and race horses and scenes of natural beauty and long files of erect, clean-faced youths in some kind of shirt or other lifting their arms with a salute and detective stories acted out in six photographs with the answer on the next page. But I wasn't paying much attention to the pictures, and they were always alike anyway. (380)

In Jack's view, these picture magazines flatten reality and make sexual attraction, sportsmanship, nature, clean-faced youth (whether Boy Scouts or Hitler Youth), and illustrated detective stories all seem "alike." The photographs lack any context beyond the narrow confines of consumer culture and are disconnected from historical reality. They seem inferior to his reporting and the story he narrates because they lack a sense of inside information and a complex sense of the present moment, and his critical comments reflect his inside knowledge and hard-boiled sensibilities as a reporter. At this point, the picture magazines represent a feminized domestic space that Jack finds to be artificial and apolitical, and he looks through them to kill time.

Later in the novel, however, when he returns to the hospital to see if Willie will survive his gunshot wounds, he compares the picture magazines with the political world of the reporter in more favorable terms. After Lucy invites him to wait upstairs with her and her sister in the hospital room, he is glad to in a safe domestic sphere:

I sat over on the couch and looked at the same old picture magazines. I felt definitely that I was out of place. But Lucy had asked me to come... And it was better, I decided, even if I was out of place, than being down in the lobby with all the newshawks and politicians and curiosity-seekers. (398)

Following the deaths of Irwin and Adam Stanton, Jack has no desire to identify with those who share his occupation of describing and shaping politics. Though he still feels uncomfortable with Lucy, he has begun to reject the need to be a political insider and

reporter and has begun instead to accept the picture magazines and the implicitly private, domestic world they represent.

Given the centrality of Jack's work as a reporter and his different responses to the press, it is appropriate that his hard-boiled attitude definitively ends in the newspaper reading room of the library, a male space that occupies an intermediate position between the public and the private. It is a

place which like railway stations and missions and public latrines is where the catarrhal old men and bums go and where they sit to thumb the papers which tell about the world in which they live for a certain number of years or to sit and wheeze and stare while the gray rain slides down the big windowpanes above them. (418)

Warren's description recalls Hurstwood's decline in Dreiser's Sister Carrie when he begins to spend his days in hotel lobbies looking through the windows and the window of the newspaper, even as Carrie is beginning to appear in the papers as a successful actress. However, Jack differs from Hurstwood and Carrie in that he not only appears in the papers and reads them but also helped to make them as a "damned good" reporter for the Chronicle (301-302). After Willie's death, however, he is no longer a producer but a consumer of the newspaper. At the same time, he quits defining history through the facts he uncovers and reports. Instead, he begins to consider history as a willed fiction: History, for him, is no longer an accumulation of facts or the inevitable progression of science but a process of interpretation.

This difference in perspective is clear from the way this last visit to a reading room differs from his earlier visits while investigating Cass Mastern and later Irwin. In trying to understand Cass and the love triangle that brought about his demise, he learns

the name of Cass's lover, Annabelle Trice, "by going back to the files of the Lexington newspapers for the middle 1850's" (164). Though Jack can surmise from Cass's journal that he killed himself after finding out about his wife's infidelity with his good friend, "In the newspaper it was reported as an accident" (164). Thus, Jack gets information from the newspapers to help him list the events of history, while enhancing the accuracy of the newspaper by including his own inside information as a kind of reporter-historian. Similarly, in following Willie's orders and trying to find dirt on Irwin, Jack goes to Savannah to investigate his deceased second wife. He does not know anything at all about her since she was a homebound invalid when he as a child, but after "an hour in the newspaper files of the public library back in the city, looking at the society pages," he has the initial information he needs. He again enhances the printed information with his own investigations; after poking, prying, and working the newspaper files, he also has to "pump the broken-down old bird who was city editor" (216-217). Jack learns that the Irwin became involved in a corrupt deal in order to solve his financial problems and that this led to the suicide of an innocent man. This all took place when Irwin was Attorney General and Anne and Adam's father was governor, and Jack discovers that Governor Stanton acted, without Irwin's knowledge, to cover up for his friend. For Jack, these facts represent the objective truth, and as a Student of History he has an obligation to reveal them despite the damage they will do to Irwin and the Stantons.

When, some time after Willie's death, Jack meets Sugar Boy O'Sheean, Willie's driver and henchman and Adam's killer, in the library's newspaper reading room, he no longer sees history as an inevitable chain of events that must be uncovered and shared.

He begins to realize that history is constructed on the basis of belief, and it is this realization that ultimately accounts for the change in character that is measured in his work as a journalist and responses to the picture magazines. In the reading room, Jack could continue accepting history as an immutable chain of events by telling Sugar Boy Willie's assassination was instigated by Sadie and brought about by Tiny, the current governor. Sharing his new bit of information with him "would be like touching a trigger" since Sugar Boy would undoubtedly murder Tiny out of loyalty to Willie (420). Jack realizes the perfect symmetry of such an action: Tiny "triggered" Willie's death by supplying Adam with a piece of information and can be killed in exactly the same way. This symmetry characterizes the structure of the story up to this point, where every act of creation comes back to destroy its creator, as Jack himself notes (436). Yet when he chooses not share his information with Sugar Boy, he realizes for the first time that history is an act of interpretation made through individual choices.

Jack knows that his decision is not simply an act of charity, since he denies Sugar Boy the chance to feel like his life is meaningful one last time. Jack speculates on Sugar Boys' future:

Some morning I would pick up the paper and see that a certain Robert (or was it Roger?) O'Sheean had been killed in an automobile crash. Or had been shot to death by unidentified assailants while he sat in a car in the shadow outside the Love-Me-and-Leave-Me roadhouse and gambling hall operated by his employer... Or perhaps that was just romantic. Perhaps he would live forever and outlive everything and his nerve would go (likker, dope, or just plain time) and he would sit, morning after morning while the gray winter rain sluiced down the high windows, in the newspaper room of the public library, a scrawny bald little old man in greasy tattered clothes bent over a picture magazine. (422)

In these speculations, Jack describes the likely results of his decision in the dichotomy of the newspaper and the picture magazine: Sugar-Boy's death will either be reported in the hard-boiled reality of the papers, or he will escape this fate by looking into the fantasy of domesticity in the picture magazines. As the scene ends, Jack describes himself in exactly these contrasting terms: "I stood there in the hall after Sugar-Boy had gone, breathing the odor of old papers and disinfectant, and turning these thoughts over in my mind. Then I went back into the newspaper room and sat down and bent over a picture magazine" (423).

