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*being a collection of essays on
the life and work of
David D. Anderson*

by members of

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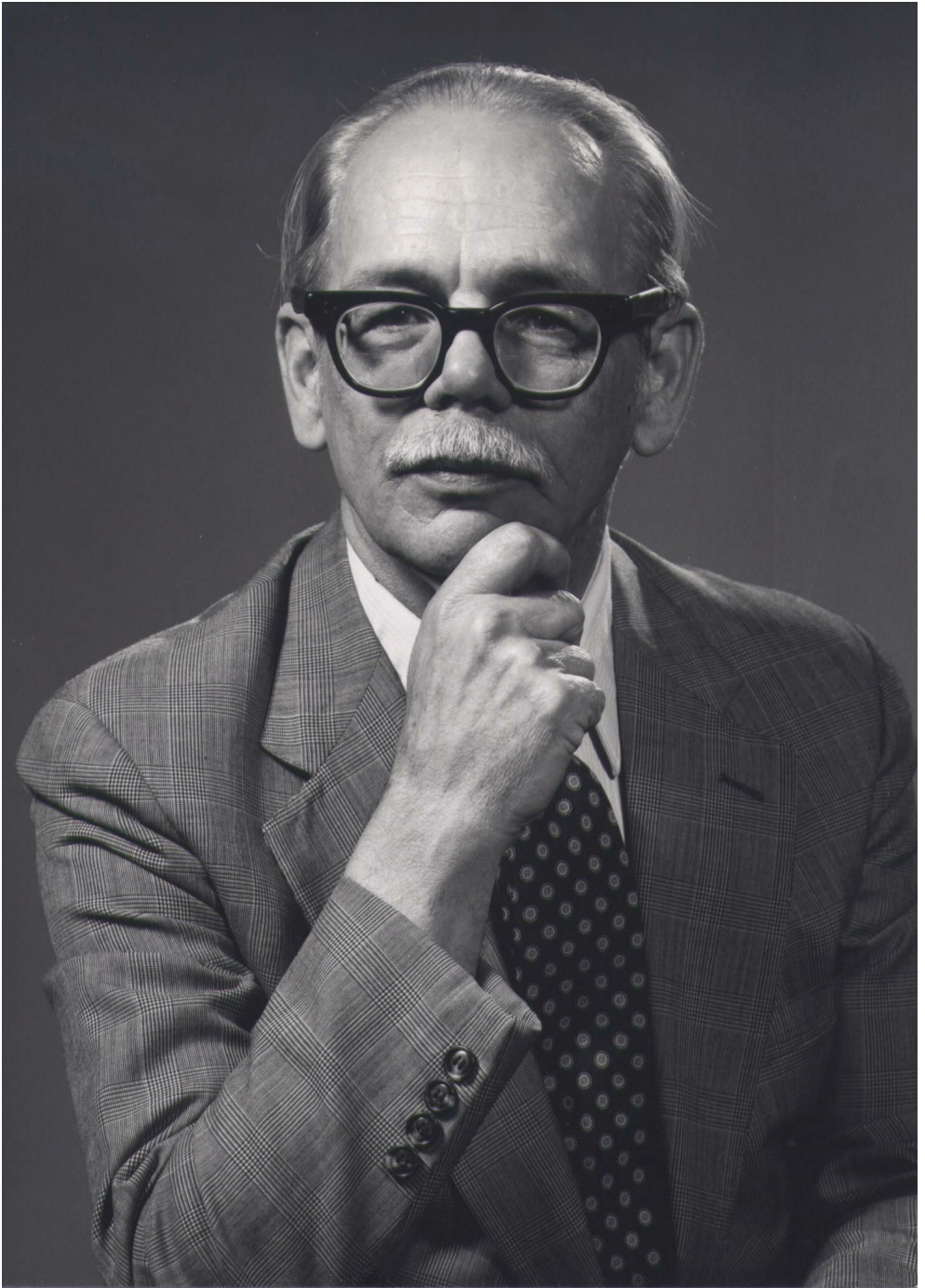
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To the memory of
David D. Anderson
Teacher, scholar, mentor, colleague, friend

