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In honor of
Herbert Martin

PREFACE

In this issue of *Midwestern Miscellany*, focused on modernist writers of the region, we round up the usual suspects: Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Dreiser, Anderson. However, these essays "make it new," some by providing a new perspective on a Midwestern classic, some by illuminating little-discussed Midwestern texts. In "What is Midwestern Modernism?" Sara Kosiba explores some continuities shared by several of the writers discussed in this issue of the *Miscellany*. James Seaton supplies a partial answer to the question that Kosiba poses in her title, demonstrating how Hemingway's Midwestern fiction is characterized by an absence of traditions, rituals, and values, and by the presence of violence and disorder. John Rohrkemper situates *The Great Gatsby* within the context of the twenties debate on immigration and racial/cultural identity. Catherine Kalish argues that *Sister Carrie*, considered by many to be a work of realism or naturalism, participates in the formal experimentation that characterizes modernism, innovatively mixing novel and epic, a narrative strategy that influences the way we read the novel. Abigail Tilley interrogates the notion of a revolt from the village that posits *Winesburg, Ohio* as a leading text of that movement; she argues that contextualizing Anderson's novel in this way impoverishes our understanding of it. Marcia Noe and Fendall Fulton take a look at four little-discussed Civil War stories by F. Scott Fitzgerald, tracing the progress of Fitzgerald's narrative sensibility from melodramatic to modernist. Together these essays offer new ways to look at Midwestern modernism.

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WHAT IS MIDWESTERN MODERNISM?

SARA KOSIBA

In *The Midwestern Ascendancy in American Writing*, Ronald Weber contends that Midwestern literature came into its maturity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, reaching its pinnacle in 1930 with the awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature to Sinclair Lewis. Whether or not one agrees with him that Midwestern writing diminished in significance after that point in time, his examination of Midwestern literature's evolution places the height of its productivity during the same period of time generally attributed to the height of literary modernism. While Weber states that the early work of Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Hart Crane and others marks the end of an era, their work shows a deliberate connection to the Midwestern landscape, albeit a connection bombarded by changing social and cultural forces of the time. I think Weber is premature in killing off Midwestern literature at a time when it was, rather, adapting to new forces in American literature and culture. While writers like Hemingway, Fitzgerald and others may have drifted away from their roots (again, perhaps even an arguable contention there as well, as many of these writers never entirely severed their ties, both personal and literary, to the Midwest), they were among many of the Midwestern writers in the 1920s and 1930s writing from, about, and for the Midwest, addressing the region and its place in the country as a whole as it emerged and developed in modern times.

Midwestern authors, writing concurrently with the modernist movement in literature, were consistently using their work to understand the shift that was taking place in both urban and rural societies. Modernization, industrialization, and the emergence of an increasingly global identity in the United States were changing the social

and political lives of many Americans, and the literature of the Midwest reflects the perspectives of one regional area coming to terms with those changes. Some of the Midwestern writers became part of the modernist movement in literature, influencing the way it was defined or being influenced by the major writers and critics who worked to define it. Participation in this movement allowed those writers to become part of a larger national or global discussion. Some Midwestern writers were responding to some of the same issues, but without the same aesthetic values of the modernists; others were addressing particular regional concerns. A great deal of the writing by Midwestern authors was also flooding publications of this period, both in America and abroad; by exploring how those writers and works were caught up in the contemporary literary milieu we can explore how modernism was influenced by American regional characteristics and how the literature of the Midwest was shaped by modernism.

The scholarship examining the specific connection between Midwestern writing and the modernist movement is limited. While a great variety of criticism exists on Midwestern writers who gained success during the modernist period, such as Fitzgerald and Hemingway, and the connection of their individual works (both Midwestern and otherwise) to modernism, fewer studies attempt to connect the movement of Midwestern literature to that of modernism. A few scholarly articles have addressed the subject. David Wright's "Modernism and Region: Illinois Poetry and the Modern" (1998) looks at connecting some of the elements of a particular Midwestern state and how its literature might connect with modernism. Wright contends that "Regional art, in this case Illinois poetry, though often modern(ist) in style and subject matter, offers divergent versions of and alternatives to the modernist sensibility of the fragmented individual and culture, alternatives which should complicate our usual constructions of literary and cultural history" (216). Focusing primarily on Carl Sandburg and Vachel Lindsay, Wright fails to demonstrate a greater connection between Midwestern literature and modernism. By focusing solely on one state, Wright never addresses the region as a whole, but despite this narrow focus, his work on Illinois poetry suggests that the same types of influences might be found in literature from other Midwestern states.

John Rohrkemper also attempts to link modernist techniques and concerns to Midwestern writers. In his article "The Great War, the

Midwest, and Modernism: Cather, Dos Passos, and Hemingway" (1988), Rohrkemper examines the novels and stories written by three Midwestern writers that emerged directly after World War I. Looking at Willa Cather's *One of Ours*, John Dos Passos's *Three Soldiers*, and Ernest Hemingway's *In Our Time*, Rohrkemper argues that the three texts all incorporate the modernist technique of juxtaposition, most often between images of Europe as scarred by war and images of an idyllic Midwest. In juxtaposing these images, these authors attempt to redefine and understand the world as they experienced it. Rohrkemper believes that by examining how these writers contrasted these particular images, a greater understanding can be reached of modern American literature and how modernism was connected to the Midwest. While his study only discusses three novels, it raises interesting questions and comparisons that could be further developed by looking at more of the writers or works being produced at the time. Again, Rohrkemper's views serve merely as a starting point for a larger discussion of Midwestern modernism and what that movement or area of literature entails.

Addressing modernism and its connection to the Midwest as a whole is David D. Anderson's "Mark Twain, Sherwood Anderson, and Midwestern Modernism" (1994). Anderson's article focuses on connecting Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with its influence on a generation of American modernist writers like Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, and William Faulkner. Anderson contends that Twain's novel stands as a "metaphor for the American search" and believes that metaphor continues in novels by members of many different literary generations that follow (77). The journey and search in *Huckleberry Finn* appear in the work of many writers who are classified as both Midwestern and modernist, suggesting a characteristic of Midwestern modernist writing. While Anderson focuses on Twain's influence in bridging the two literary movements, he never actually discusses what qualifies as or defines "Midwestern Modernism." The use of this term by Anderson and other critics raises the question of exactly what characterizes modernism as it relates to the Midwest. A Midwestern modernist aesthetic often seems accepted without question, with no solid definition of what that distinction entails.

Hemingway is one example of a writer, born in the Midwest, who was influenced by modernist ideas. His experimental collection *In Our Time* (1925) juxtaposed images of World War I with images of

Nick Adams's experiences in upper Michigan. The Midwestern elements of the collection could easily be explained away by attributing them to Hemingway's simply using a setting from memory, but that seems a reductive way to define those elements considering the deliberation he put into his work. Nick Adams of *In Our Time* does represent an alter ego for Hemingway, based in part on his own experiences vacationing in Michigan while he was growing up. In terms of drawing on his own knowledge and past experience in building a setting or significance for his stories, it seems important that Hemingway would choose to draw on Michigan rather than Oak Park, Chicago, Paris, or a fictionalized version of a city to stage Nick's learning scenarios. Also, for Hemingway to intersperse scenes of Michigan with scenes detailing the destruction and inhumanity of World War I (particularly in the vignettes that divide the stories) seems to infuse the Midwest (or Michigan in particular) with a representative value, making the region a symbol of the world that exists in contrast to the chaos of war. Nick comes of age in the Midwestern Michigan landscape through the experiences he has throughout many of the early stories of *In Our Time*, and by the end of the novel, returns to that landscape to rediscover himself after experiencing the alienation and fragmentation of the world at large.

F. Scott Fitzgerald drew on his own knowledge of the Midwest, particularly St. Paul, in much of his work. His first novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920), appears to be his most modern in form and yet maintains Midwestern ties. This novel is perhaps the closest Fitzgerald came to experimenting with text in a way comparable to other literary modernists, as the text combines prose passages, poetry, and theatrical dialogue as it conveys the story. Its Midwestern characteristics begin with the family of Amory Blaine, who has ties to his grandfather's estate in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and spends time during his adolescence at the house of his aunt and uncle in St. Paul. While Amory eventually goes away to prep school and then Princeton, he never entirely severs his ties to the Midwest (a condition shared in some ways, even years later, by Fitzgerald himself). While Fitzgerald also drew on the Midwest as a locale for many of his short stories, the novel he is often most known for and which has gained the most acclaim, *The Great Gatsby* (1925), is almost entirely Midwestern in its sentiments. Despite the fact that the novel takes place almost entirely in the East, two of the major characters, Jay Gatsby and Nick Carraway, are from the Midwest, and their percep-

tions and experiences of the region shape who they are and how they react to the events and characters in the novel. The story is even told from the Midwest itself, as Nick is narrating the story after his return from the East. The prominence of the Midwest in such a quintessential "jazz age" novel lends the region more importance, making it a crucial location to consider in the changing modern times. The Midwest functions here, as it does in the work of Hemingway and of other authors, providing a sense of contrast between the characteristic of firm convictions and values stemming from the region and the chaos and immorality of the rest of the world.

Robert McAlmon is another Midwestern born writer who went on to associate with many figures of literary modernism. Spending much of his childhood and adolescence in various cities around the eastern end of South Dakota, McAlmon was one of the many writers and artists from the region who headed East to find greater opportunities, first in Greenwich Village and later among the American expatriates in Paris. McAlmon is known most for his Contact Publishing Company, which published the early work of Ernest Hemingway, poems by William Carlos Williams, and female modernists like Djuna Barnes. McAlmon, while actively involved with these publishing ventures, spent a fair amount of his time writing as well. Despite his involvement with various modernist writers, McAlmon's work stays very Midwestern. The landscape of his childhood never leaves him, making appearances in his short stories and, in particular, his novel *Village: As It Happened Through a Fifteen Year Period* (1924). While *Village* was published by McAlmon's own publishing company and enjoyed only a small circulation, it was favorably reviewed at the time. Considering that by the time McAlmon published *Village* he had been out of the Midwest for a number of years and had lived in places like California and New York and had traveled around Europe, it seems strange that he would continue to write about the Midwest unless he maintained a strong connection or feeling of nostalgia for it. While the lives he portrays in *Village* are not always happy or prosperous, McAlmon never quite descends into the critical point of view that Midwestern writers often had when looking back at the region from afar. He appears to be concerned with portraying the harsh realities of life in a Midwestern small town and yet shows that life as functioning and evolving, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worst.

Other Midwestern writers hanging around the expatriate and modernist circles in the 1920s carried Midwestern elements in their writing despite the apparent desire to escape their pasts or to concern themselves with higher forms of art. Glenway Wescott, despite his desire to cast off his Wisconsin upbringing, going so far as to publicly proclaim so in the title of his book *Good-bye, Wisconsin* (1928), hung on to that early Midwestern connection in much of his early work. John Dos Passos, while never writing a novel entirely focused on the Midwest, maintained Midwestern characters in both *Three Soldiers* (1921) and the trilogy *USA* (published as a collection in 1938), in a way sending the idea that the Midwest was a prominent component of overall American identity at the time. Despite many Midwestern writers' apparent exodus or desire to escape the Midwest, it seems that few ever truly threw off that aspect of their identity or managed to exclude the influences of that region in their writing.

The appearance of all these Midwesterners among the expatriates and modernists in Paris and in the pages of the many little magazines that were appearing at the time led to comments on the role of the Midwest in literature. Midwesterners often appeared side by side with conventional modernist writers in those pages. Ford Madox Ford was in many ways the most vocal in commenting on the prominence of Midwesterners in literature or what he termed "Middle Westishness," a quality he felt governed much of the writing of the time. In the preface to the collection *Transatlantic Stories*, Ford states that all people have this quality and defines Middle Westishness as the result of the world conquering the Far West and losing a sense of frontier. People are therefore caught in the middle, wanting to be free of the restrictions of the East and yet having no new places to venture to. This universal phenomenon

> is in fact a world movement, the symptom of an enormous disillusionment . . . and an enormous awakening. In England it is produced by a disillusionment with regard to education and as to the past; in the United States it is produced by a disillusionment with regard, precisely, to the other Wests in the world, by a sudden conviction that the world—even the world as seen in the central western states of North America—is a humdrum affair, and bound to be a humdrum affair for all humanity. (xxi)

Ford states that the manuscripts by Midwestern writers that he considered for the *transatlantic review* were no different than many of the manuscripts from other regions. This suggests that perhaps the manuscripts of Midwesterners were not very different from the other variations of art and writing being created at the time. If one believes Ford's statement that the world as a whole was characterized by this larger sense of Middle Westishness, then the attempts at art being produced in Paris and other cities were not all that radically different than what was coming from the Midwest itself.

While this is a preliminary attempt at getting at the larger definition of Midwestern modernism, it does demonstrate that there is connection between the Midwestern landscape and the modernist point of view that deserves further study. For many scholars, trying to separate these more "modernist" or contemporary Midwestern writers who tried to leave the region from the writers who stayed in the region and wrote from that point of view is often a matter of aesthetics. This seems like the easy way out, easily explaining away why some writers were more successful than others by saying that the modernists were concerned with art while the regionalists were caught up in the simplistic realism of their surroundings. However, the Midwestern authors associated with American modernist writing and the regional writers situated in the Midwest were trying to reconcile many of the same ideas. The writers influenced by or participating in the modernist movement did experiment with form and ideas more than did other Midwestern authors of the time. However, when considering the other characteristics associated with modernism, like the fragmentation of society, the feelings of alienation brought about by the rapidly changing world, and the shift from emphasizing the past to being concerned with the now, authors from all over the Midwest shared a common point of view. The concerns of modernism involved many of the same concerns that took precedence in writing from the Midwest. Authors like Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and McAlmon may have left their region behind, but they never quite let go of their regional ties, despite the influence of new literary forms and ideas.

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HEMINGWAY'S MIDWEST: THE INTERIOR LANDSCAPE

JAMES SEATON

Though Ernest Hemingway was born and grew up in Oak Park, Illinois, and although the family's vacations in Michigan provide the locale for some of his most famous stories, it seems odd to think of Hemingway as a Midwestern writer. When Hemingway's fiction is set in France, Italy or Spain, local or national traditions are an important part of the social landscape. In Africa or in Cuba, characters are viewed against the background of the local traditions. Hemingway's Midwestern stories, however, evoke the spirit of place only by omission. Hemingway does not celebrate the strengths of the pioneer heritage like Willa Cather, nor does he denounce the American small town like Sinclair Lewis. Neither Jake Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises* nor Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms* defines himself in opposition to his Midwestern origins. Despite Hemingway's interest in realistic dialogue, he does not attempt to capture the slang of a particular Midwestern locale as did Ring Lardner—although he does attempt to evoke the rhythms of the Spanish language in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

In Europe and above all in Spain, characters like Jake Barnes and Robert Jordan can find traces of a medieval Catholic world in which words like "honor," "sacrifice," and "crusade" once had meaning. The ethos of Catholicism provides a context for the Cuban fisherman Santiago's exploit in *The Old Man and the Sea*. Italy's Abruzzi mountain region, where a priest is respected, seems to offer Frederic Henry a refuge from chaos. In the Midwest of Hemingway's fiction no such traditions survive. Instead of the ritual and heritage of Catholicism, there is the sentimentality of Christian Science and the ignorance of Protestant fundamentalism. Age does not bring wisdom in the

Midwest, and thus there are no teachers to pass on the wisdom of the past to the young. Lacking the order which only tradition, especially religious tradition, can impose, Hemingway's Midwest is essentially chaotic, a civilian analogue to the world of war.