The difference between Sugar Boy and Jack is that Jack will not merely look at the domestic world of the picture magazine but move into that world and make his life there.¹⁰ After he sees the hard-boiled life as itself "romantic," he does not end his days by escaping into the picture magazines or by succumbing to the "real" logic of the newspapers but instead makes the picture magazines real by becoming a husband. The novel's conclusion with Jack marrying Anne is prefigured in his decision not to tell Sugar-Boy the whole truth and in his differing responses to the picture magazines. Just as Willie realized that the "good" of history must be made from the "bad," so too does Jack

¹⁰ In *The Cave* (1959), Warren similarly uses the domesticity of a picture magazine to conclude one strand of his narrative. Timothy Bingham imagines the future of his pregnant daughter and the baby's father this way: "Then, in his mind, he saw Jo-Lea sitting with a baby in her arms, her head bowed in a gentle light to look at the baby's face, and Monty Harrick, who was sort of a nice-looking boy, seated at a table, leaning over a book. He thought it was just like an advertisement, a life-insurance advertisement maybe. He thought of it now, not as a fantasy, but as a picture, in color, in beautiful, rich, subdued color, full-page, in a big magazine, perhaps in a Christmas issue. The sweetness flooded his heart. He could not understand why the thought of the picture of them -- Jo-Lea, Monty and the baby -- should be even sweeter than the thought of them real" (397).

realize that the truth of history as it is lived must be made from the lies, the half-truths, and the necessity of belief which are part of life. Thus, as a husband he accepts that history is something that is not discovered but invented.

Since beliefs are not only part of the materials of history but also influence the process of interpretation that makes history meaningful, Jack comes to show that the most honest historian is the one who acknowledges their existence. Willie introduces this theme in a conversation with Jack just before he dies, "It might have all been different, Jack... You got to believe that" (400). Tellingly, Jack later articulates his beliefs through his responses to the women in his life, beginning with his response to the way Lucy remembers Willie after his death:

"He was a great man," she affirmed again... "You see, Jack," she said, "I have to believe that."

Yes, Lucy, you have to believe that. You have to believe that to live. I know that you must believe that. And I would not have you believe otherwise. It must be that way, and I understand the fact. For you see, Lucy, I must believe that, too. I must believe that Willie Stark was a great man... And believing that Willie Stark was a great man, I could think better of all other people, and of myself. (427)

Though he had previously found Lucy's belief in her family and her husband naïve, if admirable, Jack now takes on the same belief and characterizes it as a "fact." Similarly, his mother's "wild, silvery scream which filled the house when the word of Judge Irwin's death was received" allows him to recognize her beliefs and believe in her. Taking her beliefs as a kind of fact also helps him to find the past acceptable as a subject of

interpretation and allows him as well to be reconciled with Anne as well (433).¹¹ When Jack tells Anne about his mother's scream, his new knowledge that Irwin was his biological father, and his consequent acceptance of the past as the basis for the future, Anne responds with a similar testament of belief: "I believe that, for if I had not come to believe it I could not have lived" (435). Through these women, Jack accepts that an acknowledgement of beliefs and individual participation is necessary to understand and shape history in a way that allows for the future.

Though Jack is liberated by the view of history offered to him by these women, this new perspective on history actually confines women. Sadie, the most independent and central of the female characters, has admitted herself into a mental institution after suffering a breakdown brought about by her remorse for helping to bring about Willie's assassination. Though Jack visits Sadie as a kind of reporter investigating the facts, he decides to follow her advice and protect Anne rather than report all of the facts about Willie's death (416). His change in character is thus based in part on the postwar view of gender roles in which women require the "protection" of the home. The flipside of this, of course, is that Jack must accept his own role as a protector of the home. Here Jack implicitly renounces his earlier work as a newspaperman and the hard-boiled attitude that

¹¹ The Oedipal drama between Jack and his mother can also be seen as part of the transition from wartime to Cold War culture. During the war, there was a perceived threat of overprotective mothers redirecting their sexuality towards their children and making their sons effeminate (May 96). According to wartime pundits, "a mother was to avoid turning to her children to compensate for her missing spouse. Female sexuality, repressed and frustrated, would become warped and misdirected toward sons in a dangerous Oedipal cycle" (May 75). While this cycle was prominent in the drafts of All

goes with it in order to protect Anne; later he explicitly does so. At Adam's funeral, a newspaperman approaches Anne and "jammed a camera at her and took her picture." Jack is outraged and approaches the perpetrator, a "squirt with his hat over one eye and the camera hung round his neck and a grin on his squirt face. I thought maybe I had seen him around town, but maybe not, the squirts look so much alike when they grind them out of journalism school" (402). Jack lectures him, telling him "if you live long enough, you'll find out there are some kinds of a son-of-a-bitch you don't have to be even to be a newspaperman" (403).

Jack sees a reflection of himself in the newspaperman and goes numb. In not striking back, Jack again breaks the logic of history he had previously found so binding and definitively breaks away from being a reporter. While in the opening of the novel Jack shapes pictures of the family for the newspapers and voting citizens, in the middle he interprets such pictures from his position as a political insider, and in the end he protects the family from being mixed up in politics. Thus, he comes to embrace the new view of the Cold War family and gender roles. By not giving "the squirt" a dose of hard-boiled language, Jack shows the extent to which his new conception of "truth" is linked to his sense of masculinity. Though throughout the novel he bears the "burden" of history as a hard-boiled loner, in the conclusion he gains control over the narratives of history as a husband. Meanwhile, Sadie, the female character who shares Jack's hard-boiled attitude, ends up alone in a mental sanitarium, Jack's mother leaves the husband she controls to

the King's Men written during the war, the revised conclusion restores "normal" sexual and gender roles.

lead a quiet, chastened life, while Anne disappears from the final pages of the novel entirely; her reaction and decision to marry are recounted only through Jack's final, introspective reflections.¹² Though women enable Jack to accept the necessity of belief and provide a new security in the home, they are represented only to the extent that they contribute to his new picture of the world and interpretation of history.