PREFACE

This special issue of *Midwestern Miscellany* focuses on the influence and legacy of David D. Anderson, a founder of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature and a life-long scholar of the Midwest. As the *selected* bibliography in this issue illustrates, Dave Anderson's range as a scholar was virtually boundless. The essays and personal reminiscences printed here offer various perspectives on Dave's life and work: from his generous, encouraging personality to his indelible track record of scholarship to conjectures about his present and future influence on studies of Midwestern literature. Also reprinted here is a classic essay by Dave, "Midwestern Writers and the Myth of the Search," originally published in volume 34 of the *Georgia Review* (Spring 1980) that was later published in *Modern American Literature*, by Frederick Ungar (1983). From his personal friendships with past and present scholars to the impact of his vast body of work, Dave was a force to be reckoned with, and the contributors to this issue seem to indicate that, even since his death in 2011, his legacy to the Society and to Midwestern scholarship will remain indispensable.

CONTENTS

Preface		6
Memories of Dave Anderson	Mary DeJong Obuchowski	8
Dave and Pat's Big Adventure: Their Initiation into a Lifetime of Purposeful Academic Travel	Roger J. Bresnahan	10
Dave Anderson Remembered	Philip A. Greasley	17
Dave Anderson as Audience: An Essay on Reception Aesthetics	Ronald Primeau	23
Inventing the Midwest with David D. Anderson	Marcia Noe	28
Old-Fashioned	Robert Dunne	36
Midwestern Writers and the Myth of the Search	David D. Anderson	40
Dimensions of the Midwest: David D. Anderson's Writings on Midwestern Culture, Literature, History, and Geography: A Selected Bibliography	Robert Beasecker	54
Recent Midwestern Fiction and Poetry		67

MEMORIES OF DAVE ANDERSON

MARY DEJONG OBUCHOWSKI

If I had to choose one word to describe Dave Anderson and his wife Pat, not an easy task, I would settle on “generous.” To start with, he and his colleagues founded the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature to share their appreciation of Midwestern literature and culture and to offer the opportunity to others to make similar contributions.

There are others who can speak to this better than I can, but I can say that Dave’s own writing has been beyond impressive: scholarly books and articles of which I have never seen an actual count, along with creative prose in abundance. His contribution to the study of Midwestern literature was so strong and so influential that Gerald Nemanic, another giant in the field, dedicated his reference work, *A Bibliographical Guide to Midwestern Literature* (1981) with these words: “For David Anderson, who helped invent the Midwest.”

Most personally to me, he encouraged young people to develop interests in this literature, to give papers, and to publish them. What criticism he offered was constructive and affirmative; other members of the Society followed his example. As Marcia Noe says in her beautiful “An Appreciation” which prefaces *MidAmerica* 37, “I learned [from him] . . . how to appreciate rather than denigrate the scholarship of others.” (n.pag.). He served as a model for those of us who matured under his influence to be similarly positive and to nurture our students as he had done for us. As Marcia adds, “These days, as the university corporatizes, instruction becomes increasingly standardized, and professors are valued for the number of students they can cram into a classroom, or, worse, online courses, the lesson of Dave’s life becomes more valuable than ever: how to be the kind of teacher, scholar, editor, and colleague who is not merely respected but also loved” (n. pag.).

For the Society, Dave financed the journals and newsletter of this organization himself—and edited them and saw them through the

entire process—for many years. Many of his other contributions were financial as well, big time. He also inspired the Society's Really Big Project: the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature*. It had been a great labor, for him and for the rest of us who have been involved with it, one of his finest gifts to scholarship, and it has been a personal gift to me, too, stimulating, leading me to Midwestern authors I'd never have discovered otherwise. Finally, and also special to me, there were all of those lunches, dinners, and drinks to which he treated us, and which he supplemented with lively conversation, anecdotes about writers and adventures at conferences as well as the inevitable war stories.