For Hemingway the only Midwestern myth is the myth of innocence, of sex without guilt, personified in Trudy, the Indian girl who was not afraid to "make plenty baby, what the hell" and who "did first what no one has ever done better" ("Fathers and Sons" 158, 160). The myth of a pastoral innocence to be found among the Indians and small towns of the Midwest could only be satirized, not celebrated, in *The Torrents of Spring*. But Hemingway could not be sustained by that myth; his work does not affirm the Emersonian faith that sustains what Alfred Kazin called "the American procession." Hemingway instead is one of the great naysayers; his work is infused from the beginning with a cosmic pessimism analogous to that expressed in Mark Twain's later works.

In Hemingway's Midwest the dominant religion is narrow, ignorant and above all inimical to manhood. Emersonian ignorance is transmogrified into Mrs. Adams's Christian Science, which prompts her to deny the need for male courage by denying the reality of conflict: "Dear, I don't think, I really don't think that any one would really do a thing like that . . . I can't really believe that any one would do a thing of that sort intentionally" ("The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife" 26). Harold Krebs's mother asks him to pray with her after her tears have reduced him to a small child, assenting to her wishes with "I know, Mummy . . . I'll try and be a good boy for you" ("Soldier's Home" 76). But if women use religion as a means of control, men themselves accept its puritanical message of repression. Nick Adams's father, Dr. Adams, once "summed up the whole matter by stating that masturbation produced blindness, insanity and death, while a man who went with prostitutes would contract hideous venereal diseases and that the thing to do was to keep your hands off of people" ("Fathers and Sons" 154).

Although Nick does not take his father's advice, a sixteen-year old in Kansas City draws the logical conclusion and dies after cutting off his penis to stop "the way I get, the way I can't stop getting" ("God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" 33). Although the Midwestern milieu is dominated by Protestantism, the milieu also affects Hemingway's presentation of other religions. In *The Sun Also Rises* Jake Barnes regrets that "I was such a rotten Catholic" but believes that "anyway

it was a grand religion" (97); only the appearance of seven carloads of Catholic pilgrims from Dayton, Ohio, who monopolize the food on the train, throws doubt on that affirmation: "'It's enough to make a man join the Klan,' Bill said" (87-8). While Catholicism loses its dignity in the Midwest, Judaism, surprisingly, gains respect. In "God Rest You Merry, Gentlemen" Doc Fischer, taunted by the young and foolish Dr. Wilcox—"*Our* Savior? Ain't you a Jew?" (35)—reveals a level of skill and human understanding far superior to that of the younger man, as well as a deeper religious sensibility. He counsels the sixteen-year old who wants to be castrated "'If you are religious, remember that what you complain of is no sinful state but the means of consummating a sacrament'" (34).

The exception that proves the rule, Doc Fischer, is the only unflawed tutor figure in Hemingway's Midwest—and he has no students who will listen. On the other hand, in Italy, in Spain and in France—throughout the Catholic world—age can confer wisdom. Hemingway's wise old men have learned to utilize the rituals their societies have fostered as a means of maintaining a tenuous personal order. Count Greffi of *A Farewell to Arms* renounces any claim to wisdom and also tells Frederic Henry that he "had expected to become more devout as I grow older but somehow I haven't . . . It is a great pity" (263). Nevertheless, he speaks with authority, echoing the young priest and making explicit one of the central themes of the novel when he tells Frederic Henry that lack of doctrine is not equivalent to lack of faith: "Then too you are in love. Do not forget that it is a religious feeling" (263). Count Greffi has spent a long lifetime "in the diplomatic service of both Austria and Italy . . ." He has "beautiful manners" and "played a smoothly fluent game of billiards" (254). The Count has mastered the social forms just as he has mastered billiards, without believing in the larger meaning of either. Such mastery has provided the Count with a means of living in the world with the detachment that makes personal honesty and therefore wisdom possible. He is free to confront the chaos of the world without living chaotically himself.

The old waiter of "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" does not have the wealth or social position of Count Greffi, but like the Count he can admit that "nada" is the underlying reality without succumbing to the nihilism such an admission would seem to encourage. The old waiter can do his job carefully and well, thereby creating an island of order. Although the patience and resignation of the old man are not

"explained" by the Spanish character—after all, the younger, hurrying waiter is Spanish, too—it is worth noting that no such waiter nor any counterpart is found in Hemingway's Midwest. The juxtaposition of "A Clean, Well-Lighted Place" next to "The Light of the World" in *Winner Take Nothing* suggests that readers are meant to contrast the light which the Spanish café—not a bar or bodega, insists the old man—provides with the "light" that shines in the bar or railroad station in the Midwestern story. Nick and Tom are in search of adventure and initiation into the realities of the adult world, but the contradictory stories of the two whores, the hostility of the barkeeper and the advances of the homosexual cook leave them not enlightened but bewildered. This Midwestern world is not so much evil or wicked as it is strange, confusing, inexplicable. There seem to be no rituals, no code of manners that would make communication possible and knowledge attainable.

Nick Adams's father, Dr. Adams, can teach his son about "fishing and shooting," but he is "very nervous" and "sentimental." If he is "sound" on fishing and hunting, "he was unsound on sex," and "after he was fifteen" Nick "had shared nothing" ("Fathers and Sons" 159) with his father. Nick's father does not grow old gracefully; instead, he "shot himself, oddly enough," as another Hemingway son, Mr. Harris, says about his own father ("Homage to Switzerland" 87). Dr. Adams's mastery of hunting and fishing have not been enough to keep unsprung the "trap he had helped only a little to set" ("Fathers and Sons" 152-3).

Hemingway's Midwest has not evolved the traditions within whose context fragments of order could be created to which individuals might cling. Itself untouched by war, the disorder of Hemingway's Midwest provides an ominous analogue to the chaos of real war. In "The Battler" Nick meets a black man and a white man walking along the railroad tracks. The white man is Ad Francis, a "former champion fighter" (58) watched over by Bugs, the black man, who speaks with exaggerated politeness and who hits Ad Francis from behind with a blackjack when Francis suddenly challenges Nick. He does this often, says Bug. Ad Francis gets crazy, in part because the papers once accused him of marrying his sister. Bugs says, "Of course they wasn't brother and sister no more than a rabbit," but he also says the woman "[l] ooked enough like him to be twins" (61), so one wonders if she might have been his sister after all. It's all very confusing to Nick and to the reader. Confusion and vio-

lence go together in "The Battlers" and also in "The Killers," where a number of confusing details point to the larger disorder embodied in the hired killers. Joseph DeFalco lists some of them:

> The place where the initial action occurs is known as "Henry's Lunch-room," but it belongs to a man named George; it is not really a lunch-room but a converted barroom; the clock on the wall runs twenty minutes fast . . . In the rooming house Nick mistakes a woman named Mrs. Bell for Mrs. Hirsch, the owner (64). Confusion and violence likewise go hand in hand in chapter eight of *In Our Time* when a policeman shoots two Hungarians, discounting his partner's fears by declaring, 'They're crooks, aint they? . . . They're wops, aint they? . . . I can tell wops a mile off' (79).

Hemingway's implicit linking of Midwestern life and the world of war becomes clearer when one looks at the work of a more traditional regionalist, Willa Cather. In *One of Ours* Willa Cather presents a hero who does what none of Hemingway's protagonists ever do: Claude Wheeler goes to war as a way of escaping from Midwestern small town life. For Claude Wheeler, the army and World War I are everything life on the farm is not. Farming is nurturing and dull, while war is exciting but destructive. In Nebraska, Claude's most important emotional relationships are with women: his mother, the old servant Mahailey, Mrs. Erlich near the State University, Gladys Farmer, the schoolteacher whom he should have married and Enid, whom he does marry. Only in the army can Claude live in a male world and learn "the mastery of man" (452). Although Claude dies in battle, he has been liberated from the self-enclosed, stultifying world of Frankfort, Nebraska, into a larger world of politics, ideas, and culture as well as violence.

In *The Torrents of Spring* Hemingway interrupts the narrative, such as it is, to interject an attack on *One of Ours*:

> Nobody had any damn business to write about it, though, that didn't at least know about it from hearsay. Literature has too strong an effect on people's minds. Like this American writer Willa Cather, who wrote a book about the war where all the last part of it was taken from the action in the "Birth of a Nation," and ex-servicemen worte to her from all over America to tell her how much they liked it. (105)

The striking difference between Cather and Hemingway is not so much in the realism of their writing about war but in their presentation of the relations between Midwestern life and war. For Cather

Midwestern life is essentially domestic and maternal in orientation; its tutelary spirit is the illiterate servant Mahailey for whom "God is directly overhead, not so very far above the kitchen stove" (459). War, on the other hand, is waged over large political and cultural issues that Mahailey could never understand but for which Claude Wheeler dies willingly.

For Hemingway, on the other hand, war, even world war, is not a different realm from that of everyday Midwestern life but rather a more violent, final and overwhelming version of the same forces. This vision is already dramatized in the vignettes and short stories that make up *In Our Time*. Vignettes of international violence do not follow the short stories of life in Michigan, as though Nick were moving from a pastoral world to a world of violence; instead, the vignettes are juxtaposed with the short stories, implying that there is a rough equivalence between the obvious violence of the vignettes and the muted threats in the short stories. Nick Adams does not discover the contingency of things only when he is wounded. Since he was five years old, since "Indian Camp," Nick has seen how close death is to birth, sexuality to violence, emotional sympathy to self-destruction. War and the war wound simply dramatize what is already present though obscured in the woods and small towns of Michigan, along the railroad to Chicago and in the hospital and prison of Kansas City.

Hemingway's Midwest lacks the mediations which older cultures have devised to restrain and channel human conflicts and to facilitate the difficulties of human communication. Because Hemingway's stature as a writer derives not from his affirmation of victory but from his willingness to confront the inevitability of defeat, his Midwestern stories are some of his greatest, and they demonstrate his most characteristic style. His Midwestern stories evoke the spirit of place not by the addition of local color but by its omission. Hemingway's Midwestern heritage manifests itself in works set outside the Midwest as well, not by geographical references but by a quality of emotion. Hemingway's assumption of a burden of guilt that no ritual can expiate, which renders the world fundamentally out of joint, is derived not from a war wound but from the experiences of his early life in the Midwest. It is the motive force of all his writing: "If he wrote it he could get rid of it. He had gotten rid of many things by writing them," thinks Nick Adams in "Fathers and Sons" (154).

Sometimes that anger and guilt is translated into a view of the

cosmos, as when in *A Farewell to Arms,* Fredric Henry speculates on the biological trap sprung on Catherine Barkley, a different version of the trap Nick Adams's father "had helped only a little to set": "And this was the price you paid for sleeping together. This was the end of the trap. This was what people got for loving each other. . . . You never got away with anything" (320). Sometimes it emerges as raw guilt, as intense and as personal and as total in its self-condemnation as the sense of sin felt by the sixteen-year old who mutilates himself. In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" Harry is condescending about poor Julian, who is wrecked by his discovery that the rich are not after all "a special glamorous race" (23). Julian, of course, was originally Scott Fitzgerald, and Hemingway's contempt for Fitzgerald's confessions in *The Crack-Up* essays is well known. But in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" Hemingway subjects himself to a self-examination more damning and more searching than anything Fitzgerald ever published. Harry, like Fitzgerald, has been destroyed by association with the rich, but in Harry's case—and in Hemingway's—the cause is not an issue of mere belief about a class but the much more personal, more shameful question of living off a rich woman's money:

> This rich bitch, this kindly caretaker and destroyer of his talent. Nonsense. He had destroyed his talent himself. Why should he blame this woman because she kept him well? . . . It was strange, too, wasn't it, that when he fell in love with another woman, that woman should always have more money than the last one? (11)

This unappeasable guilt, this anguished self-doubt over sexuality and manhood, is what generates the interior landscape of Hemingway's Midwest.

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BECOMING WHITE: RACE AND ETHNICITY IN *THE GREAT GATSBY*

JOHN ROHRKEMPER

In 1924 the Congress enacted and President Coolidge signed the most restrictive immigration law in decades, the law that most scholars agree ended the great period of immigration to the United States that had begun in the 1840s. By the time the Johnson-Reed Act became operative in the summer of 1924, F. Scott Fitzgerald was well into the composition of *The Great Gatsby*. The debates engendered by the immigration bill and the more widespread tenor of the national debate on immigration, race, and ethnicity found their way into his novel. Though *The Great Gatsby* has often been considered for its examination of class and geographic tensions, the novel also addresses in important ways issues at the forefront of the public mind in the mid-twenties: issues of race and ethnicity, including the often tortured, and certainly tortuous analyses of precisely who, besides those of Northern European stock, could claim the whiteness required for full partnership in American life.

The importance of establishing whiteness was crucial because when the first Congress of the United States enacted the new nation's first naturalization act in 1790 it held

> that all free white persons who, have, or shall migrate into the United States, and shall give satisfactory proof, before a magistrate, by oath, that they intend to reside therein, and shall take an oath of allegiance, and shall have resided in the United States for a whole year, shall be entitled to the rights of citizenship.

In considering the act, the Congress debated every clause of it *except* the racial provision. It seemed self-evident: to be American was to be white.

From the very beginning, it was a stigma to be black in America, and the Constitution had powerfully codified that stigma. With the Naturalization Act of 1790, however, it became crucial for all immigrant groups to establish not just that they weren't black, but that they were, in fact, white. That turned out to be more problematic than might be evident today. In fact, groups that were once called Celts, Slavs, Hebrews, Iberics, and Saracens in discussions of immigration and naturalization, were considered racial rather than merely ethnic groups throughout much of United States history. These groups had to "negotiate" their whiteness, a process that for most groups only concluded in the twentieth century. Such negotiations contained inherent tensions: between a supposedly unimpeachably white, Anglo-Saxon racial establishment and each of these immigrant groups, but also between these arriving "races" and African Americans.