Tellingly, Jack's new home and new sense of history are founded on a sense of paternity rather than maternity: While his first wife, Lois, paid for their fancy apartment through an inheritance she had received from her own widowed mother, Jack now pays for his and Anne's home through his inheritance from his biological father, Irwin (303). Jack justifies his new conception of history as being motivated by his need to protect women like Lucy, Anne, and his mother. He believes in Willie through Lucy, uses his pure image of Anne and her honor to trade his role as a passive "Student of History" for that of an active maker of history, and lies to his mother about Irwin's suicide in order to provide them both with a sustainable future (431). In claiming that an illness rather than a matter of honor led to Irwin's suicide, Jack allows his mother to believe in him the way Lucy comes to believe in Willie. Though this authorizes his new understanding of truth, he claims the lie he gave her was a gift for her and not for himself: "I thought how maybe I had lied just to cover up myself. 'Damn it,' I said out loud, savagely, 'it wasn't for me, it wasn't.' And that was true. It was really true'" (432).

¹² For a consideration of Anne as a "plot device" and for a feminist reading of Warren's female characters, see Lucy Ferris' Sleeping with the Boss: Female Subjectivity and Narrative Pattern in Robert Penn Warren.

After a break in the text, Jack considers how something "really true" can come from a lie and describes his new understanding of the world in terms of a "new picture":

I had given my mother a present, which was a lie. But in return, she had given me a present, too, which was a truth. She gave me a new picture of herself, and that meant, in the end, a new picture of the world. Or rather, that new picture of herself filled in the blank space which was perhaps the center of the new picture of the world which had been given to me by many people, by Sadie Burke, Lucy Stark, Willie Stark, Sugar-Boy, Adam Stanton. And that meant that my mother gave me back the past... I could accept the past now because I could accept her and be at peace with her and with myself. (432)

This "new picture of the world" makes a kind of truth from a "serviceable lie" as it emerges from the specific context of the women's picture magazines, the picture of "the American Madonna," Lucy Stark, and the pictures of the home staged for the newspaper (Burt 171). While Jack protects Anne and his new idea of the home from the photographer, the private image determines how Jack comes to interpret the public world of politics. The "new picture of herself" his mother gives him, and the image of Anne, with its endless meanings, lead in large part to his "new picture of the world." No longer something to be manipulated to influence politics, the image of women in the home comes the basis for examining the world of politics from the vantage of a private, stable perspective.

This "new picture of the world" represents a particularly American take on early Cold War culture. The willed innocence and ability of the individual to shape history along the lines of personal memory stands in marked contrast to perspectives on the Cold War which emphasize how the individual is shaped by history. For example, while Warren ends his novel with the power of the personal image, Milan Kundera begins his

novel The Book of Laughter and Forgetting with the violation of a public image, a photograph, by government censors, and goes on to show how the reshaping of such images and versions of history constantly threatens the integrity of personal memory and the private lives of individuals. Likewise, George Orwell's late works illustrate the power of official public history to distort and even determine private memory. In Animal Farm, which was published the same year as All the King's Men, and in 1984, which was published in 1949, the same year as the release of the movie version of All the King's Men, Orwell presciently describes how successfully reshaping history would become the ideological tool necessary to sustain and win the Cold War.¹³ While Jack goes from working as a newspaperman to writing history according to his own perspectives, in 1984, Winston Smith is forced to rewrite and reedit newspapers according to the dictates of the state. While Warren separates Anne and Jack from the "dirt" of politics, Winston is arrested for political crimes while with his lover in their supposedly secret apartment. Warren, unlike Kundera and Orwell, suggests that private relationships can in large part provide a secure vantage from which to observe the "dirt" of politics.

In fact, in the conclusion of All the King's Men, Jack comes to choose his own perspective and in doing so chooses how to view and identify with his parents. Significantly, his ability to understand Cass, "one of the two maternal uncles of Ellis Burden" comes after he learns that Ellis is not his biological father and that thus Cass is not a blood relative of his; in effect, Jack literally is no longer a "Burden" by blood and no

¹³ For a brief comparison of Warren to other "political writers," see Orville Prescott's "The Political Novel: Warren, Orwell, Koestler."

longer bears the burden of history (160). When Irwin dies, he inherits his house, while his mother has decided to leave the Burden house, to her last husband, the Young Executive. This changing of houses represents a spatial break like the temporal break of his mother's scream. Both allow him to see history as the product of individual choices rather than the accumulation of facts; both let him believe in himself and others so that he "now may come to understand" Cass Mastern and his tragedy. With his beliefs, marriage, and new, Jack decides to use the remainder of his inheritance to complete his book on Cass, his dissertation as a "Student of History."¹⁴ Jack's ability to construct history is thus founded on a separateness of identity made possible by his refuge in the home and his ability to reconstruct the family according to his own desires. Like many Americans following the war, he has left behind the burden of generational ties for the freedom of his own nuclear family.

Jack's transformation from a reporter to a husband is underscored at the end of the novel when Lucy adopts a grandson and Jack adopts a father. After Tom's death, Lucy attributes the questionable patrimony of Sybil Frey's baby to him; her choice to recognize the baby as her grandson corresponds with her renewed belief in Willie, a point made obvious by her decision to name the baby Willie Stark (425-426). Jack makes a similar gesture when he explains that he has invited the sickly Ellis Burden to live with him and

¹⁴ Conversely, Jack's marriage can also be seen as making a private image into a public reality. The many marriages following the end of the war gave young couples a sense of participating in history through individual, private acts rather than through the collective political and public acts of the Depression and World War. In this context, "Domesticity was not so much a retreat from public affairs as an expression of one's citizenship" (May 160).