The first time I met Dave and his wife Pat, who were welcoming participants to one of the early SSML meetings, I didn't know what to make of them—Dave's informal joviality, and the soft voice of Pat, who wore her hair in a '60s ponytail. This was no cutthroat MLA, with no one-upsmanship or sneering putdowns. Pat and Dave informed what was a really welcoming and friendly conference. Some of the people I met at those first meetings are still my friends. But Dave brought more than that: mischief in the form of a dirty story, a new one for each conference, to break the ice. Pat brought more, too. She contributed in many ways to the *Dictionary*, took pictures, which she would send to participants as mementos, and remembered the people who attended. They loved to shop at antique markets and used book stores, and Pat thoughtfully sent books from them to people she thought would be interested.

Pat and Dave were a pair. When we lost Pat in 2006, Dave established a children's book collection in her name. But at the same time Dave's health and his range of interests were declining, so the process of losing him was a long one. Nevertheless, his many publications, this society with its richness of spirit, the *Dictionary*, and the influence he has had on countless students and colleagues, as well as our abundance of memories, will be his generous legacy.

Central Michigan University

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DAVE AND PAT'S BIG ADVENTURE: THEIR INITIATION INTO A LIFETIME OF PURPOSEFUL ACADEMIC TRAVEL

ROGER J. BRESNAHAN

When David D. Anderson and Patricia A. Rittenhour were married in the chapel of the Army Artillery School at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1953, they were on the verge of a lifetime of extraordinary travel. Before her wedding trip, Pat had most likely never been out of Ohio. Dave's previous travels, though extensive, had been at the behest of the Navy, which he joined upon graduation from high school in 1942, and then pretty much as a roustabout in Mexico and California from the end of his service until he entered Bowling Green State University. Graduating in 1951 with a BA in Geology and English and the following year with an MA in English, Dave re-enlisted for the Korean War, this time in the Army, and was posted first to Fort Sill and later to Camp Atterbury in central Indiana where he served as paymaster. In conversation with this author a few days after his death, Dave's sister Eileen (Anderson) Perusek remarked that her brother had financed his bachelor's and master's degrees with the first GI Bill and his doctoral studies with the second. Found among the many artifacts of their travels, following Pat's death in 2006 and Dave's in 2011, was an extensive collection of 2x2 photographic slides, most arranged in files of various types, including numerous little suitcases equipped with interior file drawers. Some 1,500 slides of relatives were sent to the respective families, leaving a still formidable collection of more than fifteen thousand. Though no descriptions appear on any of the slides, all but 800 were arranged in containers with 565 place- or event-descriptions devised by Dave. The bulk of this collection now has a finding-list as a guide to the contents of each of the containers, and the beginnings of a chronological

list, preparatory to the collection being transferred to the Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections where Dave's papers are also located.

As executor of Dave's estate, in arranging the slides, I kept to the categories that Dave had originally assigned and to the arrangement within each container. Still, there was a sense of disarray, which was cleared up somewhat when a nephew revealed that upon returning from each of their trips, a slide show was arranged for friends and family. This may explain the evident randomness of the collection or why slides of like topics, places, and events appear in more than one container.

The earliest of the slides come from Dave's time in California, though many of those were probably bought rather than originally shot by Dave. Once they were married, Dave and Pat evidently traveled extensively throughout the larger Midwest, the Mid-Atlantic and New England states, New York, and Eastern Canada. The slides documenting these travels form a modest part of the collection (approximately 1,500 slides). When Dave and Pat left for Pakistan in mid-August of 1963 to take up his Fulbright Scholar award to teach American literature at the University of Karachi, the camera began to document their travels more extensively. Pat's diary, now in the possession of her niece, Susan Revello, reveals that their trip from Cleveland to San Francisco was her first air flight and that, as was the custom of a time when air travel was still a novelty, their whole family came out to the airport to see them off.

This first major trip, lasting almost a year, took them around the world. A succession of slides thoroughly documents the stages of their travel that whole year. First came the outbound trip: Cleveland to San Francisco—24 slides, and San Francisco—7. Dave never had much love for California, probably due to the hardships he endured packing ice into rail cars in Bakersfield for their run across the Mojave Desert. There are 37 slides to and in Honolulu. Whether they flew part of the journey is not documented, but at least part of this trip took place aboard the ocean liner *Lurline*. Indeed, their second trip to Honolulu, in September 1966, produced 19 slides marked "Aboard the *Lurline*," testifying to their fondness for the ship. The slide reproduced here shows Pat's evident delight in lounging on deck chairs, an activity made common in the movies of their youth but which for Dave and Pat must have seemed an unreachable luxury. The outbound trip continues with Tokyo—112 slides, Hong Kong—179, Bangkok—127, and Calcutta—20.