These issues of racial identity were hardly settled by the 1920s. In fact the basic provisions of the 1790 naturalization act stayed in effect until 1952 (Lopez 1). And *The Great Gatsby* alludes directly to one of the more incendiary items in the national debate over these issues. Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color against White World Supremacy*, published in 1920, becomes, in *The Great Gatsby*, *The Rise of the Coloured Empires* "by this man, Goddard," according to Tom Buchanan (17). In changing Stoddard's name to Goddard, Fitzgerald also perhaps alludes to one of the era's leading eugenicists, H. H. Goddard. But it is Stoddard's tome that Fitzgerald seems to have most in mind in this passage. Stoddard had argued against the emerging myth of the melting pot. He wrote:

> Our country, originally settled almost exclusively by the Nordics, was toward the close of the nineteenth century invaded by hordes of immigrant Alpines and Mediterraneans, not to mention Asiatic elements like Levantines and Jews. As a result, the Nordic native American has been crowded out with amazing rapidity by the swarming, prolific aliens, and after two short generations he has in many of our urban areas become almost extinct . . . . The melting pot may mix, but does not melt. Each race-type, formed ages ago . . . is a stubbornly persistent entity. Each type possesses a special set of characteristics, not merely the physical characters visible to the naked eye, but moral, intellectual, and spiritual characters as well. (quoted in Jacobson 96-97)

Tom's reference to "this man Goddard" comes on narrator Nick Carraway's first visit to the Buchanans' East Egg mansion since coming East. The conversation among Nick, Tom, Daisy, and Jordan Baker is a picture of polite one-upsmanship based largely on money, social class, and geography. Nick, only recently arrived from the presumably less sophisticated Midwest, also lives in a small cottage in the less prestigious West Egg. When Tom meets him at his Georgian colonial mansion that is "more elaborate" than Nick imagined, he is the picture of Anglo Saxon landed aristocracy, dressed in riding clothes. Nick is "annoyed" that Tom seems to score points in claiming not to know the name of his employer in the bond market. But Nick recoups his dignity later when he jokes to Daisy about his rusticity while offering the readers of his narrative an example of his own oenophilic sophistication. He says: "'You make me feel uncivilized, Daisy,' I confessed on my second glass of corky but rather impressive claret. 'Can't we talk about crops or something.'" He then claims that he "meant nothing in particular by this remark," but of course he did: he was claiming his own right to banter among these rich old friends whom he "scarcely knew at all" (17). He notes, however, that, seemingly inexplicably, this comment moved Tom to change the subject—to race. Actually Tom's segue to race is not really inexplicable for he seems to understand intuitively the relationship between race and class: the way the changing ethnic or what he would call racial makeup of America is as much a threat to his status and security as any class-based conflict would be:

> "Civilization's going to pieces," broke out Tom violently. "I've gotten to be a terrible pessimist about things. Have you read 'The Rise of the Coloured Empires,' [sic] by this man Goddard."
> "Why no," I answered, rather surprised by his tone.
> "Well, it's a fine book and everybody ought to read it. The idea is if we don't look out the white race will be—will be utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff. It's all been proved . . . . This fellow has worked out the whole thing. It's up to us who are the dominant race to watch out or these races will have control of things . . . The idea is that we're Nordics. I am and you are and you are and—" After an infinitesimal hesitation he included Daisy with a slight nod and she winked at me again,— "and we've produced all the things that go to make civilization—oh, science and art and all that. Do you see?" (17-18)

Nick's comment on this outburst, while meant about Tom specifically, might be taken to refer in the larger sense to a presumptively white, Anglo-Saxon American establishment contemplating the effects of eight decades of steady immigration. He says of Tom that "there was something pathetic in his concentration as if his complacency, more acute than of old, was not enough to him any more" (18).

Neither Tom nor Stoddard/Goddard had only African Americans in mind, of course, when they contemplated a tide of color overwhelming the white race. In the midst of Tom's gloss on "The Rise of the Coloured Empires," Daisy and Jordan poke fun at Tom's earnestness and, at one point Jordan jokingly suggests to Tom that "you ought to live in California" (18), presumably suggesting that the Asian and Latin American immigration into that state would make Tom's head spin. And, in fact, Tom's seemingly enigmatic hesitation for a moment at Daisy as he counts in those who are certainly white could be because while "Buchanan" and "Baker" and "Carraway" are to Tom safely Anglo-Saxon, "Daisy Fay" might be Celtic and thus racially suspect. This kind of racialized thinking had long been prevalent in American thought. The great wave of Irish immigration, beginning in the 1840s, was accompanied with racist stereotypes of these Celtic people. Typically represented as simian in anti-Irish political cartoons, these and other physical illustrations of the Irish immigrants often suggested a swarthiness that doesn't jibe with the way most twenty-first-century Americans think of a typical Irish appearance. The same kinds of racialized stereotypes were common for the Germans who, with the Irish, immigrated in great numbers in the first wave of nineteenth-century immigration. The racialization of European immigrants intensified as the patterns of immigration moved south and east.

But such ideas were not nineteenth-century inventions. The so-called "science" of race really began in the eighteenth century. Benjamin Franklin, in his *Observations Concerning the Increase in Mankind*, contemplated the ways in which Pennsylvania was changing as the result of an earlier German immigration to the colony. He wrote:

> Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of *Aliens*, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them, and will never adopt our Language or Customs, any more than they can acquire our complexion? (quoted in Morgan 77)

Note that Franklin is addressing not merely differences in language and custom but also specifically race. We, perhaps, find it strange that Franklin would note significant differences between the complexions of those of English and German stock, but Edmund S. Morgan, in his recent biography of Franklin, notes that in Franklin's racialized view:

> Most of the world was peopled by men and women of darker skin than the English: Africa by blacks, Asia and America (before the English came) by the "tawny" colored. Even most Europeans were "generally of what we call a swarthy Complexion," including most Germans, except for the Saxons from whom the English were descended. (Morgan 77)

By the first decades of the twentieth century, Franklin's vague ideas about what constituted race hadn't really dissipated. If anything, they had been given greater currency by the apparently scientific nature of race study. Titles like John L. Brandt's *Anglo-Saxon Supremacy; or, Race Contributions to Civilization* (1915), Madison Grant's, *The Passing of the Great Race; or, The Racial Basis of European History* (1916), C. B. Davenport's "The Effects of Race Intermingling" (1917), and Clinton Stoddard Burr's *America's Race Heritage* (1922) sound an increasing din of eugenic nativism, clamoring to shut the door to potential immigrants and sounding the warning alarm about those already arrived, particularly recently, especially those swarthier arrivals: Jews, Italians, Portuguese, and the like. A moment ago I said the racialists' ideas had an *apparently* scientific nature. In fact, the science was often bad, atrocious, examples of the ways science can be hideously warped by ideology. Too often it was as bad as the pseudo-science slavery apologists had used a century earlier or that racist extremists were to employ less than a generation later in seeking final solutions to racial diversity.

The ideas these "scientists" bandied about then make us cringe now. For instance in his 1914 book, *The Old World and the New: The Significance of the Past and Present Immigration to the American People*, Edward Alsworth Ross argues that recent immigrants show a disproportionate tendency to mental illness, crime, and other moral degeneracy, based on their inferior race standing (Joshi 523-525). Charles W. Gould, in his tremendously influential book, *America: A Family Matter* (1922), suggests that the racial family of America is imperiled:

> The teachings of science, the records of history, the warnings of common sense, our own bitter present experience, cry out unto us. There is no ground on which utterly alien people [Filipinos, Russians, Poles], alien in race, in language, in customs, mature men, mature women, settled in their foreign ways should be admitted to our citizenship. There is no line of reasoning on which such procedure can be justified. It is monstrous. (quoted in Joshi 541)

And in a 1923 essay about the effects of immigration on our intellectual and cultural purity entitled "Shall We Maintain Washington's Ideal of Americanism?" Henry Fairfield Osborn sounds the racial alarm:

> In the face of the increasing tide of Oriental and decadent European influence in [our arts] we witness with alarm in all the smaller as well as larger social centers in America the decline of the original American standards of life, of conduct, of Sabbath observance, of the marriage relation. The entire control of the "movie" industry and the larger part of the control of the stage industry in the United States are now in the hands of people of near or remote Oriental origin. Ridiculing religion, modesty and chastity, substituting European for American ideals of love and marriage . . . the original American standards are all insidiously tending toward moral decadence . . . . In our large cities . . . the original American element has lost control and the alien or foreign-born element is in absolute power. (quoted in Joshi 546)

Now, it's important to keep in mind that these ideas were not the rantings of a rabid fringe, or merely the province of some obscure academic debating societies. Such discussions of race, ethnicity, and immigration policy were an important part of the intellectual temperature of the first decades of the century. These works sold well and were published by some of the leading publishing houses of the time. In fact, two of the works I have cited, Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* and Charles W. Gould's *America: A Family Matter*, were published by Fitzgerald's house, Scribner's. And it was in *The Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* that C. B. Davenport warned of "The Effects of Race Intermingling." Here's one more example that suggests the popularity of such ideas. The following is an excerpt from an article published in 1921 entitled "Whose Country is This?":

> We might avoid this danger [of alien sedition] were we insistent that the immigrant, before he leaves foreign soil, is temperamentally keyed for our national background. There are racial considerations too grave to be brushed aside for any sentimental reasons. Biological law tells us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides. Quality of mind and body suggests that observance of ethnic law is as great a necessity to a nation as immigration law. (quoted in Joshi 535)

The author of this article was Vice President Calvin Coolidge; it appeared in that obscure journal entitled *Good Housekeeping*.

Well, what does all this have to do with *The Great Gatsby*, aside from echoing the racist rant of one of its characters? Maybe it has a lot to do with the character who gives his name to the novel. Two provocative studies of the issue of racial and ethnic negotiation of the terms of whiteness, the historian Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (1998) and the literary historian Walter Benn Michaels's *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism* (1995) share an interesting assumption about Gatsby—that he is Jewish, that Jimmie Gatz's name change to Jay Gatsby is not merely an attempt to acquire a more romantic sounding name, but an example of a common practice in American assimilation: name change to obscure ethnic origins. Neither Jacobson nor Michaels offers any evidence for this assumption, and I could find no other critic of the novel that even addressed the issue. Nevertheless, their assumption is intriguing.

I don't need to document in any detail here the rampant anti-Semitism of the American 1920s. Jacobson discusses the Jews as one of the last European ethnic groups to be assured of its whiteness in American eyes, and then only after we had seen the horrors of Buchenwald and Auschwitz. The literature of the era proclaims the ease of the anti-Semitic joke, comment, characterization. We need think no further than Hemingway's portrayal—through his narrator Jake Barnes—of Robert Cohn in *The Sun Also Rises*, or, for that matter, of the gambler Meyer Wolfsheim in *The Great Gatsby*. Wolfsheim, he of the cufflinks made of human teeth; Wolfsheim, "a flat-nosed Jew" according to Nick, "with two fine growths of hair which luxuriated in either nostril." It was "a tragic nose" that, presumably unlike an Anglo-Saxon nose, could "flash indignantly." If we don't assume Gatsby's Jewishness, then the portrayal of

Wolfsheim seems to be so much cheap, anti-Semitic play, but if we think of Gatsby as the Jew trying hard to assimilate, then Wolfsheim becomes not a joke, but a warning: this is how the self-assuredly white America looks on an unassimilated Jew. And this will be Gatsby's fate if he can't pull off his transformation into what Nick calls "his Platonic conception of himself" (104).

But let's pause for a moment. Fitzgerald offers little evidence that he intended Gatsby to be Jewish. Gatz is a German name, perhaps a German Jewish name; perhaps not. A search of genealogical web sites locates most Gatzes in Prussia, or of Prussian background. There are variations of the name, Goetze is probably the most common. A search of a German dictionary doesn't reveal the word "gatz," but does render the word *götze*, meaning, interestingly, "false idol": a demonized Jewish Anti-Christ of certain fervid Christian imaginations, perhaps. Still, Gatsby, as a young James Gatz, had attended a Lutheran college for a year, and a Lutheran minister presides at his funeral. What are we to make of all this? Fitzgerald's great editor at Scribner's, Maxwell Perkins, in his highly laudatory appraisal of the manuscript of *The Great Gatsby*, nevertheless notes to Fitzgerald that he was troubled somewhat by a certain vagueness in the portrayal of Gatsby. Perkins felt that "the reader's eyes can never quite focus on him, his outlines are dim" (quoted in Bruccoli 140). I think most readers today take that vagueness as part of the appealing mystery of the character. We, like Nick and his contemporaries in the novel, must work to puzzle out the meaning of this enigma. And perhaps the uncertainty of Gatsby's ethnic origins is an important part of this mystery.

For if Jews in the '20s were a group under particular scrutiny and even suspicion, other immigrant groups historically had been as well. The Irish of Fitzgerald's paternal ancestry had been portrayed as simians, after all, and Franklin worried about those ruddy-skinned Germans who were so changing the racial makeup of his white Pennsylvania. As I and others have argued elsewhere, Fitzgerald tells a tale very much of his specific time, but, ultimately, he intends to evoke a deep historical past.[1] Perhaps the best way to suggest the ways various ethnic groups in American life have been racialized and suspected of not really being white, hence, not being truly American, was through an ethnically ambiguous James Gatz. To be a German Jew in the 1920s was a lot like being *any* German a generation or two earlier: it was to be considered an outsider, to be racially suspect, perhaps not quite white, not quite American.

In the climactic seventh chapter of the novel, with all the principals gathered in a steamy Manhattan hotel, Gatsby finally confronts Tom with his love for Daisy. He is comfortably certain that Daisy never loved Tom and will now leave her husband for him. Tom erupts and when Daisy tells him to calm down and have a little self-control, he explodes:

> "Self control!" repeated Tom incredulously. "I suppose the latest thing is to sit back and let Mr. Nobody from Nowhere make love to your wife. Well, if that's the idea you can count me out . . . . Nowadays people begin by sneering at family life and family institutions and next day they'll throw everything overboard and have intermarriage between black and white."
>
> Flushed with his impassioned gibberish [Nick tells us] he saw himself standing alone on the last barrier of civilization.
>
> "We're all white here," murmured Jordan. (137)

Well, maybe. Maybe at least one person in the room doesn't think so. And possibly one person in the room worries at some level that Tom might be right, or at least that there are enough Toms in the world to make the truth irrelevant. And maybe Nick is wrong when he tells us that Tom imagines himself standing alone as a bulwark of civilization. Perhaps Tom imagines "this man Goddard" standing with him. And perhaps Goddard would find it apt, if futile, that, when Tom's mistress, Myrtle, is killed, Tom would send, as his surrogate, Myrtle's husband, Wilson, to murder Gatsby. Wilson, such a "Nordic" sounding name and yet such a "spiritless," "anemic" man as he is described in the novel: Wilson, one of those fading and already crumbling men who inhabit the Valley of Ashes, the novel's image of a debased Eden, an image of America's decline from "the fresh green breast of the new world" that "flowered once for Dutch sailors' eyes" (189). There are many possible reasons for that decline, but in the racialized view of Tom's America of the 1920s, or maybe we should just say in the racialized view of America, period, it's always easy to look around and find someone with a hint of an accent, or an oddly spelled name, or, maybe, just maybe, a slightly tawnier complexion, and in that person find the source of all our ills.