Anne in Irwin's home even though he now knows that Ellis is not his biological father. In both cases, the reconstructed family represents a reconstructed view of history; these families show that history is not determined in advance by blood and destiny but made from a series of choices based on compassion, belief, and the needs of the present and future. Though the web view of history seems to threaten individual acts with the poison of future ramifications, Jack is able to contain history in the home, the family he makes there, and his ability to interpret the past from this point of stability.

The sense of separateness allows Jack to reconcile himself to the religious beliefs of his adopted father and reevaluate his previous understanding of his work as a reporter. Earlier in the novel, Jack disagrees with Ellis' religious tracts and his argument that "God is Fullness of Being." He tells Ellis:

"I'll draw you another picture... of a man trying to paint a picture of a sunset. But before he can dip his brush the color always changes and the shape. Let us give a name to the picture which he is trying to paint: Knowledge. Therefore if the object which a man looks at changes constantly so that Knowledge of it is constantly untrue and is therefore Non-Knowledge, then Eternal Motion is possible. And Eternal Life. Therefore we can believe in Eternal Life only if we deny God, Who is Complete Knowledge" (151).

The picture that Jack draws here differs greatly from the picture he later receives from his mother. In this case, he is implicitly arguing that history is simply a matter of approximating the viewpoint of God and accumulating as much knowledge as possible.

This "picture" of the painter corresponds to Jack's image of himself as a reporter. Directly after recounting his debate with Ellis, he contemplates the scene of the capital on the eve of Willie's impeachment and thinks of his perspective as analogous to that of God. As a reporter and political insider, Jack knows the outcome of this moment. However,

since he is unable to change this outcome, he describes history as the act of seeing and recording rather than interpreting:

But even if I didn't believe in the old man's god, that morning as I stood at the window of the Capital and looked down on the crowd, I felt like God, because I had the knowledge of what was to come. I felt like God brooding on History, for as I stood there I could see a little chunk of History right there in front. There were the bronze statues on their pedestals... They were already History... Then over beyond the statues, there were the people who weren't History yet. Not quite. But to me they looked like History, because I knew the end of the event to which they were a part. Or thought I knew the end. (151)

Believing that his work with Willie gives him a sense of objectivity that surpasses his previous work as a reporter, Jack cynically speculates on how the newspapers are likely to describe this historical event according to their biases:

I knew, too, how the newspapers would regard that crowd of people, as soon as they knew the end of the event. They would regard the crowd as cause. "A shameful display of cowardice on the part of the Legislature... allow themselves to be intimidated by... deplorable lack of leadership..." (151-152; ellipses in the original)

Jack ends his comments by asking, "But why had they elected Willie Stark? Because of a complex of forces which had made them what they were, or because Willie Stark could lean toward them with bulging eyes and right arm raised to Heaven?" (152). While the newspaper interprets the events according to political allegiances, Jack does not answer his own questions. He believes that it is impossible to attribute a cause to events since they are the result of an immutable "complex of forces." Whether the crowd causes Willie's power or is an effect of it, Jack, at this point, believes that history is determined in advance and reporting is a matter of observing, not participating, in its unfolding.

After Willie's death, Jack loses this perspective, but this is not only a fall but also a kind of redemption. Once he has the freedom to choose to accept Ellis as his "adopted" father, he can accept the limits and value of his own perspective of history. He quotes part of a tract that Ellis has dictated to him:

Separateness is identity and the only way for God to create, truly create, man was to make him separate from Himself, and to be separate from God is to be sinful. The creation of evil is therefore the index of God's glory and His power. That had to be so that the creation of good might be the index of man's glory and power.
(437)

After he finishes dictating this tract, Ellis tells Jack, "It is true. I know it is true. Do you know it?" Jack nods his head and says yes, commenting, "I did so to keep his mind untroubled, but later I was not certain but that in my own way I did believe what he had said" (437). "In his own way" he has come to agree that God is defined by a sense of separateness, that separateness makes identity and free will possible, and that evil is hence a necessary consequence. This description does not hold God accountable for the destruction that has resulted in three deaths in the novel, nor, by implication, does it hold God accountable for the many millions of deaths that have occurred as the novel was written during the war. Instead, it accommodates faith to these realities and points ahead to a pragmatic view of religion that would result in a post-war surge in religious affiliation and attendance even as religion came to be seen by many as more of a social institution than a matter of faith. Jack's acceptance of this statement adds a theological dimension to Willie's claims that all good must be made from filth and sin. By accepting that evil is necessary, Jake contributes to the rehabilitation of Willie's memory by placing it in a

context in which the good he did need not be seen as complicit with evil but rather as an index of his power.

While earlier Jack saw himself reporting on history as it inevitably unfolded, this new idea of separateness allows him to interpret history. From this perspective, not only religion but also politics can be separated from the dirt of human nature. This is evident when, in a parenthetical aside, Warren brings Hugh Miller, Willie's former Attorney General, back into the novel. Though he is repeatedly mocked by Jack throughout the first part of the novel for his politically ineffectual "clean hands and pure heart" and though he is not mentioned for 300 pages after he resigns his position in disgust at Willie's strong-arm tactics, Jack improbably asserts that Miller is going to get back into politics with Jack's help (97, 135, 138, 436). Though not at all convincing, Miller's reappearance points to the fact that Jack's ability to interpret history comes from the ability to revalue the lessons he learned earlier as a reporter and political observer. Like many in the post-War period, Jack finds that the threats of social unrest in the Depression, the specter of fascism, and the new threat of nuclear apocalypse, can all be contained in a kind of willful restoration of innocence and sense of optimism, especially when viewed from the security of the nuclear family and the newfound possibilities of greater financial security and affluence.

While, as a narrator and reporter, Jack felt certain of the objective facts and their worth, at the end of the novel, he is "not so certain" and takes an open-ended perspective that allows him to interpret history as it becomes "separate" from the present and evaluated according to needs and beliefs. His hard-boiled language has been replaced with

qualifications and contingency, and he acknowledges that his version of history will be shaped in "his own way." In the final sentence of the novel, Jack asserts, "soon now we shall go out of the house and go into the convulsion of the world, out of history and into history and the awful responsibility of Time" (438). This conclusion, with two "histories," one in the house and one out of it, underscores this final separateness.