Arriving in Pakistan in September, the first 37 slides are of Thatta, an historic town in the Sind region some 100 kilometers from Karachi. In and around Karachi there are 127 slides taken during the Fulbright year documenting pottery, Karachi's harbor and its old bazaar, as well as the beach, the campus, and their bungalow—116. There were side trips in January of 1964 to Hyderabad, Pakistan—18 slides, in February to Bombay—60, Jaipur—45, Agra—35, and Delhi—50, and deeper into Pakistan's interior with an extended trip into the Punjab region of northern Pakistan, including Lahore, Taxila, Peshawar, and Rawalpindi, at that time the national capital—37, and into the Khyber Pass to Kabul in Afghanistan—63, and in April returning to Lahore, capital of the Punjab—38 slides, and Haleji Lake near Thatta, a well-known bird sanctuary—24.

At the conclusion of the Fulbright year, Dave and Pat continued westward to complete their circumnavigation of the globe, arriving in Beirut at the end of May 1964—26 slides, then in June the ancient city of Baalbek in Lebanon's Beqaa Valley (Heliopolis in Roman times)—13, Istanbul—49, and Athens—72. On Dave's fortieth birthday, June 8, 1964, they visited the site of the Oracle at Delphi—33, then on to Rome—74, and Anzio, where twenty years before Dave had landed with the Allied Amphibious Forces. Showing his wife this deeply meaningful spot resulted in only seven slides. One can only imagine the pain. They completed their adventure with stops in Florence—39 slides, Munich—12, Zurich—25, Vienna—34, Copenhagen—46, and Paris—64.

Dave and Pat were home in the summer of 1964, but their photographic archive documents another trip to Honolulu on the good ship *Lurline* two years later, in September of 1966, and then, in 1969, trips to Montreal and London in July and a return to Pakistan and Afghanistan in September. During the Fulbright year in Karachi, Dave and Pat had learned of FILLM, *Federation Internationale des Langues et Litteratures Moderne*, a traveling conference of like-minded enthusiasts for both travel and literary culture. FILLM held its Eleventh International Congress in Islamabad in 1969, and Dave and Pat were eager to take in the sights of that recently constructed national capital city. While at the University of Karachi during their Fulbright year, they had visited Rawalpindi at least twice, and so must have been able to observe some of the construction of the adjacent Islamabad. Clearly, the motivation for this trip was to experience Pakistan once again, and they certainly did, bringing home slides

depicting places in Murree—38, Islamabad—20, Lahore—28, Peshawar and the Khyber area—6, and the Swat Valley—64, which was in that year dissolving its status as a princely state.

But evidently something other than nostalgia also took hold as Dave and Pat embraced the FILLM vision and culture. Returning to Lansing after the FILLM congress, Dave set about establishing the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature, founding it on an ethic very much like the FILLM rationale, which seeks to “. . . fully reflect the diversity of scholarly approaches within the field, including the many different kinds of interdisciplinary approach” (“About FILLM”). Dave and Pat also became regulars at the triennial FILLM congresses, as much of the slide collection demonstrates: Cambridge, England, in July 1972, plus Brussels, Paris, and Amsterdam; Sydney, Australia, in 1975, plus Tahiti, New Zealand, and Fiji; Aix-en-Provence, France, in 1978, plus Arles and Paris; Budapest in 1984, plus London, Paris, and Vienna; Guelph, Ontario, in Canada in 1987; and Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, (now Serbia) with a sojourn in Paris in 1990. In 1993, just days before they were to leave for the nineteenth congress to be held in Brasilia, Dave came down with an excruciating case of shingles, affecting especially the bottoms of his feet. Both were deeply disappointed.