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NOTE

[1]See John Rohrkemper's "The Allusive Past Historical Perspective in *The Great Gatsby*. *College Literature* 12 (Spring 1985): 153-62.

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MERGING THE NOVEL AND THE EPIC: UNDERSTANDING MORALITY IN DREISER'S *SISTER CARRIE*

CATHERINE KALISH

"Is the form of Sister Carrie *interesting enough to challenge analysis and interpretation? I think so; for nothing about the novel is more important, even culturally and historically, than its invention of a new way of telling a new American story—a new form for new content" (Trachtenberg 88).*

In "Who Narrates? Dreiser's Presence in *Sister Carrie*," Alan Trachtenberg notes that the form that Theodore Dreiser presents in *Sister Carrie* seems new and complex—something worth considering independently. For Trachtenberg, the narrative voice is the focus of Dreiser's "new form for a new content." This essay will argue that narrative voice is part of a larger formal experiment. The "new content" that Dreiser forwards in *Sister Carrie* is particularly "American"; however, the form that he uses is different from other American texts. Although the content that Dreiser is writing about is new, the format of Dreiser's text is not entirely unique. Rather, he creates a new form of text by blending the genres of novel and epic. This combination yields a new hybrid genre—one that is both powerful and unique to America—the American epic. Theodore Dreiser's text, *Sister Carrie*, follows the conventions of an American epic; furthermore, understanding *Sister Carrie* as an epic significantly changes the way that the text is read. Carrie Meeber emerges as a heroic figure, the focus of the text is no longer the economic rise and fall of characters, and Dreiser prophesies a moral collapse for America.

Before exploring the consequences of *Sister Carrie*'s status as an American epic, it is essential to understand how the novel allows for

incorporation of the epic tradition. The relationship between the novel and other genres is complex and allows for mutability and change. In his text, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Mikhail Bakhtin discusses the ability of the novel to develop and change. He writes, "The novel is the sole genre that continues to develop, that is as yet uncompleted" (3). Bakhtin presents the novel as something flexible and changing. This characteristic of the novel is what allows the genre to incorporate, restructure, and even parody other genres (Bakhtin 5). The epic, on the other hand, is unlike the novel—while the novel is "uncompleted," the epic is fixed. The epic does not have the same flexibility as the novel; its characteristics have been often repeated and are deeply ingrained. In his text, *The American Epic: Transforming a Genre, 1770-1860*, John McWilliams introduces the way that these two genres become combined. He writes, "Just as Virgil and Milton had contributed to the epic tradition only by transforming it, so an epic for the New World had to become something other than a Homeric, Virgilian, or Miltonic poem" (2). There was a time that the epic was not considered a fixed genre—the changes that an author like Milton made in his epic poetry did a great deal to influence the epic tradition. However, these changes are subtle when contrasted with the way in which the genre changes for the "New World." The only way that the epic will survive in the New World is if it is combined with the novel. As Bakhtin points out, this is possible due to the elasticity or flexibility of the novel that allows for the integration of other genres. McWilliams goes on to indicate the type of changes that the epic must face if it is to survive as a genre in America. He states, "As ideas of heroic behavior changed, so did the form of the epic poem" (6). Ideas of heroic behavior are not the only change that the epic must accommodate. The new American epic sees changes in morals and values, heroic characteristics, and even in continents (from Europe to America) as well.

Before explaining how *Sister Carrie* works as an epic, it is important to clarify the hazards that exist in labeling fiction. In "Carrie's Library: Reading the Boundaries Between Popular and Serious Fiction," M.H. Dunlop warns the reader against the pitfalls of labeling fiction by genre. Although Dunlop is writing about the fiction that exists within the text, it is nonetheless a danger that is worth addressing. Dunlop writes,

> At every level of the search, terminology is a problem. During the last two decades critics and literary historians have attempted to define the boundaries between literary strata; the terms employed in the effort constitute the boundaries drawn but often do so without illuminating them. (201)

The purpose of this paper is not merely to look at how Dreiser's text fits within the epic conventions, although it is an important step in interpretation. Rather, the purpose is to examine how understanding Dreiser's text within the conventions of the American epic influences the way that one understands *Sister Carrie*.

There are some less significant characteristics of the epic that *Sister Carrie* embodies that are worth noting. The way that these epic characteristics are presented in *Sister Carrie* is quite different than the way that they manifest themselves in the traditional epic. The differences between the manifestations of these minor characteristics reveal a great deal about the society that Dreiser is representing. One of the features that is characteristic of most epics is the use of catalogues (Abrams 78). Epic poets, such as Homer, Virgil, the author of *Beowulf*, and Milton, usually included catalogues of battles or important people—this was mainly to ensure fame or immortality. Dreiser includes a catalogue of names as well. One way that Dreiser catalogues names is by recording those that are painted on signs. One example of this occurs when Carrie and Hurstwood are traveling via the train to Detroit. Dreiser writes, "In one place he looked out of the window and saw a great sign on some long factory or other which read 'George B. Murdoch'" (288). Rather than naming heroic characters that fought in battle, the names that Dreiser records in *Sister Carrie* are those of manufacturers or retailers. Clearly Dreiser is "immortalizing" those businessmen who influence the economy. This is not the only type of person that Dreiser privileges by including them in catalogues. When Dreiser is writing about the social construction of New York, he states, "Literature and art had its kings in the persons of Howells, Z. G. A. Ward, John LaFarge. Such figures as Edison, Dana, Conklin, John Kelly ruled in their respective spheres" (304). It is interesting that both writers and artists are compared with kings and rulers. It is a sort of self-reflexive moment for Dreiser, who is emphasizing the importance of writers and artists in the "New World." Dreiser includes another type of cataloguing—he catalogues goods. An example of this is the way that he lists the trinkets belonging to Mrs. Vance that Carrie envies. Dreiser writes, "She [Mrs. Vance] seemed to have so many dainty little things which Carrie had not. There were trinkets of gold, an elegant green leather purse, set with her initials, a fancy handkerchief exceedingly rich in design, and the like" (322). By cataloguing these objects, Dreiser is elevating these mundane trinkets to the same status as warriors, royalty, or battleships. Dreiser introduces irony to his American epic as he presents a world where these trinkets are treated in the same way as are great writers. Many of the objects and people that Dreiser is elevating by cataloguing them in his epic seem insignificant when compared to the items that are catalogued in traditional epics. However, this seems to be an accurate representation of the values that are emerging in Dreiser's pessimistic view of America in the 1900s.

Most traditional epics contain "epic epithets" or "kennings" (Abrams 78). These appear in *Sister Carrie* as well. These epithets are descriptions that the author will use in place of a character's name. For example, Drouet is often referred to as "the drummer." "Here [Drouet] was a type of the traveling canvasser for a manufacturing house—a class which at that time was first being dubbed, by the slang of the day, 'drummers'" (5). Dreiser uses the term "drummer" and Drouet's name interchangeably. This is not the only example of this type of epithet that he uses. At the beginning of the text, Dreiser says of Carrie, "a half-equipped little knight she was" (4). It is interesting that Dreiser chooses to describe Carrie as "half-equipped"; it seems to forecast her "half-agency" in the text that is represented by her willing journey to Chicago and her forced journey to New York where she has no part in the decision to leave. Furthermore, by referring to Carrie as a "knight," it is possible to interpret her role in the text as a heroic one. Although these epithets are mostly stylistic, Dreiser is also presenting the reader with a more individualized understanding of the role that these characters are fulfilling within their society.

Finally, one of the most interesting characteristics of the traditional epic is the use of "epic machinery" (Abrams 77). In most epics, the gods are interested in the outcome of the epic quest and will do their best to aid or inhibit the hero. Throughout *Sister Carrie,* strange unknown voices emerge that urge characters to act in a particular way. One example of this is in the scene where Hurstwood is contemplating stealing the resort's money. The machinery appears:

"'The safe is open,' said a voice. 'There is just the least little crack in it. The lock has not been sprung'" (Dreiser 268). The voice that emerges in this scene is distinct. It is not Hurstwood's own mental voice—Dreiser is careful to point out when a character is having an internal dialogue with himself or herself. Later in this scene, "When the money was in his hand, the lock clicked. It had sprung. Did he do it? He grabbed at the knob and pulled vigorously. It had closed" (Dreiser 271). Evidently, Hurstwood is surprised that "the lock clicked." One can imagine Hurstwood holding on to money; although it is not as clear as the voice, this may be a manifestation of the "epic machinery" as well.

One of the reasons that the epic was no longer a popular form of literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is that the advent of the novel allowed for a closer relationship between the reader and the text. The traditional construction of the epic hero in an earlier and different world, or, the epic past, creates a distancing between the reader and the text (Bakhtin 18). Furthermore, the traditional "epic verse," or elevated language, creates a distance between the reader and the text as well (Lukács 57). When the world of the epic becomes comic and the distance between the reader and the text lessens, the genre begins to fall apart. In fact, Bakhtin writes, "It is precisely laughter that destroys the epic" (23). However, by merging the epic and the novel, it is possible to allow for an epic that takes place with less epic distance. Bakhtin explains this idea in his text: "It is possible, of course, to conceive even 'my time' as heroic, epic time, when it is seen as historically significant; one can distance it, look at it as if from afar . . . one can relate to the past in a familiar way . . ." (14). In *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser manages to present his subject with a degree of epic distance despite the fact that the time he is writing about is recent and the language that he is using is not elevated or in verse form. Dreiser's epic distance is a product of his presentation and his subject is historically significant.

Dreiser had clear goals about what he wanted to achieve in writing *Sister Carrie*. In the same way that the traditional epic has the goal of defining the history of a tribe or a nation (Abrams 76), Dreiser aimed to define a period of history as well. In the introduction to his edited text, *New Essays on Sister Carrie*, Donald Pizer writes about how this makes Dreiser's text different. He claims, "A distinctive characteristic of works of this kind is their centrality in efforts to define the nature of modern thought and expression" (1). Both the

traditional epic and *Sister Carrie* focus on presenting an image of an important time in history. Although he is not using elevated language, the way that Dreiser presents his text is directly connected to the content. Bakhtin explains how this works: "Epic language is not separable from its subject" (17). The times that authors such as Homer, Virgil, and Milton are writing about are generally glorified; this is why the language is often celebratory or elevated. However, Dreiser is not writing about a period in history that ought to be celebrated. In response to contemporary criticism of his language and style, Dreiser said the following:

> Here is a book that is close to life. It is intended not as a piece of literary craftsmanship, but as a picture of conditions done as simply and effectively as the English language will permit. To set up and criticize me for saying "vest" instead of waistcoat, to talk about my splitting the infinitive and using vulgar commonplaces here and there, when the tragedy of a man's life is being depicted, is silly. (quoted in Pizer 13)

Although the language that Dreiser uses does not create distance between the reader and text, it is fitting for the topic that he is discussing. Though Dreiser writes that "the tragedy of a man's life is being depicted," I will argue that the text is not simply about "a man," but about humanity in general. In fact, Dreiser's text presents both men and women as essential in forming the tragedy.

As Alan Trachtenberg acknowledged, the "new content" of *Sister Carrie* demands a "new form." One of the most surprising ways that Dreiser changes the form of his epic is by creating a new type of hero. Because the hero in the epic is traditionally male, it is easy to see why *Sister Carrie* has been overlooked as an American epic. In their text, *Female Heroes*, Carol Pearson and Katherine Pope explain this phenomenon. They claim, "The hero is almost always assumed to be white and upper class as well [as male]" (4). It is thus easy to let the female hero go unnoticed. In the introduction to his text, John McWilliams expresses his certainty that women are typically not constructed as epic heroes. He writes (in reference to himself), "Nor is this book's middle-aged male author so wholly resistant to change that he would have excluded American epic literature by or about women had he found it" (10). It is notable that McWilliams, after writing an entire text on American epics, does not believe that he has found an American epic with a woman hero or author. In fact, Carrie

Meeber stands out as a powerful heroic figure; in most ways she fits the traditional conventions of an epic hero.

Although the hero of Dreiser's epic is a female, her role is fairly traditional in many ways. Georg Lukács writes about the role of the epic hero in his text, *The Theory of the Novel.* He writes, "the epic hero is, strictly speaking, never an individual. It is traditionally thought that one of the essential characteristics of the epic is the fact that its theme is not a personal destiny but the destiny of a community" (66). Dreiser does not present Carrie as a woman with a strong personality. In fact, she can be viewed as "any woman." One interesting manifestation of Carrie's role as a representative of her community, rather than as an individual, is the way that Dreiser assigns her a variety of names. In the first paragraph of the text, Dreiser introduces the young character as "Caroline Meeber." Soon, the reader finds out that she is actually referred to by her family as "Sister Carrie." Carrie is given the nickname Cad when she is in a relationship with Drouet. After traveling to Chicago and then to New York, she is associated with the names, Meeber, Drouet, Madenda, Hurstwood, Murdoch, and Wheeler. The reason that Carrie is so easily associated with all these names is because she does not have a concrete identity. In fact, Bakhtin goes on to state, "In the epic, characters are bounded, preformed, individualized by their various situations and destinies, not by varying 'truths'" (35). In fact, there is not a "truth" about Carrie—throughout the text she is presented as a malleable character. Not only is her identity by name easily changed; Carrie goes through a variety of "stations" as well—from that of a worker in a shoe factory, to a housewife, and then to a famous actress. Her final "position" as an actress is quite telling. Rather than defining herself as a person, Carrie's career is designed to showcase her ability to become other people. Dreiser has constructed an "epic hero" who is merely a representation of the society in which she lives.

Although Carrie is similar to the traditional epic hero in many ways, there are some significant differences that are worth noting. The way that Carrie proceeds through the text is different from that of a traditional male hero. Pearson and Pope write about the way that women act differently when placed in the role of the hero: "An exploration of the heroic journeys of women . . . makes clear that the archetypal hero masters the world by understanding it, not by dominating, controlling or owning the world or other people" (Pearson 5). Because the female hero does not "master" or "conquer" in order to

gain control of her world, learning how to negotiate within her world is much more important. One way that Carrie "learns" to negotiate her world is by appropriating movements, gestures, and looks that other women embody. Carrie focuses on imitating women who hold a degree of power or control:

> What Drouet said about the girl's grace, as she tripped out of an evening accompanied by her mother, caused Carrie to perceive the nature and value of those little modish ways which women adopt when they would presume to be something. She looked in the mirror and pursed up her lips, accompanying it with a little toss of the head as she had seen the railroad treasurer's daughter do. She caught up her skirts with an easy swing, for had not Drouet remarked that in her and several others, and Carrie was naturally imitative. (Dreiser 104)

The "little modish ways" that Carrie is practicing in the mirror clearly have a degree of value in the world that Dreiser is representing. Carrie's ability to discern the importance of these gestures, along with her "talent" of imitation, is the way that she will progress throughout her "journey." Furthermore, the knowledge of these seemingly insignificant gestures is what allows for her success in the theatre during the last several chapters of the text.