Separate from the world of politics in the home, Jack can interpret history; separate from his dead and dying fathers, he can choose from among their values; separate from the destruction of the atom and the "atom smashers," he can contain the threat that they represent. He is no longer a hard-boiled reporter beholden to producing the facts and manipulating photographs but a husband who can interpret the images of memory and make sense of the world through private choices.

Jack's optimistic closing remarks are in keeping with the prosperity that would make the dream of the affluent, suburban family a reality for so many in the post-war period. At the same time, the flip-side of this optimism was the uncertainty caused by a rapidly changing social and economic landscape and the guilt and fear that went along with the dropping of the atom bomb and the threat of nuclear destruction. In All the King's Men, after the two "atom smashers," Willie and Adam, are dead, Jack states that their mutual doom comes to represent "the terrible division of their age" (436). Though not explicitly articulated, this division seems to center on Adam's idealism and dedication to helping average people and Willie's similar dedication to helping such people in terms of their material conditions. By the publication of the novel, such a "terrible division" would no

longer be a philosophical consideration but a matter of Cold War discourse. As a hard-boiled newspaperman, student of history, and, later, a husband, Jack describes and contains this division and the threat that it represents. At times, he suggests this terrible division might not be as absolute as it seems. He reveals that just as Adam, "the man of idea" performs a lobotomy and accept the relevance of materialism, so too, does Willie, "the man of fact," accept the power of ideals.¹⁵ Similarly, Jack combines aspects of both men in the way he describes the physical world with a fidelity to the dirty facts of life while, at the same time sensitively and often sentimentally revealing his ideals and emotions to his readers. In this combination, "he writes not only the way Adam the romanticist might but also the way the Boss actually talks" (Meckier 72). More significantly, however, Jack mediates this terrible division by using his ideals to interpret facts as the novel ends.

The affirmations and interpretative strategies presented in the conclusion retrospectively change how the preceding novel is read. In particular, Jack's strong sense of identity, security, and restored innocence in the revised conclusion of the novel contrast with his earlier, more precarious sense of self in the introduction which Warren also revised in the fall of 1945.¹⁶ While the conclusion contains threats to the self in the nuclear family and the containment of personally interpreting the significance of history, the opening of the novel relates the atomic age to a relative, fluctuating sense of self that is

¹⁵ The complexity of Willie's thinking is reflected in his name, which refers to William James (Modern Library 97). For a similar reading of the connections between Adam and Willie, see Norman Kelvin, "The Failure of Robert Penn Warren."

marked by possibilities for becoming as well as possibilities for obliteration: Speeding down a highway, in an unnamed state, in an unnamed car, the unnamed narrator speaks in the second person "you." This narrator projects you headlong into the future: By the end of the first paragraph, you are long dead and buried, the fatal automobile accident witnessed by the "niggers" whose eyes are everywhere but whose voices are rarely, if every, heard in the rest of the novel. However, black and white are brought together in death itself, as the site of the accident is commemorated by "a metal square painted white and on it a black skull and crossbones" left along the side of the road (1).¹⁷ When you arrive in Mason City, the speeding car slows down, and perspectives become fixed in space and time: You discover that the car is a Cadillac and that the driver is named Sugar-Boy. A more stable sense of identity returns and with it fixed social categories. The still anonymous narrator tells you: "No doubt you thought Sugar-Boy was a Negro, from the name. But he wasn't. He was Irish... And he wore red ties and under the red tie and his shirt he wore a little Papist medal on a chain..." (4)

While identities become fixed in space, defining time remains more elusive. In the first paragraph, the future impinges on the present, and as you continue towards Mason City, time moves backwards as well as forwards, from the Garden to the Apocalypse. In

¹⁶ See the Appendix to the "Restored" edition of All the King's Men for the original introduction (611).

¹⁷ The racial implications here are significant later in the novel, especially in Jack's digression on Cass Mastern. There, the slave, Phebe, finds the ring of Duncan Trice and knows that his suicide was brought about the adulterous affair between his wife, Annabelle Trice, and Cass. Annabelle finds Phebe's knowledge to be intolerable and sells her down the river (175- 176).

this case, the automobile is "the machine in the garden," but it does not shatter silence as a train whistle does but annihilates time itself.¹⁸ The ability to interpret time is related to the ability to control nature. Though both are brought under human power, this power suggests as well the threat of destroying all of nature, a threat made all too real by the bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki weeks before Warren revised his introduction. Thus, Warren, in collapsing time and space as he introduces his novel touches on the political questions that would come to typify the Cold War: the seemingly limitless possibilities of the individual, the hope for overcoming limiting social categories like race, and the threat of apocalypse that would go along with nuclear armament.

In fact, the Cold War implications of Warren's introduction to All the King's Men is brought into sharper focus by two later works which specifically pick up on its themes. William Styron, who later became a friend of Warren, modeled the opening of his first novel, Lie Down in Darkness, on the introduction to All the King's Men (Blottner 371). Like Warren's novel, Lie Down in Darkness begins with an anonymous identity in motion, in the second person "you," with the self in flux, and with African-American witnesses observing the action (9-11). While Warren metaphorically describes Stark's car as a "hearse," in Styron's novel a train carries a coffin while the car that waits at the station is literally a hearse and (11, 14). However, while Warren implicitly suggests a connection between the deaths that frame his novel and the threat of the atomic bomb, Styron makes these connections literal: His novel begins in August, 1945, and, on the evening before, one his central characters, Helen Loftis, after just learning of her daughter's

¹⁸ See Leo Marx's classic study, The Machine in the Garden.

suicide, reads about the dropping of the bomb and the possible Japanese surrender (11, 24). On the day the body arrives, dust and cinders fill the air smell "of burning flesh" (246). Styron, in emulating the opening chapter of All the King's Men, suggests how Warren's novel is situated distinctly at the beginning of the Cold War, and his novel illustrates the national implications both these Southern novels share.