The photographic record slows to a trickle throughout the '90s, ending by 1999 so it is not clear whether they were able to attend the twentieth congress in Regensburg, Germany, in 1996, where the children's literature theme there would have especially interested Pat. Their great adventure, purposeful travel related to Dave's profession as a scholar and fully embraced by Pat, began with the Fulbright year in Pakistan in the eleventh year of their fifty-three-year marriage. This collection of some 15,000 slides also documents the trips they took to the annual Modern Language Association and Midwest Modern Language Association conferences, as well as frequent appearances at Popular Culture Association and American Literature Association conferences, and numerous invited speaker opportunities. It is a commonplace that a Fulbright can be a life-altering experience, and for Dave and Pat Anderson, it was all of that and more.

Michigan State University

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Figure 1: The remaining six columns of the Roman temple of Jupiter at Baalbek in Lebanon, known as Heliopolis in ancient times.



Figure 2: Badshaha Mosque, Lahore, Pakistan. Built by the Sixth Mughal emperor 1671-73. At the time of this photograph it was the largest in the world with room for 10,000 in the prayer hall and 100,000 in the courtyard.



Figure 3: Pat Anderson enjoying steamship life aboard the *Lurline*.

DAVE ANDERSON REMEMBERED

PHILIP A. GREASLEY

David D. Anderson was a remarkable man who influenced many people. He was an early advocate of Midwestern writers and the leading scholar in the field of Midwestern literature. His writings and presentations plowed new ground while providing analytical insights and approaches for other scholars. He was a founder of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature and the editor of its publications.

This paper, however, is not about Dave Anderson's literary expertise or influence. Rather, it attempts to recognize and recount the personal impact that he has had on so many people. I will attempt to make this case by briefly presenting elements of my own experience with Dave Anderson, using them as exemplars of his supportive and mentoring relationships with many others. The specifics of my story are unique, but many will recognize in them their own similar interactions with Dave and confirm his immense personal impact on them.

I arrived at Michigan State University as a new PhD candidate in fall 1968. I had spent the prior year earning a master's degree at another university. My firm conviction was that the faculty at my earlier school were interested in spending as much time as possible writing books and as little time as possible mentoring and preparing students to enter the profession.

Arriving in East Lansing, I immersed myself in MSU's English PhD program, taking courses to prepare to pass comprehensive exams and pursue a dissertation. By late 1969, I had found a subject of interest and was encouraged to seek members for my dissertation committee. Two MSU English faculty members agreed to work with me, but I needed a third. One name kept coming to the fore: David D. Anderson.

The problem was that MSU had followed the University of Chicago model and had an English Department that worked with English majors and the Department of American Thought and Language, or ATL, which oversaw the university's freshman composition and humanities requirements. Dave was a member of ATL, not the English Department, and the two departments competed, not always civilly, for prestige and recognition. I was told that, at that time, no one from ATL had ever served on an English Department dissertation committee.

On that basis, I felt some trepidation in asking Dr. Anderson if he would be willing to serve on my committee. To my surprise, delight, and relief, he agreed immediately and enthusiastically. I wondered at the time whether I might be putting myself in jeopardy with the English Department by enlisting a committee member from the rival camp. Decades later I wondered whether Dave had jeopardized himself by agreeing, as an ALT faculty member, to serve on an English Department committee, particularly since his agreement to work with me came before SSML existed and before most of his major publications appeared. More recently, I've come to wonder whether Dave's closet anarchist's urge to face down absurdities in the hierarchy may have added to his hearty agreement to work with me. Whatever the implications to either of us, Dave agreed enthusiastically and began over forty years of unremitting assistance to and support for me. In my experience, the man did not have the word "No" in his lexicon. He sought to make the most of possibilities. Respect for those he worked with was the bedrock on which he built. I found the mentor I was seeking in David D. Anderson.