The journey itself is one of the most important components of the epic. Traditionally, the hero bravely embarks on a quest that is designed to test his or her abilities. Carrie's journey through the United States provides a showcase for the knowledge that she has gained throughout the text. In fact, according to Pearson and Pope, the outcome of the journey is similar for both the male and the female. They explain, "as with the male, the journey offers the female hero the opportunity to develop qualities such as courage, skill, and independence, which would atrophy in a protected environment" (Pearson 8). The fact that Carrie must travel from the country to the city and then again to New York certainly helps develop the qualities that Pearson and Pope mention. What is different about Carrie's journey is the way in which she embarks on it. At the beginning of the text, it is Carrie who decides that she would like to leave Wisconsin to live in Chicago. Dreiser presents her as somewhat familiar with the city when he writes, "since infancy her ears had been full of its fame" (3). Furthermore, Carrie is not bound to her journey—she can turn back. Carrie knows that "there was always the next station where one might descend and return" (3). However, she

does not have the same agency in her travels to New York; after manipulating Carrie to board the train, Hurstwood purchases the tickets to Detroit without her knowledge (Dreiser 274). Carrie's second forced journey to New York is certainly a quest designed to test her newly acquired abilities.

In conventional critical discourse, the epic presents a representation of a period in history during which the fate of a nation is dependent upon a hero. The "fate" of that nation is often understood initially in the text through a sort of an "epic theme," or "epic question" (Abrams 79). At the beginning of *Sister Carrie*, Dreiser's narrator starts by stating, "When a girl leaves home at eighteen, she does one of two things. Either she falls into saving hands and becomes better, or she rapidly assumes the cosmopolitan standard of virtue and becomes worse" (3-4). This statement is meant to guide the reader throughout the text—it is the "epic theme." By using the terms, "saving hands," as contrasted with "cosmopolitan virtue," Dreiser is highlighting the importance of morality in his fictional world. Because Dreiser begins with this statement, the reader is left to determine whether or not Carrie has fallen into "saving hands" or if she has "assumed the cosmopolitan standard of virtue." Furthermore, Dreiser presents the New World that Carrie enters as an amoral place. Because she is a representative of the people in the New World, her "fall into saving hands" would signify that not only is she virtuous and moral, but the remainder of the world will be saved as well. However, the converse of this is that if Carrie is unable to become a better person, the New World will remain amoral and will not be saved.

By understanding *Sister Carrie* as an epic, the emphasis shifts from the economic changes that occur to the moral fall that Dreiser prophesies for America. Alan Trachtenberg sums up the interpretations that most critics forward when writing about *Sister Carrie*: "Discussions of form in *Sister Carrie* have rarely ventured beyond the rise-and-fall pattern which dominates the New York half of the narrative" (89). In fact, if these discussions don't focus on the economic changes in the text, the majority of articles about *Sister Carrie* focus on related topics such as gender and station. Paul A. Orlov presents a more progressive reading of *Sister Carrie* in his essay, "On Language and the Quest for Self-Fulfillment." In this essay, he explores the relationships that characters have with each other and how they are influenced by factors such as economics, the city, and

beauty. While this reading is interesting, its treatment of form is superficial and ignores many of the great literary techniques that Dreiser employs in order to highlight more subtle themes.

Understanding Dreiser's novel as an epic changes the value of the themes that emerge from the text. One similar characteristic in both novels and epics is the tendency for the author to use the text as a starting point for the author to either predict or prophesy about the future. Bakhtin explains this in *The Dialogic Imagination*:

> Prophecy is characteristic for the epic, prediction for the novel. Epic prophecy is realized wholly within the limits of the absolute past . . . . The novel might wish to prophesize facts, to predict and influence the real future, the future of the author and his readers. (31)

Clearly, the answer to the epic question with which Dreiser begins his text is what he will prophesy about in the end. One of the final scenes in the text is the moment, within the absolute past, that determines the future. In this scene, Carrie and Lola are discussing charity while the poor and bedraggled Hurstwood is falling in the distance. Dreiser writes:

> "Oh, dear," said Carrie, with whom the sufferings of father Goriot were still keen. "That's all you think of. Aren't you sorry for the people who haven't got anything tonight?"
>
> "Of course I am," said Lola, "but what can I do? I haven't got anything."
>
> Carrie smiled.
>
> "You wouldn't care if you had," she returned...
>
> "Look at that man over there," laughed Lola, who had caught sight of someone falling down. "How sheepish men look when they fall, don't they?"
>
> "We'll have to take a coach tonight," answered Carrie absently. (495)

It is an eerie moment when Carrie states that Lola wouldn't care for people if she had money to give them. Clearly, Carrie is projecting her own ideology onto Lola. Carrie has become a successful woman and she no longer cares about the welfare of others. Now that Carrie has an abundance of money and no longer cares about the future of others, she has the authority to instruct Lola on the matter. Lola, who clearly is not financially stable in the same way as is Carrie, can take notice of Hurstwood when he falls; however, Carrie's response is both selfish and "absent." This is particularly significant because she is the hero of the text. Pearson and Pope explain that "The hero's

achievement, in short, is to affirm life" (5). Carrie is doing nothing of the sort in this scene—in fact, she is presenting the New World as cold and uncaring. Richard Lehan describes both the text and its heroine perfectly in his essay, "*Sister Carrie*: The City, the Self, and the Modes of Narrative Discourse" when he writes, "unlike the novels of comic realism, *Sister Carrie* has no moral center" (67). Carrie doesn't have a sense of morals; this lack is significant because she is the heroic figure who is meant to determine the fate of the New World. James Livingston identifies this dilemma in his article, "*Sister Carrie*'s Absent Causes": "As Dreiser tells the story, Carrie becomes the 'new woman' of the twentieth century" (240). The "new woman" that Dreiser presents is one who has the ability to excel in the "New World"; however, she is lacking the values and morals that are essential for a "saved world."

By understanding the way that the novel is able to merge with the epic, it is possible to interpret Theodore Dreiser's text, *Sister Carrie* as an American epic. Understanding Dreiser's text as an American epic significantly changes the way that the novel might be interpreted. Different sections of the novel, such as the epic theme that Dreiser presents at the beginning of the text, are highlighted as more important. Furthermore, rather that being a novel about economics in the New World, it becomes a text that prophesies the moral collapse of the United States. In this way, the novel becomes protest literature. Dreiser is able to draw upon the consciousness of the people who are reading the novel; by recognizing the problem that he is presenting, Dreiser's readers become complicit in its continuation.

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WINESBURG, OHIO: BEYOND THE REVOLT FROM THE VILLAGE

ABIGAIL TILLEY

Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio* has been historically placed in "the revolt from the village" movement of the 1920s. Many initial reviewers identified with *Winesburg* and commended Anderson for his realistic, yet sympathetic description of life in the American small town.

Carl Van Doren introduced the literary concept of "the revolt from the village" in his article, "Contemporary American Novelists,"published in *The Nation* in 1921, labeling it "the newest style in American fiction" (407). According to Van Doren, Edgar Lee Masters instigated the "revolt" in 1915 with his *Spoon River Anthology*, and in turn, elicited "a [small] number of deliberate imitations" (408). Among these Van Doren includes Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*, E.W. Howe's *The Anthology of Another Town*, Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*, Zona Gale's *Miss Lulu Bett*, Edith Wharton's *The Age of Innocence*, Mary Borden's *The Romantic Woman*, Floyd Dell's *Moon-Calf*, and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise* (408-412). In Van Doren's judgment, these proponents of the "revolt" sought to dispel the reverential conception of the unspoiled nature of American small-town life by infiltrating its deceptive façade. By way of various genres and styles, these authors dared to expose the American public to the vices of the village: hypocrisy, sexual perversion, apathy, dullness, and oppressive social convention.

Anthony Channell Hilfer subsequently pursued the idea in his 1969 publication, *The Revolt from the Village, 1915-1930*. Though Hilfer acknowledges the validity of Van Doren's classification, he also attempts to clarify the misunderstandings that had since tended

to surround the "revolt." After noticing the hesitation among critics to relegate any author they favored to "the revolt from the village" mob, Hilfer assures the critics that the revolt "should not be conceived too literally"—that the "revolt from the village" authors did not attack the village itself, but the unrealistic ideology of the village that Americans commonly adhered to (4).

Hilfer traces the veneration of the village back to the writing of three authors that spanned a 158-year time period (8-17). Oliver Goldsmith's poem of 1770, *The Deserted Village*, presents "Sweet Auburn" as a nostalgic respite from the unsatisfying life of the city: peaceful, innocent, and encircled with simple joys. Sarah Orne Jewett, in *The Country of the Pointed Firs* (1896), portrays her fictional Dunnet's Landing as a secure place where she could recuperate from the intensity of the city and put her shaken identity back together again. In his play, *Our Town*, Thornton Wilder depicts the pleasantly undisturbed, nonthreatening life of Grover's Corners, whose characters live in the safety of the past and its platitudes. According to Hilfer, this glorification of the small town ultimately found its resting place in the Midwestern community through the work of Meredith Nicholson, Hamlin Garland, Booth Tarkington, and Zona Gale (17). Hilfer is careful to admit, however, that even these MidAmerican authors shift inconclusively in their presentation of the village throughout their own work (17-24).

Theodore Dreiser became a forerunner in the movement by openly acknowledging the contradiction between the attraction of small-town Indiana and its degradation (Hilfer 24). Dreiser also led the way in the movement by approaching the subject of sex candidly and bringing authentic emotion to the village, which, according to Hilfer, ultimately set the stage for the work of Masters and Anderson and allowed authors to begin to approach the untouchable village with the literary devices of satire, tragedy, and comedy (27).

Upon my own first reading of *Winesburg, Ohio*, I instinctively sensed a contradiction between Van Doren's description of the general tone of "the revolt from the village movement" and Anderson's sympathetic examination of the inhabitants of Winesburg. As I progressed in my study of *Winesburg, Ohio*, I began to question whether the "revolt from the village" classification might be a burden that serves to hinder readers from discerning Anderson's intended purpose and meaning. Eighty-three years of *Winesburg* scholarship have not exhausted the insights of the book, and more recent critics have

objected to the "revolt from the village" label. In David D. Anderson's 1967 study of Sherwood Anderson, *An Introduction and Interpretation*, he clarifies, "This generality ("revolting from the village") has endured in spite of the fact that it is far from what Anderson had intended or accomplished" (37). Stephen Enniss, in his "The Implied Community of *Winesburg, Ohio*," states that the classification of *Winesburg* as a part of "the revolt from the village" movement was "an action from which the stories have never completely recovered" (51). These objections seem to endorse further examination of the question: Should *Winesburg, Ohio* be classified as a revolt-from-the-village novel?

In order to arrive at an accurate conclusion to the question of *Winesburg's* relationship with this movement, it is necessary to examine critically the reasoning of those who would include it. A genuine concern should be the overuse of association with the "revolt from the village" movement. An exasperated David D. Anderson opposes the movement's inclusiveness:

> So attractive was this critical view to many who either had fled the Midwest, as had Van Doren, or had never known it, that "the revolt from the village" became the most widespread and most widely accepted literary metaphor of the Midwest. So pervasive was this view by the middle of the decade of the twenties that in his study of that period, published in 1955, the late Frederick Hoffman called it a "metaphor of abuse." Both Van Doren's and Hoffman's interpretations have been so widely and uncritically accepted that they prevail even yet, unfortunately among people who should know better. (*Critical Essays* 1)

Anderson furthermore implies that critics such as Van Doren may have themselves anticipated the "need" for a realistic exhibition of the American village and may have inappropriately adopted Sherwood Anderson, along with other "revolt" authors, as crusaders for their own purposes (*Critical Essays* 7). Anderson goes on to reveal that:

> . . . [f]rom the beginning of [Sherwood] Anderson's literary career, and certainly by the time of *Winesburg, Ohio*'s critical reception, critics delighted in reading into Anderson many of the same hostilities and prejudices that they held against what they saw, rightly or wrongly, as a repressive and hostile American society, and Anderson, with his comments about industrialism, sexual repression, Puritanism, and materialism, seemed to be emerging as a spokesman against these anti-individual values and for a new liberation. Consequently, it was natural and perhaps inevitable that Van Doren and others saw *Winesburg* as a denunciation of village manners and mores, indeed a 'revolt from the village.' (*Critical Essays* 7)

As the "revolt" label appears to be applied out of mere deference to tradition, there remains an obvious need for an established set of criteria to prevent an uncritical hurling of works such as *Winesburg* onto the "revolt" bandwagon. Satisfactory criteria of this type are difficult to establish in light of H.L. Mencken's observation that the movement was an incohesive conglomeration of the individual responses of certain writers to what they knew to be untrue about village life (Hilfer 29). Carl Van Doren also acknowledges that "revolt" writers following Edgar Lee Masters "utilized his method with a difference" (408). This clarification makes for a more necessary and intriguing study, for Sherwood Anderson's "response" to corruption in the village was indeed different from that of his contemporaries, especially of Edgar Lee Masters, the author with whom Anderson is most closely associated.

By simply comparing Masters and Anderson, we immediately encounter contrasting attitudes. Although *Spoon River* and *Winesburg, Ohio* are inevitably compared, Sherwood Anderson himself acknowledged a great difference between the motivations of the two authors: "I get the notion fixed in my mind that [Masters'] successes have been founded on hatred" (Hilfer 147). Hilfer echoes the prevalent idea that Masters and Anderson approach their characters with essentially opposite attitudes by expressing that Masters's life experiences had "poisoned" him and left him bitter while Anderson's experiences had made him sympathetic (142).