Warrens' novel Flood (1963) similarly highlights the Cold War implications of All the King's Men by revisiting some of its imagery and themes.¹⁹ While Jack observes characters in All the King's Men who possess "atomic energy" and are "atom smashers," the protagonist in Flood, Bradwell Tolliver, is paired with Yasha Jones, a physicist who has worked on the construction of the atom bomb. The central historical event of the novel, the impending flooding of a Tennessee mountain community as a result of a new dam, equates modernization with annihilation in the context of the even greater threat of nuclear war. Furthermore, Bradwell, like Jack, has a sense of the meaningful images of memory, which, with their "special vividness," can offer a profound sense of meaning and identity (104). While Jack uses his image of Anne to ground his identity and write history, Bradwell hopes to translate the images of memory into images on the screen; he

¹⁹ Like All the King's Men, Flood begins in a car, on a new highway, with the threat of fatal accident, and with the watchful eyes of an African-American witness (3, 4, 417). It also contains the image of a stopped clock to represent the possibility of apocalypse, considers the materialism of the brain as opposed to the mind, equates "slick" magazines with a feminine domestic sphere, and presents stereotypical views of female sexuality (48, 142, 284, 350, 360, 365, 386). Like Jack Burden, Bradwell comes to resist the idea history is materially determined and instead sees history as a series of connected individual decisions that are interpreted in individual stories (313, 331, 405, 423). Flood also ends with a series of gunshots (406). While Jack is a newspaperman who, as the

has returned to Fiddlersburg to write a "treatment" for a movie that Yasha will make (419).²⁰

In the introduction of All the King's Men, these Cold War themes and the dawning atomic age are related to Warren's portrayal of individual identity at flux in time. Warren creates a complex sense of the present in the opening of All the King's Men through the contrast among different perspectives, and the minute "atoms" of description that seem to vibrate with meaning. As the relative perspective of the narrator and the power of memory shape time, it becomes indistinguishable from space as a category of existence in this Einsteinian world. Instead, definitions of time and space emerge from the process of observation.²¹ Thus, as the car in the opening scene comes to rest, the unnamed narrator

narrator, serves as the imputed "writer" of Willie's story, Bradwell, the hard-boiled protagonist of Flood is literally a writer of fiction.

²⁰ Flood thus demonstrates a changed understanding of the power of the image. In this later novel, the image is the primary unit of communication and stands as the aesthetic ideal. Flood thus suggests the movies have replaced the novel as the dominant form of storytelling in the popular imagination, as Jack's "new picture of the world" has become a new way of showing pictures to the world. Unlike Jack and Bradwell, two writers, Yasha, who turned to film-making after the dropping of the atom bomb, aims to maintain the purity of the image itself and defines the success of his movies by how successfully they present human images rather than how well they tell a story (265-267). Warren himself would come under criticism for writing with the movies too much in mind after the success of the 1949 movie version of All the King's Men (Blottner 264).

²¹ Einstein writes, "The simultaneity of two definite events with reference to one inertial system involves the simultaneity of these events in reference to all inertial systems. That is what is meant when we say that the time of classical mechanics is absolute. According to the special theory of relativity it is otherwise. The sum total of events which are simultaneous with a selected event exist, it is true, in relation to a particular inertial system, but no longer independently of the choice of the inertial system. The four-dimensional continuum is no longer resolvable objectively into sections, all of which contain simultaneous events; 'now' loses for the spatially extended world its objective

notes, "That was the way it was the last time I saw Mason City, nearly three years ago, back in the summer of 1936," and he goes on to tell his story across many layers of time, each of which forms part of the present in the opening scene (3). In the first chapter alone, he moves from 1936, ahead to 1939, back to 1922, ahead to 1934, then returns to 1936 and the speeding car. Near the end of the first chapter, he shows how the car moves through space and time, as the ride to Burden's Landing represents a journey back in time for the narrator who finally names himself as Jack Burden. As perspectives shift, speed merges identities, and the narrator goes from using the second person "you" to the first person "we." As the car approaches, however remotely, the speed of the light, Jack's identity is formed through his identification with others and through the perspective both from the moving car and from the roadside, from simultaneously observing and being observed:

Close to the road a cow would stand knee-deep in the mist... and would look at the black blur we were as we went whirling into the blazing corridor of light which we could never quite get into for it would be always splitting the dark just in front of us. The cow would stand there knee-deep in the mist and look at the black blur and the blaze and then, not turning its head, at the place where the black blur and blaze had been, with the remote, massive, unvindictive indifference of God-All-Mighty or Fate or me, if I were standing there knee-deep in the mist, and the blur

meaning" (149). Einstein goes on to explain that time is not an absolute measure outside of three-dimensional coordinates but forms part of a four-dimensional space-time continuum: "Since there exist in this four-dimensional structure no longer any sections which represent 'now' objectively, the concepts of happening and becoming are indeed not completely suspended, but yet complicated. It appears therefore more natural to think of physical reality as a four-dimensional existence, instead of, as hitherto, the *evolution* of a three-dimensional existence" (150). In the introduction of All the King's Men, "now" is a concept that depends on this perspective and the "inertial system" of the observer, Jack. For him, "now" differs according to whether or not he considers the speeding car from inside or from the side of the road.

and blaze whizzed past and withered on off between the fields and the patches of the woods. (36)²²

Jack compares his perspective to that of God, as he does later in his view on the capital. In this case, however, he is not only watching others but watching himself as well. Here, history is fixed as a matter of Fate, while identity is in flux; in the conclusion, identity is fixed in the space of the home while history is a matter of flux defined differently in different interpretations. In other words, despite this atomic world, Jack seems to require a fixed point for observation: Either he or his subject needs to be stationary in the act of interpretation.