Should the unifying factor of the "revolt" association be based subjectively upon the attitudes of the proposed authors, or would it be more reliably based upon the authors' own statements of intention? Edgar Lee Masters himself refused to be included in the movement, avowing that "to say that I was in revolt against village life . . . is being just about as silly as you can get. . . There never was anything to this revolt from the village business. We didn't do any such thing" (Gross 5). Sinclair Lewis also denies the rebellious motivation of *Main Street* stating, "I like Carl [Van Doren], but don't like some of his theories. That's what they are, just theories," Lewis con-

tinues, "unsupported by fact. The trouble with critics is that they like to create a horse and ride it to death" (Gross 7). Sherwood Anderson was also taken off guard by what he considers a misreading of *Winesburg, Ohio*:

> I myself remember with what shock I heard people say that one of my own books, *Winesburg, Ohio,* was an exact picture of Ohio village life. The book was written in a crowded tenement district of Chicago. The hint for almost every character was taken from my fellow lodgers in a large rooming house, many of whom had never lived in a village. (Sutton 40)

While my initial objective was to determine the validity of Anderson's involvement in the "revolt," I began to formulate doubts as to whether this revolt actually took place. If the critics resolutely continued to wave the banner of the "revolt," they apparently did so at the expense of the voiced intentions of the authors. If the declared pacesetters of the "revolt from the village movement" themselves denied their involvement, why, then, has its tradition continued? Is it possible that authors such as Sherwood Anderson could have advanced the "revolt" without intention? Did the sweeping spirit of industrial change inspire the "revolt" authors to collectively, although inadvertently, turn their backs on the village and its restrictions?

My ultimate concern is not whether Sherwood Anderson did or did not, through *Winesburg, Ohio*, expose concealed truths about the way the "village half" lived, but whether the universality of meaning that Anderson sought to convey may have been eclipsed by the narrowness of the "revolt" classification. The attempt to probe critically the surface of *Winesburg* has proven to be a more legitimate and fruitful method of inquiry than the "revolt-style" approach.

Hilfer maintains that a consistent theme within "the revolt from the village" is that of the buried life, a concept introduced by Van Wyck Brooks and perfected by Sherwood Anderson in his *Winesburg, Ohio* (29). Yet the essence of the life buried within the characters of *Winesburg* only contradicts Hilfer's criteria by embodying Anderson's perspective on humanity.

The past experiences of the *Winesburg* characters have predisposed them to isolation; they have found no effectual healing of their loneliness. Like Louise Bentley, "a wall had been built up . . . between [themselves] and all the other people in the world . . . [they were] living just on the edge of some warm inner circle of life that must be quite open and understandable to others" (*Winesburg* 91; Ciancio 996). Anderson consistently elevates these lonely "grotesques" over the Winesburg "clods" who display no awareness or weakness due to their inner emotional deficiencies (Ciancio 996). If Anderson intended to reveal the scandal in the lives of these characters, it seems only logical that he would not make such a distinction. Inherent throughout Anderson's affective structure is the conviction that these characters are not to be condemned, but to be understood and pitied. Anderson's goal was not to erect more barriers of isolation by separating the people of the city and the village; on the contrary, Anderson himself expressed that he was "vain enough to think that these stories told would, in the end, have the effect of breaking down a little the curious separateness of life, these walls we build around us" (Gross 6).

A fascinating idea discussed by Monika Fludernik in her "*Winesburg, Ohio:* The Apprenticeship of George Willard" is the distinction between the old writer's book, "The Book of the Grotesque" and Sherwood Anderson's book, *"Winesburg, Ohio"* (438). While "The Book of the Grotesque" indicates that a "grotesque" is created by the adoption and application of a specific truth, Anderson informs us that this book was left unpublished (Fludernik 438; Sherwood Anderson 24). Therefore, Fludernik proposes, *Winesburg, Ohio* is "NOT a description of people's truths and their obsession with owning them, but is a description of the understandable and lovable qualities in common people such as the carpenter [of "The Book of the Grotesque]" (438). In other words, the author could have published a book on the "grotesques" and their truths, but instead chose to write another kind of book, one whose aim was to emphasize the beauty of these grotesques. Fludernik's idea in and of itself is unique, but logically conceived. If, by this idea, Fludernik has captured a true purpose for the composition of *Winesburg, Ohio*, the book is not an account of the filthy lives of small-town inhabitants, but rather an exposition of the hidden value of humanity.

This value in Anderson's eyes was not confined to small-town Midwesterners, but was universal in nature. David D. Anderson remarks in his biography of Sherwood Anderson that, with *Mid-American Chants*, Anderson's literary career took a new direction (*Introduction and Interpretation* 30). Due to the influence of the Chicago Renaissance, Sherwood Anderson began to realize that it

was entirely acceptable to write from the experiences of his own background; he ceased imitating the styles of others and began to write from a more personal perspective (*Introduction and Interpretation* 30). Though Anderson uses the small town of Winesburg to serve as the backdrop of his stories, the town remains a mere platform from which Anderson felt best qualified to stage his examples of American life (Ferres 15). The "revolt" position confuses Anderson's familiarity with small-town life with a rejection of it. While Anderson was obviously able to contribute an authoritative perspective on village reality, the "revolt" misses the purpose of Anderson's selection of a small-town setting. Stephen Enniss protests that the critical view which agrees that the grotesqueness of Winesburg can be attributed to the repressive nature of small-town life "does not do justice to the complexity of the town, nor is it in the spirit of Winesburg" (51).

A further study of Anderson's life will reflect that his true "enemies" were materialism and production, not the life of the small town. It was Anderson's own pursuit of the American Dream through business that contributed significantly to his breakdown of 1912. Through this experience, he came to the realization that the American Dream was "corrupted" by the onslaught of industrialism (D. Anderson, *Introduction and Interpretation* 37). In his response to a review of *Winesburg, Ohio*, published in the *Chicago Tribune*, Anderson admits, "whatever is wrong with the people in the book [*Winesburg*] is wrong with me" (Enniss 59). He had felt the isolation of his characters and had sensed it in "all of the men and women [he] had ever known," or in the words of the old writer, "they had [all] become grotesques" (S. Anderson 22). David D. Anderson agrees that "he was not attacking the small town or its mores; rather, he was writing about people as they might be found anywhere, and was exploring deeply and in detail individual human lives" (*Introduction and Interpretation* 37). Irving Howe summarily concludes, "Anderson's revolt was directed against something far more fundamental than the restrictions of the American village and was, for that matter, equally relevant to the city" (97).

In *Winesburg, Ohio*, Anderson deals with individuals, not communities. The unique short-story structure of the book lends itself to this type of treatment. The reader is able to see only snapshots of the *Winesburg* characters and very rarely sees them interact with the other townspeople, though their struggle with isolation is commonly

shared. When the characters do interact, it is typically under a false pretense of connection. Inarticulation condemns the *Winesburg* characters to remain in their isolation; the life within them must remain buried. Anderson's solution to this universal problem of isolation appears to be artistic expression. George Willard, then, as one who lives among the grotesques and also exhibits grotesque qualities, represents Anderson, the artist, living within American society as a part of it (Fludernik 433). Though Anderson experienced an intense period of isolation during the failure of his business and the breakdown of his family, he was able to free himself, at least partially, from the confining world of production and emancipate his imaginative vision through dedication to his writing.

Along the same lines, a key issue in the *Winesburg* aspect of "the revolt from the village" debate remains: why does George Willard leave Winesburg? Does he leave to escape the confinement of the village to experience the freedom of the city? Or, having completed his "apprenticeship" in Winesburg, does he now set out to write the story of the grotesques, a story that longs to be articulated and sympathized with, a story that would continue to be inspired by the inhabitants of the city (Fludernik 452)? Ralph Ciancio presents George Willard as "potential savior" of the grotesques; through his "artistic imagination their lives will be redeemed: though they will not be made whole and beautiful, the peculiar value of their twisted state will be recognized" (1005). George, and consequently Anderson himself are freed from their grotesqueness by the "young thing inside [them]"—the ability to express humanity's grotesqueness through art (S. Anderson 24).

Though George Willard leaves Winesburg in the book's final chapter, his mind fills with everyday memories and images of the town:

> He thought of little things—Turk Smollet wheeling boards through the main street of his town in the morning, a tall woman, beautifully gowned, who had once stayed overnight at his father's hotel, Butch Wheeler the lamplighter of Winesburg hurrying through the streets on a summer evening and holding a torch in his hand, Helen White standing by a window in the Winesburg post office and putting a stamp on an envelope. (*Winesburg* 247)

Like George Willard, Sherwood Anderson was impressed with the "little things" of his background and they became for both "but a

background on which to paint the dreams of . . . manhood" (*Winesburg* 247).

Upon this small-town canvas, *Winesburg, Ohio* became the articulation of Anderson's experience with humanity, "an affirmation of his belief in the durability of the human spirit and of the compassion that he felt was needed among men (*Introduction and Interpretation* 52). Though the grotesque features of Anderson's *Winesburg* characters cannot and should not be overlooked, I believe Anderson intended his readers to see beyond them. In my opinion, the "revolt from the village" label has served to limit readers to a far too cursory and misleading interpretation of *Winesburg, Ohio*. Those who have been willing to discard this label have begun to explore all the enduring ramifications of the truth of *Winesburg*. In the words of his introduction, Anderson readily states his objective to go "beneath the surface of lives" to experience the reality of what lies there. It is my hope that criticism of *Winesburg, Ohio* will continue to penetrate past the obscurity of the "revolt" which years of study have proven insufficient.

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NARRATIVE ART AND MODERNIST SENSIBILITY IN THE CIVIL WAR FICTION OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD

MARCIA NOE
FENDALL FULTON

> We have learned that when Grant had decided to surrender his milkfed millions to Lee's starving remnants and the rendezvous was arranged at Appomattox Court House, Lee demanded that Grant put his submission into writing. Unfortunately, Grant's pencil broke, and removing his cigar from his mouth, he turned to General Lee and said with true military courtesy: "General, I have broken my pencil; will you lend me your sword to sharpen it with?" General Lee, always ready and willing to oblige, whipped forth his sword and tendered it to General Grant.
>
> It was unfortunately just at this moment that the flashlight photographers and radio announcers got to work and the picture was erroneously given to the world that General Lee was surrendering his sword to General Grant.
>
> The credulous public immediately accepted this story. The bells that were prepared to ring triumphantly in Loudoun county were stilled while the much inferior Yankee bells in Old North Church in Boston burst forth in a false paean of triumph. To this day the legend persists, but we of the Welbourne *Journal* are able to present to the world for the first time the real TRUTH about this eighty-year-old slander that Virginia lost its single-handed war against the allied Eskimos north of the Mason and Dixon line. (*Descriptive Bibliography* 93-4).

This bogus report that F. Scott Fitzgerald persuaded the Baltimore *Sun* to dummy up as a newspaper article to send to his friends is only one of many testaments to his lifelong fascination with the Civil War, an interest that has been documented by his biographers. According to all of them, Fitzgerald's southern sympathies

were deep-rooted. His father was descended from an old Maryland family who could claim as an ancestor the War of 1812 lyricist Francis Scott Key. Andrew Turnbull, whose father was the Fitzgeralds' landlord in the 1930s, reports that Scott Fitzgerald regaled him with the Civil War tales of his father, who reputedly rode with Mosby's men and ferried Confederate spies across the river (Turnbull 5-6). An entry in his *Ledger* for January, 1902, suggests that Fitzgerald followed up his father's stories with some reading on his own: "He remembers Jack Butler, who had two or three fascinating books about the Civil War..." (156).

During his teen years, Fitzgerald's enthusiasm for the Civil War and identification with the South did not wane. In 1911, he wrote and acted in a Civil War play, *Coward*, for St. Paul's Elizabethan Dramatic Club (Turnbull 42), and in 1913 he enrolled in Princeton University, known as the Southerner's northern university. Shortly after he did a stint in the army at Camp Sheridan, near Montgomery, Alabama, during World War I, Fitzgerald married Zelda Sayre, the town belle. A few years later, in a letter to Princeton classmate John Peale Bishop, Fitzgerald painstakingly pointed out errors of fact in Bishop's Civil War novel (*Letters* 163).

Fitzgerald's interest in the Civil War did not wane as he matured. The spectre of John Wilkes Booth haunted him all his life, perhaps because an ancestor by marriage on his father's side, Mary Surratt, provided the house in which the plot to assassinate Lincoln was hatched and was hung for her pains (Turnbull 6). As a teen, Fitzgerald romanticized Lincoln's assassin, imagining in "The Room with the Green Blinds" (1911) that after he attacked Lincoln, the wounded Booth had been spirited away to a decaying mansion near Macon. In 1935, Fitzgerald listed *Our American Cousin* as one of his ten favorite plays ("My Ten Favorite Plays" 61), and in one of his last published stories, "The End of Hate," Fitzgerald imagines his protagonist unwittingly overhearing the Lincoln conspirators' final hurried meeting before the fatal event.

So perhaps it was only poetic justice that when he went to Hollywood to write for the movies, Fitzgerald was assigned to polish dialogue on the script of *Gone with the Wind* (Meyer 312). He also proposed a film script based in part on the Civil War exploits of one of his father's cousins (*A Life in Letters* 430). Fitzgerald's mistress, Sheilah Graham, reported in *Beloved Infidel* that only when Fitzgerald was told that the pickets in the fence that surrounded his

Hollywood house resembled tombstones in a Confederate graveyard was he able to find it livable (quoted in Holman 56).

For the past thirty years, literary scholars have traced the influence of Fitzgerald's obsession with the Civil War on his fiction, speculating about its significance as a matrix for theme and character. C. Hugh Holman asserts that the central image in Fitzgerald's Southern stories is that of the Southern belle; Sally Carrol Happer, Nancy Lamar and their ilk "are the embodiments of a tradition that stretched back before the Confederacy and that enchanted and hypnotized men for a century, permanent embodiments of the dream of beauty and youth and the romantic aspiration of the aggressive male" (61), themes that, regardless of geographical context, would preoccupy Fitzgerald throughout his career.

Scott Donaldson also pursues this line of inquiry. He attributes Fitzgerald's "romance with the South" largely to his relationships with his Southern wife and father. Donaldson finds that romance playing itself out in several stories that oppose the values and temperament of a young man from the North with those of a Southern belle. He points out that the most significant story of this group, "The Ice Palace," is focalized through just such a character, Sally Carrol Happer, who gains the audience's sympathy when her warm effusiveness is juxtaposed with her fiance's cold intelligence and drive. However, Donaldson sees a complexity in Fitzgerald's portrayal of this Zelda-like character, for as he continued to write about the South in his Tarleton trilogy, Fitzgerald portrayed her as increasingly self-centered, irresponsible, fickle, and artificial, as exemplified by Nancy Lamar in "The Jelly Bean" and by Ailie Calhoun in "The Last of the Belles," who reflect Fitzgerald's gradual disillusionment with the South and his beautiful Southern wife.

P. Keith Gammons also links Fitzgerald's Southern belle to the mythology of the Lost Cause, arguing that this character type becomes a medium through which the Old South is constructed as the epitome of beauty, honor, and grace (107-08). Like Donaldson, Gammons shows that Fitzgerald's disillusionment with the myth of the Lost Cause increased as his relationship with Zelda became more problematic and goes on to discuss how this disenchantment with the South became a synecdoche for the larger failure of the American Dream in *The Great Gatsby*, a novel in which a charming Southern belle is shown to be morally deficient (109).

These readings of Fitzgerald's Southern stories are quite similar to that of John Kuehl, who sees Fitzgerald's affinity for the Civil War and things Southern as seminal in his depiction of North/South polarities in "The Ice Palace" as a cultural contest between the warmth and inertia of the South and the coldness and energy of the North. This North/South conflict comprises additional binaries—masculine/feminine, mature/childish, and canine/feline—that add complexity and energy to the story (173-4). Robert Roulston also engages the dualities of Fitzgerald's fiction, arguing that for him the South is either a lovely, romantic land filled with tradition and time-tested values or a place of inertia, failure, decline, and decadence, and that both attitudes toward the South are present in *The Last Tycoon* (355-6).

But by far the most thorough analysis of Fitzgerald's fictional treatment of the South and the Civil War is that of Frederick Wegener, who, in "The 'Two Civil Wars' of F. Scott Fitzgerald," quotes from the author's letters to show that Fitzgerald himself was well aware that the Civil War was dichotomized in his mind as both a romantic and chivalric quest and as the source of great carnage and cruelty (Wegener 238). However, Wegener also argues that for Fitzgerald, the Civil War was a more complex conception than those binaries suggest:

> Complicating any attempt at such an appraisal, however, is the fact that there turn out to have been "two Civil Wars" for Fitzgerald in more ways than one, or more than one pair of Civil Wars: not only the Civil War of romance and of realism, but also the Civil War in the North and in the South, the Civil War as tragic or farcical, the Civil War in fact and in memory, and the Civil War as actuality and as represented or reconstituted in writing. (239)

Wegener traces Civil War themes, characters, plots and motifs throughout Fitzgerald's fiction to demonstrate its pervasiveness and influence on his historical awareness, experience of the writer's life, and aesthetic understanding (239).

Thus, the subject of Fitzgerald and the Civil War is rather well-trodden territory. However, the four works of short fiction that employ Civil War settings, plots, and characters have escaped extensive analysis. This oversight is somewhat understandable; two of them, "A Debt of Honor" (1910) and "The Room with the Green Blinds" (1911) are very short, simplistic tales that the teen-aged Fitzgerald published in the St. Paul Academy literary magazine *Now and Then*. In addition to these juvenilia, however, are two later stories that Fitzgerald wrote in the mid-1930s, "The Night at Chancellorsville," (1935) and "The End of Hate" (1940). While they are not among Fitzgerald's finest, when read against one another, they illuminate the ways in which Fitzgerald's narrative technique developed over the three decades of his writing career and also the ways in which his vision matured as the romantic ideals of boyhood gave way to a modernist conception of the human condition as characterized by ambiguity, disjunction, fragmentation, instability, and chaos.

"A Debt of Honor," "The Night at Chancellorsville," and "The End of Hate" consistently show Fitzgerald's interest in looking at the Civil War from the perspective of one or two protagonists whose experiences illustrate a set of ideas behind the text. In "Debt," Private Jack Sanderson exemplifies honor, courage, youthful valor, and sacrifice within a Civil War context. Fitzgerald engages in a superficial exploration of Jack's character, using action as the primary indicator of character. In "Hate," a substantially longer and more mature story than "Debt," Fitzgerald's development of several elements, including environment and dialogue, give rise to a more complex characterization of the protagonist. An interesting result of this development is the interpersonal relationships between characters, mainly Tib Dulany, a Confederate soldier, and Josie Pilgrim, a Yankee nurse. Their relationship signifies ideas behind the text, and the end product rises to an allegorical level in its symbolism of the unification of North and South. Despite the allegory or perhaps because of it, the story and characterization of the protagonists do not escape the self-imposed confines of convention. Even though "Hate" is a more complex and interesting story, Fitzgerald fails to extend himself beyond an ordinary treatment of familiar ideas, as he is able to do in "The Night at Chancellorsville." Ideas that emerge in the latter story have relevance outside the Civil War in a larger societal context where class differences never dissolve.

In "A Debt of Honor," which centers on a very green private, Jack Sanderson, who falls asleep on sentry duty but later redeems himself heroically in battle, the bulk of Jack's characterization relies on action — "one-time" events that Fitzgerald makes crucial indicators of Jack's character (Rimmon-Kenan 61). These one-time events, although indicative of Jack's character at the time they occur, do not enable a well-rounded characterization since the reader has no basis

for comparison located outside the immediate action, such as environment, dialogue, or a sense of Jack's history. We are perhaps less convinced of their significance and probability since we must take the meaning of these events at face value. The linear events of the story in themselves do provide some points of comparison. For example, Jack's failure to stay awake at his post can be compared to his prior eagerness to volunteer for the position, and the reader may assume that Jack is young and vigorous or too new to the perils of war to know better. Likewise, Jack's headlong dash into the "bullet swept clearing" and subsequent death can be compared to his inability to hold his position while on sentry duty, and the reader might see some character growth or maturation (38). The summation of Jack's character comes many weeks later with his charge against the enemy who "have possession of a small frame house" in a strategic location (37). Here Jack proves his worth and pays the debt that gives the story its name.

Through his actions, Jack is used to exemplify familiar ideas of heroism and valor in the context of war. The one-time events that advance the plot are meant by Fitzgerald to illustrate Jack's outstanding qualities, which are perhaps less outstanding because of a lack of substantial reference points, such as development of additional characters and use of dialogue. Dialogue serves only three times to give voice to Jack's character. Our introduction to Jack Sanderson is his eager offer to volunteer for sentry duty, responding "me, me" to his captain's request (36). This is one of two times that Jack speaks throughout the story. When Jack is called to see General Lee after having been saved from execution, he responds in an overly formal manner, which is meant to convey his appreciation of "a new found life": "General, the Confederate States of America shall never have cause to regret that I was not shot" (37). Jack expresses emotion exuberantly while "drawing himself up to his full height," a description of "external appearance" that joins with dialogue in this instance to denote an aspect of characterization ("Debt" 37; Rimmon-Kenan 65). The reader is provided with information about Jack's youth and social class as General Lee reviews the situation of Jack's punishment and decides that execution is too harsh a punishment for "not much of an offense" (37). Jack's style of speech can be compared to the information we are given by General Lee: Jack is young and "of good family," the only indicator of a character trait outside the action of the story (37). Despite these indicators, we never

never know if Jack's words and actions result from innate character or if they are products of the moment or the context of the story.

"Debt" does not develop a sense of environment, except as it pertains to Jack's situation. Fitzgerald relies on the reader's familiarity with the Civil War, and little description of the environment is given through which the reader can frame Jack's characterization. The pointed assertion that "it was getting dark — very dark" as Jack takes his sentry post, aids in the reader's understanding of Jack's compromised situation. This look at Jack's immediate surroundings falls short of being a "trait-connoting metonymy" because it is a temporary situation and not sustained but rather is an explanation for Jack's faltering (Rimmon-Kenan 66). Furthermore, Jack's thoughts, or internal environment, at this point in the story, can be seen to be caused or at least bolstered by the external environment. The narrator tells us that Jack "never quite knew how it came about" as he realizes that "'number six' was such a long post" (36). This insight falls short of describing Jack's character, partly because the narration maintains the distance of the third-person point of view and because it is an isolated insight that does more to explain an action and evoke sympathy than to offer a parallel or metonymy ("Debt" 36; Rimmon-Kenan 66).

Twenty-five years later, Fitzgerald returned to writing Civil War fiction after he had dealt with the war obliquely in stories such as "The Ice Palace" and "The Last of the Belles." "The End of Hate" and "The Night at Chancellorsville," where connections are discordant and unstable at best, show a more mature and complex world view than is seen in the earlier Civil War stories. The themes of honor, heroism, and courage that characterized those first stories have yielded to the ambiguity and indeterminacy typical of modernist texts. In both stories, indeterminacy is conveyed through plot: contested territory changes hands repeatedly as control vacillates between Union and Confederate forces, leaving characters bemused and scrambling to get their bearings. Also, in both stories, identity is portrayed as unstable and ambiguous in contrast to the clear-cut distinctions between Yankee and Rebel, comrade and enemy that are seen in the early Civil War stories.

"The End of Hate," finally published in *Collier*'s in 1940, a few months before Fitzgerald's death after many rejections from other magazines, once again features a Confederate protagonist, here Tib Dulany, who is heroic and brave. But in this story Fitzgerald utilizes

multiple environments not only to inform setting, but also to expand Tib's characterization through a sense of place. Setting is important in this story since Dr. Pilgrim, his sister Josie, and Tib must cover ground to arrive at various key points in the plot. Not only does setting change; it is also used to frame characterization as in the following description, which occurs when Josie and Dr. Pilgrim have been escorted to the southern Maryland farmhouse that shelters members of the "Army of Northern Virginia" who have suffered a disappointing battle against the Union's army:

> Suddenly Josie had a glimpse at the Confederacy on the vine-covered veranda. There was...a spidery man in a shabby riding coat adorned with faded stars.... Then a miscellany of officers, one on a crutch, one stripped to his undershirt with the gold star of a general pinned to a bandage on his shoulder. There was disappointment in their tired eyes. Seeing Josie, they made a single gesture: Their dozen right hands rose to their dozen hats and they bowed in her direction. (742)

This scene expands the focal point of the story for a moment and provides a larger context in which to place the protagonists. This is Fitzgerald's Confederacy — steeped in masculine tradition, quintessentially Southern and genteel, yet stripped down, shabby and bandaged. It is a conceptualization in which romanticism and realism co-exist, resulting in tragic effect, and a conceptualization that illustrates the dichotomy of the Civil War as perceived by Fitzgerald. This duality is crucial to understanding Tib. The description frames Tib and helps inform both the reader's and Josie's perception of him in a positive way.

Fitzgerald continues developing Tib's persona, layering elements that define him as poet, soldier, and displaced Southerner by providing a concept of time through a succession of events as well as through direct references to the passage of time provided by the narrator (Rimmon-Kenan 43-44). We learn that Tib had a life outside of the Civil War, one that ended four years prior to the action of the story, and one that he attempts to continue after the war. Tib's history makes him a more complex and believable character than Jack in "Debt." Because of this history or more expansive sense of who Tib is, the reader is able to attach meaning to Tib's reactions to situations that arise throughout the story. We learn, for example, that Tib wrote verse before becoming a soldier and that his desire to "write a few lines sometime to express [his] admiration" (744) of Josie is believ-

believable and leads the reader toward an understanding of his temperament, which is one that is partly at odds with being a soldier (744). This is made clearer when Tib expresses his dislike of shooting from ambush when he and another Confederate soldier, Wash, are confronted with a line of Union cavalry advancing on the farmhouse. The narrator's provision that "even after four years, Tib hated to shoot from ambush" puts the immediate situation in a larger historical context so that we see that this is not an isolated event but one that is consistent with Tib's character over a period of time (744).

Since the story also jumps forward in time, we see how Tib must integrate his past with the present. This integration proves difficult since Tib's thumbs had to be amputated after he was hung by them when captured by Union troops; therefore, he cannot use the skills of his prewar life in his post-war life. This difficulty of Tib's reflects Fitzgerald's conceptualization of the instability that characterized the immediate period following the war when Northerners and Southerners reshuffled their lives in order to move forward. Tib's postwar situation reflects a social problem: "his story was the story of men who have fought in wars . . .[Tib and others like him] were a ruined lot" (748). Tib's mutilation marks him. He cannot escape this new postwar identity. He is depressed by his status and becomes self-conscious when faced with things that contrast with his situation, such as "women in fine clothes" and the "boom-atmosphere of the Willard bar in Washington" (748). For her part, Josie comes to interrogate her identity also, as she, a Yankee, aids Tib, a Confederate soldier, who promptly falls in love with his Yankee enemy. When resurgent Union troops capture Tib and hang him by his thumbs, Josie, the Yankee, cuts him down, wondering, "Who was she now? What had she done with herself in twenty hours?" (746). Tib's immediate solution to the situation is revenge until Josie offers a more conciliatory one: "To get a fresh start one had to even things up. Spew forth in a gesture the hate and resentment that made life into a choking muddle" (748). This "choking muddle" describes the immediate postwar reality as conceptualized by Fitzgerald, a setting that speaks to a lack of balance between romanticism, union, and hope on the one hand and realism, fragmentation, and despair on the other. In this story, in which Fitzgerald expresses a measure of hopeful idealism, balance is necessary for reconciliation.

At this point in "Hate," the allegory of North and South becomes clear. Tib's and Josie's symbolic significance peaks. The most dif-

ficult part of the "test of [Tib's] ability to forget the past" comes when he sees Josie, from whom he has become estranged, after he has ridden into Washington after the war (748). For Tib, Josie is symbolic of "those old nightmare hours . . . And this had made her beauty a reminder of cruelty and pain" (748). Tib reflects on past experiences so that the past and present are juxtaposed, heightening the reader's sense of Tib's despair. Not only has Josie become symbolic of Tib's suffering, she is also indicative of a hopeful future promised to the victors of the war: "Her beauty had not gone unnoticed in Washington. She had danced at balls with young men on government pay, and now in this time of victory she should be rejoicing" (749). Josie is the embodiment of both the hope that follows victory and the devastation that follows defeat. Interestingly, Fitzgerald uses Josie's appearance to reflect the good fortune of the victorious and to contrast the devastation with which Tib wrestles. She is "more beautiful than Tib had remembered. She was a ripe grape, she was ready to fall for the shaking of a vine" (749). On the other hand, Josie's inner landscape, specifically her heartache, evokes what, at least to Fitzgerald, seems to be at stake for a deeply divided nation: "[S]he had seen the Glory of the Lord hung up by the thumbs—and then left her heart in the street in front of this house eight months ago" (749). Symbolically, Josie, like Tib, "lived between two worlds" which continue to be at odds until the past and present are reconciled at the end of the story (749).

The resolution of the story hinges on the union of Tib and Josie, a union that is made believable by the illumination of similarities in their characters that serve to undermine the polarization inherent in conflict. While we gain an understanding of Tib through dialogue, we also see the possibility of this union. At their first meeting, Josie and Tib are placed in contrast when Josie and Dr. Pilgrim arrive at a stopping point in Maryland and are greeted, to their great surprise, by Confederate soldiers. The rancorous interaction that ensues is mitigated by Tib's "polite" response to Josie's request for food and water, a "direct definition" of character provided by the narrator ("Hate" 741; Rimmon-Kenan 60). Tib's demeanor is contrasted with that of Josie, who "began...haughtily," and his companion, Wash, who is incensed at Dr. Pilgrim's insults (741).