Throughout the novel, Warren uses motion to show that identity is relative and in flux. As the Cadillac in the introduction reaches Burden's Landing, Jack sees himself from multiple perspectives and returns to the second-person you as he voices others' thoughts:

At night you pass through a little town where you once lived, and you expect to see yourself wearing knee pants, standing all alone on the street corner under the hanging bulbs... you expect to see that boy standing there under the street lamp, out too late, and you feel like telling him he ought to go on home to bed... But maybe you are home in bed and sound asleep and not dreaming and nothing has ever happened that has seems to have happened. But, then, who the hell is this in the back seat of the big black Cadillac that comes ghosting through the town? Why this is Jack Burden. Don't your remember little Jack Burden? (40)

²² Later, speed again allows the narrator to consider himself from multiple perspectives: "We would go on between the fields until we hit a town... The men standing in front of the pool hall would look up and see the big black crate ghost down the street and one of them would spit on the concrete and say, "The bastard, he reckins he's somebody," and wish that he was in a big black car, as big as hearse and the springs soft as mamma's breast and the engine breathing without a rustle at seventy-five, going off into the dark somewhere" (37). Again, a relativistic perspective is marked both by possibilities and threats, as the Cadillac looks like a "hearse."

Later in the novel, when Jack is leaving his hometown, he explicitly considers this relative sense of identity and again merges his identity in a "you" that includes his readers:

Between one point on the map and another point on the map, there was the being alone in the car in the rain. They say you are not you except in terms of relation to other people. If there weren't any other people there wouldn't be any you because what you do, which is what you are, only has meaning in relation to other people. That is a very comforting thought when you are in the car in the rain at night alone, for then you aren't you, and not being you or anything, you can really lie back and get some rest. It is a vacation from being you. (128)

In fact, relations do not stop: This "Jack" exists retrospectively in relation to the Jack who tells the story. Jack uses the image of the spider web to represent this relative sense of identity:

There is only the flow of the motor under your foot spinning that frail thread of sound out of its metal gut like a spider, that filament, that nexus, which isn't really there, between the you which you have just left in one place and the you which you will be when you get to the other place. (128-129)

As Jack later shows, the web of identity, like the web of history, only seems discontinuous when one's perspective is limited to the moment of experience. However, as the conclusion of the novel indicates, each moment is subject to endless interpretation and revision when seen as part of the relations of history; in this way, the spider can continue to spin its filaments rather than inject its poison.²³ Jack can only see history in this way after he establishes a perspective outside of its immediate pressures. The revised introduction and conclusion thus bracket the novel: In the conclusion, threats of

²³ At this point, Jack still sees history as an inevitable unfolding of discrete, linked facts, and he directly links this present moment to the moment when Ellis Burden met his mother in 1896: "The Scholarly Attorney went to Arkansas and the girl was on the steps of the commissary, and that is why I was in the car, in the rain, at night" (130).

relativity are contained while its possibilities for meaningful, multiple perspectives are realized.

Since Willie does not accept pre-existing definitions of identity or history, he offers Jack a way to make this transition and come to see himself as moving "out of history" in order to move back into history through his own acts of interpretation. When the car arrives in Mason City, Jack describes the courthouse, which was built before the Civil War, as having a clock tower with the clock faces painted on (5). Though the town is seemingly frozen in time, Jack thinks that Lucy "would have a lot to think about as she sat in the hurtling Cadillac, for there had been a lot of changes" (5) brought about by Willie (5). In looking back at their first meeting, Jack connects Willie's power over his audience with a power over time. He seems able to bend time, reveals its promise and threats, and stretch it to the edge of eternity. While Marvin Frey and Adam Stanton are associated with the atom and atomic reaction, Willie adds a metaphysical and existential element to this understanding of the atomic world. He brings others "face to face with the margin of mystery where all our calculations collapse, where the stream of time dwindles into the sands of eternity, where the formula fails in the test tube, where chaos and old night hold sway and we hear the laughter in the ether dream" (19). For Jack, Willie seems to be living out his own fate and determining the fate of others, and the force of Willie's personality thus represents a kind of absolute power that can make or destroy lives.

For Jack, both frozen time and fluid time can be apocalyptic. In the sleepy town, the time on the painted clock recalls the watches and clocks stopped by the atom bomb, as Warren indicates in his poem, "New Dawn," which begins with a list of time zones to

indicate the moment when the time the bomb dropped on Hiroshima (Collected Poems 794).²⁴ As in Jack's image of Anne playing tennis, the frozen moment implies an explosive force that is contained only when it is interpreted in a broader historical context. However, there is also a danger in getting caught up and swept away in a stream of time and a relative sense of identity. Thus, Willie, as a "stream of time," also represents the potential for annihilation. The deadly speeding cars in the novel corroborate this, since Willie has built the highways that make such speed possible. In the conclusion of the novel, Jack overcomes this dichotomy of frozen images and fluid time; he shapes historical narratives using the meaning he interprets from a series of images.

Jack does this as he casts aside his role as a reporter. When, in the conclusion, he acknowledges that he is no longer reporting Willie's story but that Willie's story has become his own, he most clearly and consciously articulates his own assumptions about history through their relationship. As Brian Jay Woolf argues in Romantic Revision, there is a long history of narrators, like Jack, who mediate how readers view another character, the ostensible subject of the story. Often, this paired structure of observer and observed takes the shape of two powerful stories, the transformation of individual identity and the loss of innocence. Though Conrad's Heart of Darkness offers perhaps the quintessential example of a mediating narrator, the themes of these twinned stories make this strategy particularly relevant in an American context, and such mediating narrators can be found in such influential American works as Moby Dick, The Ambassadors, My Ántonia, The Sun Also Rises, and The Great Gatsby. The narrators in

²⁴ This poem first appeared in a limited edition of John Hersey's Hiroshima.

these texts offer the possibility of making the individual part of an epic by stretching the conventions of "objective," realistic portrayals of character. Since it is the narrator, the observer, who is the survivor of experience, the observed subject can offer more extreme possibilities of behavior. While the observer, with the job of recording the story in the language of every day life, points towards a humble sense of individuality as it is, the subject can offer an idealized view of individuality as it might be. In this way, the concern with individual behavior replaces an objective view of history with a subjective view that emphasizes interiority, individual subjectivity, and a distinctly modernist focus on consciousness. Novels which include this kind of narrator often present history as the power of fiction to make sense of raw facts; like All the King's Men, such works create stories that duplicate the origins of history itself (Wolf 104, 114-116).