At this first meeting, all participants are on the defensive, acutely aware of their opposing relationships. Despite this opposition, Tib displays a kind of genteel manner consistent with the earlier portrayal

of members of the Confederacy on the veranda who saluted Josie. Tib's characterization moves beyond this conventional portrayal as we begin to see more evidence that he is at odds with some aspects of being a soldier. The dialogue between Tib and Wash as they are confronted by five Federal troopers strengthens the narrator's assertion that Tib dislikes shooting from ambush, an assertion that acknowledges a negative aspect of war, the dirty business of kill or be killed. Wash's enthusiasm is juxtaposed to Tib's reluctance. When Wash says, "I'll take the two on the left," Tib responds, "Maybe we could run for it" (744). Tib is in conflict with this business, perhaps making him an even more heroic protagonist. In Tib's reluctance, we see the beginnings of a less romanticized and more multi-faceted version of the Civil War than that which is observed in "A Debt of Honor."

Tib's ambivalence verges on despair later in the story when he is faced with the realities of the postwar period. We get a sense of the despair via a brief exchange with another disenfranchised soldier, who wants to implicate Tib in the assassination plot against Lincoln. When the man, whom the narrator identifies as a spy, stops Tib in the Willard bar, Tib cuts him off, saying gruffly, "Very busy" (748). Tib's absorption "in an idea of his own," the maiming of Dr. Pilgrim's hands, parallels the assassination plot and offers another indication of what Fitzgerald sees at stake for post-Civil War America. Tib seeks to reconcile the past with the present so that he can move forward. Although the assassination plot comes to fruition, Tib's own personal revenge does not, enabling the possibility of a harmonious future in the union of Josie and Tib.

Josie and Tib start to connect in a way that blurs the North/South dichotomy early in the story while sitting in the farmhouse where Josie's brother is extracting the tooth of Prince Napoleon, an attaché to General Early's staff. As Josie relaxes, she becomes more interested in Tib, and a conversation about his uniform ensues:

> "What did my brother mean when he said you were a gorilla?"
>
> "It's '*gue*rrilla,' not '*gor*illa,'" he objected. "When a Yankee's on detached service they call him a scout, but they pretend we're only part-time soldiers, so they can hang us."
>
> "A soldier not in uniform is a spy, isn't he?"
>
> "I *am* in uniform—look at my buckle. And, believe it or not, Miss Pilgrim, I was a smart-looking trooper when I rode out of Lynchburg four years ago."

> He told her how he had been dressed that day, and Josie listened—it wasn't unlike the first volunteers leaving Youngstown, Ohio.
>
> "—with a big red sash that belonged to my mother. One of the girls stood in front of the troop and read a poem I had published."
>
> "Say the poem," Josie urged him. "I would so enjoy hearing it."
>
> Tib considered. "All I remember is: 'Lynchburg, thy guardsmen bid thy hills farewell.' I—" (743).

At this point Fitzgerald further undermines the romantic notion of war when Tib is interrupted while reciting his valedictory to Lynchburg by Prince Napoleon's scream as his tooth is extracted (743).

Tib's remarks stir Josie's memories of the "first volunteers leaving Youngstown, Ohio" (743). Josie and Tib display a similar attachment to this sort of symbolic patriotism. Josie turns to these symbols, as Tib does, when distressed: "[T]he Boys in Blue—the Union forever—Mine eyes have seen the glory" (742). This symbolism is echoed and reciprocated in Tib's recitation of his political verse, first at Josie's request and later while he is hanging from his thumbs. Where romanticism and suffering intersect in Josie and Tib, the sharply drawn parameters of North and South begin to break down. This intersection also speaks to the dichotomization of the Civil War in Fitzgerald's mind as encompassing both romantic and violent elements. Josie's and Tib's need to find or recognize indisputable commonality supplants the polarization imposed by the conflict. This commonality, which Fitzgerald terms "human interest," is lifesaving (743). It also indicates an artificiality inherent in identities imposed by the Civil War. This sentiment is reiterated when Tib turns to Josie after they have run away to ask, "What are you?" Josie replies, "Just another human being" (746).

Identity in "The End of Hate" is also problematized through a motif of disguise. Fitzgerald employs this motif to emphasize the instability of the term "guerrilla" in the dialogue between Tim and Josie. While Tib maintains that the Yankees call their spies "scouts" but consider Confederate soldiers performing similar tasks fair game for hanging, Josie comes back with "[a] soldier not in uniform is a spy, isn't he?" and Tib then maintains that he is, in fact, in uniform, although his belt buckle is the only part of his apparel that is Confederate Army issue (743). Tib is wearing "a planter's hat, a rag of a coat, blue pants originally issued to a Union trooper, and a cartridge belt stamped C.S.A." (741). Fitzgerald continues to develop

this motif when Tib changes into civilian clothing and obtains the papers of a Kentucky deserter before entering Washington, and when he dons gloves to hide his mutilated thumbs. In addition, Josie, a prospective Union Army nurse, is chided by her brother for dressing in finery more appropriate for "a woman of the world" (740). Neither wears clothing that accurately establishes identity, thus deconstructing the binaries of class and region that have brought about the war.

The lines of distinction between Tib and Josie, North and South are further obliterated when Josie rescues Tib and they run away. After Josie has found a doctor to treat Tib and before Tib knows that his thumbs have been amputated, they stop to rest; the setting here signifies their blurred identities:

> Before they got into the buggy, Josie turned to him suddenly and for a moment they faded into the sweet darkness, so deep that they were darker than the darkness—darker than the black trees—then so dark that when she tried to look up at him she could only look at the black waves of the universe over his shoulder and say, "Yes, I'll go with you if you want—anywhere. I love you too" (747).

The universe, a symbol of infinite possibility, a blank slate in effect, trumps socially imposed differences that serve to isolate people from one another. In the dark, when nothing is distinct or sharply delineated, Josie and Tib are freed from the constraints of social identity. They exist only in this moment, to love each other, to blend together against the backdrop of the universe, the great equalizer. This image is at the heart of what is at stake in this story. In and of itself, it is quintessential romanticism. When viewed against the backdrop of the story's context, however, its impermanence indicates that balance must be achieved between this harmony and the discordant social world.

"The Night at Chancellorsville" reflects a similarly realist and modernist sensibility. Indeterminacy figures prominently in this story where the passengers on the train never really know which side is in control. Both Union and Confederate soldiers board the train, causing confusion and alarm, as the battle shifts again and again. In the context of this chaotic battle, Fitzgerald deals with socially relevant issues of class, gender, and cultural values. This story is focalized, not through a valiant soldier, but through a prostitute named Nora who is traveling by train from Philadelphia to Virginia with a number of her co-workers to minister to Union troops. As in "The End

of Hate," the Civil War we see here is different from that of Fitzgerald's early stories. This Civil War is gritty, noisome, hard-edged, a far cry from the romantic backdrop of Jack Sanderson's heroic deeds in "A Debt of Honor." Fitzgerald gives more importance to Nora's experiences on the train than to the events of the battle occurring outside the train, using the battle as backdrop for Nora's experiences and focalizing the Civil War through Nora's unique perspective. Nora relates her experiences to a man, presumably a client, to whom she says, "You only want to talk about the war, like all you men. But if this is your idea of what a war is—" (211). Clearly, Nora has different ideas about war than those promoted by the mainstream culture. Fitzgerald sets up this contrast by juxtaposing her characterization with social norms and assumptions pertaining to the Civil War. Immediately we are tipped off that this will not be a typical war story of valor and heroism.

As in "The End of Hate," the polarizing effect of socially prescribed identities is prevalent, made evident as Fitzgerald contrasts Nora's characterization with social norms as they are represented by other characters in the story. On the surface, her view of the war is characterized by an ignorant detachment. She opens her account of events by saying that she "didn't have any notion what [she] was getting into" (211). Under the surface of this aspect of Nora's characterization is her status as "other"—Nora does not display attitudes typical of members of higher social classes, as represented by the rich women on the train or the soldiers. Her emotional remoteness from the war is one aspect of this "otherness": "After *this* ride I don't care who wins" (213). Furthermore, Nora is only involved out of necessity: "[W]e've got to eat this summer" (211). Later in the story, a collective cry of outrage reveals the indignation of the sex workers at having been dragged into a perilous situation when a soldier threatens to throw them off the train to make room for the wounded: "Hey! We didn't come down to fight in any battle!" to which the soldier replies, "It doesn't matter what you came down for—you're in a hell of a battle" (213). One effect of this distance or lack of awareness of the reality of the situation is a de-glorification of the Civil War.

The decay of the train is further evidence of this de-glorification. Fitzgerald focuses on the interior of the train, allowing himself room to play with setting by staying in one place. He gives this setting a strong sense of place so that it plays an important part in constructing the sense of the story. Nora's displeasure at these surroundings is

further evidence of her alienation from an event that seems removed or irrelevant to the daily norms of her life. Whereas Nora is "used to traveling nice," the train is "smoky and full of bugs" (211). The train's environment reflects the larger context of the war where provisions are limited. Nora has no water and no food except leftover bread and sausage. The smoky, rocking train car nauseates Nora and her colleagues. The passengers on the train are unable to see anything because of the mist outside. Other details, such as the bullet hole in the window, which is "not like when you break a glass, more like ice in cold weather, just a hole and streaks around," as well as the sound of horses galloping by and gunshots, give a fragmented sense of what is happening outside the train (214). Nora is awakened by what she first perceives to be a storm but is actually cannon fire.

While the limited sensory perception of what is happening outside the train gives a strange, detached sense of the battle, it also parallels the discord prevalent inside the train. The action that occurs there comprises personal, one-on-one interactions that emphasize the instability of identity. Officers don't look like dashing cavaliers; they are dirty, unkempt, mutilated, drunk, and obnoxious, like the one Nora meets who tells her, "Maybe I'd be more pretty for you if I hadn't lost an eye at Gaines' Mill" (212). The prostitutes are repeatedly addressed as "ladies" but treated as whores by some of the soldiers, who inform the other passengers that "[y]ou're in terrible company, but we'll be there in a few hours" (212). This crisis of identity comes to a head when one officer tries to remove the prostitutes from the train car so that it can be used for the wounded, while another opposes him, stating, "These are northern women, after all," while his antagonist retorts, "These are—" (213). This interchange suggests that, at least from one perspective, Nora is expendable because of her social status as a marginal. Her fate hangs in the balance of differing opinions about her social identity. Nora is in the middle of push and pull, her fate determined by whoever gets the upper hand but more so by how soldiers on both sides perceive her. Beginning with the story's title, which alludes to the battle in which General Stonewall Jackson was mistaken for a Union officer and fatally shot by his own men, the notion of identity is interrogated throughout the text. Indeed, as James H. Meredith notes, Fitzgerald applies "a heavy coat of modernist irony to the Civil War in order to strip away the patina of chivalric romance found in most literary representations of it" (193).

Conversely, Nora's perceptions of the other characters also inform the story's sense of problematic identities. Nora perceives and treats the soldiers differently than she does many of the other characters. She accords them a different set of standards. Nora recounts "If the trip down was slow the trip back was slower—The wounded began making so much noise, grunting and all, that we could hear it and couldn't get a decent sleep" (215). This statement indicates a perspective that is contrary to the view held that the soldiers need urgent and priority care; the reader's comfort level may be a good measure of how contrary to social standards Nora's statements are. However, in light of her relationship to the soldiers, this point of view is not anomalous. Nora sees another side of the soldiers than do the rich women who have gone to tend them. The soldiers' identities are more complicated than conventional notions are able to convey. The soldiers fulfill a duty to country but also sleep with prostitutes. To her they are "a bunch of yella-bellies" (211). Nora's attitude toward the soldiers reflects aspects of her profession. She knows soldiers in a different way than "normal" people do. Nora describes the soldiers who pop in and out of the train in terms that echo elements of her profession. She says of one soldier that "he looked pretty messy as if he'd just crawled out of bed: his coat was still unbuttoned and he kept hitching up his trousers as if he didn't have any suspenders on" (213). When two Rebel soldiers board the train, Nora says:

> One had on a old brown blouse sort of thing and one had on a blue thing—all spotted—I know I could never of let *that* man make love to me. It had spots—it was too short—anyway, it was out of style. Oh it was disgusting. I was surprised because I thought they always wore grey. They were disgusting looking and very dirty; one had a big pot of jam smeared all over his face and the other one had a big box of crackers. (214)

Her frank description jars with common understanding of wartime hardships but echoes a familiar theme of indistinct identities. The soldiers are in various states of undress, their clothing indicates not the strict delineation of Northern or Southern identities but rather a state of chaos and ambiguity. At the heart of this chaos is the human condition, which Nora brings to light with her sympathetic statement, "They were just kids under those beards, and one of them tipped his hat or cap or whatever the old thing was" (214). What matters is the flesh and blood that are subject to the chaos of social identities that

gives rise to the conflict. Nora's observation constitutes one of the rare instances in the story in which someone expresses a human interest in another person.

Nora perceives the women at the front of the car as "rich people" (212). As such, these women stand in contrast with Nora's lower-class status. The "rich women" know how to live up to their social roles in the context of war; they know how to be valuable. They go to aid the wounded in the car ahead. The sex workers either go to the next car because they want to see what is happening or because they are sick from the train ride. Nora states that "People that is sick can never seem to get much consideration from other people who happen to be well. The nurses sent them right back—as if they was dirt under their feet" (215). This statement addresses the question of who has value in society, particularly in times of crisis, and seems to illustrate the war's effect on the enforcement of social standards and the determination of a person's social value as implied by the story, which calls into question the social standards that dictate these labels. When a soldier takes the oil from all but one of the lamps in Nora's car, plunging it into darkness, we see that the wounded soldiers are given priority since they are serving the purpose of the war. The sex workers serve a purpose that is devalued by those of higher social standing, those with more power.

Nora's story focuses on her treatment by various people and her point of reference is how she has been treated in the past: "I've always been used to decent treatment—somehow when I meet a man no matter how fresh he is in the beginning, he comes to respect me in the end" (211). Nora's present situation contrasts with her past experiences. At the end of her story, Nora says, "And in the papers the next day they never said anything about how our train got attacked, or about us girls at all! Can you beat it?" (215). Perhaps this is Nora's idea of war—her daily struggle to be treated decently.

Scott Fitzgerald's Civil War stories put us in mind of the famous interchange between Nick Carraway and Jay Gatsby in which Nick says, "You can't repeat the past," and Gatsby replies, "Why, of course you can" (111). Like Gatsby, Fitzgerald approached the world with a "heightened sensitivity to the promises of life" (2); unlike Gatsby, he lived to experience the disillusionment, alienation, and dysfunction that characterize the modernist sensibility. While he wrote relatively few Civil War stories, perhaps in part because the well-paying magazines wanted tales of flappers and debutantes, his mature Civil War

fiction reflects both attitudes; as his narrative skills matured, so did his world view. For Scott Fitzgerald, the past, as Faulkner's Gavin Stevens notes, "is never dead. It's not even past" (92); he viewed himself, his life, his family, his friends, and, above all, his subject matter, through the prism of American history, which inspired him with both a sense of romantic possibility and a keen awareness of its elusiveness, a tension that animates his best work.

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