As Woolf shows, by beginning after the great epiphany which precedes the story and precipitates its telling, these mediated stories recall the original fall from eternity into history, the expulsion of Adam and Even from the Garden of Eden (99). This analysis helps to explain the disjointed ending of All the King's Men. While most mediated novels end with an elegiac tone, the conclusion of Warren's novel tries to restore a sense of innocence and a functional social order after convincingly revealing the limitations of this order. Rather than looking back, the novel concludes with several paragraphs told in the future tense, and Jack's story looks ahead to the Cold War culture in which he will make his home. While Warren's optimistic conclusion differs from most novels with mediating narrators, it weds this optimism to an affirmation of the individual subject typical for this structure. His use of the mediating narrator thus affirms the power of the individual

subject, a major prop of American ideology in the face of a perceived Communist threat. At the same time, Willie's death puts a limit on the political power of the individual in light of fascism. While Willie made history and his own rules of conduct, Jack writes history as the typical post-war husband, and his emergence as the subject of the conclusion reaffirms the need to place the individual in a stable social order. In this way, his transformation from a reporter correcting the limits of politics, publicity, and the press, to a husband restoring a sense of innocence and the sanctity of the family resonates in a larger cultural context.

Like The Great Gatsby, All the King's Men equates the death of the subject with the end of an era.²⁵ In both cases, the narrator reserves the last word, the insight that comes after the death of the observed character, and places the story in a larger historical context and in terms of defining history itself. While Gatsby's murder marks the ending of an era of innocence and possibility, the Jazz Age, Willie's murder concludes two eras: the Great Depression, when experience itself seemed to overwhelm the imagination, and the World War, when the loss of innocence was underscored by the terrible irony of the United States, the defender of the Free World, ending the war by dropping two atomic bombs. While Nick Carraway looks back on the initial moment of discovery and possibility, the moment that can never be recovered, no matter how much "we beat on, against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past," Jake looks ahead from a period of Depression and war (Fitzgerald 182). While The Great Gatsby concludes with a look

back to the virgin forests, All the King's Men begins after the fall: "There were pine forests here a long time ago but they are gone..." (2).

The introduction and conclusion of All the King's Men, revised just after the dropping of the atomic bomb, can be seen as marking the beginning of the Cold War in the American novel. In the introduction, the speeding car, the highway, the possibilities raised by multiple perspectives, all demonstrate the distinctly American prerogative of self-transformation as well as the threat of losing a sense of identity. This potential loss of self is set against the backdrop of the threat of nuclear annihilation, as the forces of modernization take on a power seemingly beyond human control. The conclusion of the novel, on the other hand, contains threats to identity by placing the individual safely in the home and the family, a move that not only stabilizes a sense of identity within history but also allows the individual to act as the arbiter and creator of history itself. However, the novel points ahead to the increasingly reified gender roles of the post-War period: The ability to shape history is a distinctly male prerogative, and the female characters disappear or lose their voices in the conclusion. Appropriately enough, Warren describes these changes through a single individual, Jack Burden, who goes from being a reporter at the center of the press and politics to an interpreter of images in the sanctity of the home. While at the beginning, Jack is a producer of political stories and

²⁵ All the King's Men, like The Great Gatsby, was begun as a play, Proud Flesh, and Warren, like Fitzgerald, only decided to use a first-person narrator after he was far into writing his novel (Blottner 179- 181, 223).

images for the news, in the end he is a reader who explores the proper way to interpret stories and images from a personal perspective.

While the novel provides a provocative commentary on the bridge from the Depression and wartime culture to the incipient Cold War culture, it also points to the increasingly blurred, relationship between journalism and the novel. The changes recorded by the newspaperman, Jack Burden, suggest a conception of the journalist as someone who writes history on the basis of personal needs and experiences, and the way that Jack explicitly makes Willie's story his own in the conclusion of All the King's Men prefigures the rise of New Journalism, including Warren's later works such as Segregation and Who Speaks for the Negro?, in which he appears as both a kind of reporter and character.²⁶ Throughout most of the novel, Jack uses his knowledge and perspective as a reporter and insider to act as a representative of the reader. His ability to offer comments that correct news reports and news photos lend credibility to his narrated story. Though he is never really as objective he claims to be, the emphasis of his early participation is on providing the reader with information rather than recording his own responses.

Though Jack's acknowledgement of his participation can be seen as a necessary step in achieving authenticity, he finally believes in his image of Willie and bases his life on his image of Anne. As he simplifies his view of Willie and pays more attention to his

²⁶ As Hugh Ruppersburg notes of Who Speaks for the Negro?, "Very much a topical, even journalistic work, it compares favorably with other examples of the New Journalism which had begun to appear during the mid-1960" (131). He also notes, "Warren's 'journalism' often resembles the work of John Hersey, author of Hiroshima and The Algiers Hotel Incident, to whom Warren dedicated his poem 'New Dawn,' about the bombing of Hiroshima." (187, n.3)

own feelings and responses, the story he offers becomes an "inside" story in the sense that it depends on his growth as an individual rather than his access to inside information or his ability to correct the reported "facts." Warren's reporter-narrator not only bridges the cultural gap from the Depression to the Cold War but suggests a conception of history as private interpretation. In the way Jack comes to affirm personal desire and needs as the basis for historical interpretation, he thus indicates some of the ways that the New Journalists would seek historical relevance in their own lives. New Journalist works like Norman Mailer's Armies of the Night would take this affirmation of individual participation and significance to its logical extreme, finding the self in the subjects of history and defining the event according to the bounds of individual perception.

Likewise, other New Journalists, such as Thomas Wolfe and Hunter S. Thompson would use a hyperbolic, simile-laden language, not unlike Jack's private, hard-boiled expressions. However, while Jack uses this language to form a kind of private intimacy with his readers, these writers would use an their more excessive language as the basis of their public personas (Dickstein 138-149). The story of the political reporter who becomes a husband reflects the change from the collective politics of the Depression and the World War to the post-war affirmation of the self as the basic political unit. In this way, Jack's search for the relationship between the individual and history points ahead to the post-war period when journalists would accept that the story of personal desire is the basis for history itself.

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