My dissertation involved the Chicago Renaissance. As I pursued that topic, Dave was a wealth of information and a man excited about the literature and the writers. He was equally interested in helping people achieve their goals. It did not matter that I was only a graduate student and a neophyte in Midwestern literature. Dave wanted to help in any way he could. In his eyes no hierarchy divided us. We were two scholars working in the same field. For more than forty years, he never stopped supporting and assisting me in every way possible—as mentor, colleague, and, later, as co-researcher on the volumes of the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature*. Dave's expansive support and assistance have never been equaled in my experience, and his kindness, enthusiasm, and desire to help have shaped my orientation toward scholarship and mentoring.

Others in SSML have felt and continue to feel the same thing about Dave. He was the draw that brought people to the Society and the glue that kept them there. His kindness, joy in scholarship, and desire to help everyone have made SSML what it is.

In late 1970 I received a draft notice. My draft board followed with a letter saying that its members believed I was a serious student and that, on that basis, they would allow me to remain in school as long as they could, but that, since I had received number three in the draft lottery, they could not go beyond a certain date without drafting me. Had they allowed me to remain in school beyond that point, I would go “free” and they would have had to draft someone with a much higher draft number—a path the draft board felt was unfair and was unwilling to take.

In April of 1971, therefore, I involuntarily withdrew from MSU and reported for induction into the Army at Fort Knox. Basic training and military service during the Vietnam War were not fun, but throughout basic training and two years of military service, Dave Anderson continued to write to me regularly. His letters were upbeat and personal. When he found new books or journal articles relevant to my dissertation, he sent them on, unasked and unpaid for by me. I’m confident that I was the only private in basic training at Fort Knox receiving academic books and articles. My drill sergeants had certainly never seen anything like it before.

After my two years as an Army draftee ended, I returned to MSU. My committee members remained ready to work with me, and Dave Anderson continued to provide massive support and assistance: pointing out books and articles I should read and connecting me with academics and others who could help me. He regularly traded on his scholarly reputation to advance my efforts and my prospects.

In mid-1974, with my dissertation perhaps two-thirds done, I received an offer to serve on the English faculty of the University of Kentucky Center at Fort Knox. I went to Dave and told him I was going to turn down the offer, that I would have joined the Army, not sought a PhD, if I had wanted to spend my career on a military base. Dave’s guidance was sweet and gentle, yet firm. “Phil,” he said, “Every place is bad in its own way. The English Department has lots of people who have completed their degrees but not gotten offers, and you’re turning offers down.” Don’t be stupid, you jerk, I felt he implied. “Take the job and work from there.” After extended discussion with my wife, I became a UK English faculty member and fin-

ished my dissertation in absentia. Dave's guidance turned out to be very wise.

After I completed my degree, Dave remained a close, supportive colleague. As just one example, when Eleanor Copenhaver Anderson (Sherwood Anderson's last wife) came to town, Dave connected her to me and had me chauffeur her around in his new Buick. At another time, he made arrangements to get me into Ripshin, (Sherwood Anderson's Troutdale, Virginia, home), with its counterposed gestures to mid-American working-class roots and craftsmanship and to the pursuit of literary excellence. The house was an unguarded treasure trove of signed first editions of rare early-to mid-twentieth century literary masterpieces.

When I came up for tenure, Dave bolstered my case by ensuring that I held the position as SSML President, something he did for many, many young scholars over the decades before and since.

Over the years since then, Dave continued as my mentor, friend, and collaborator. His envy at the publication of other regional literary guides, particularly the *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, published in 1989 by the University of North Carolina Press, provided the impetus for the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature, Volume One, The Authors*, as well as for the forthcoming *Volume Two: Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination*. On the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature* project, Dave's kindness to and support for all in SSML, his towering stature as a scholar, and the strong personal relationship he had with each of us provided the cement that held together the struggling, unfunded, decade-long effort. We had no honoraria with which to compensate writers or with which to enforce timely responses. Yet despite our lack of funding, the *DML* project continued moving forward to successful completion for one primary reason: everyone loved Dave and no one could stand the thought of disappointing him.

The personal and professional fostering I received from Dave Anderson over the years is mirrored by his fostering of generations of students and scholars inside and outside this Society. While Dave had a quiet sense of ego, it was manifested in his joy in exploration and discovery. This joy did not come at the expense of anyone. While he had his ideas on writers and literature, he did not wield his expertise or prestige to attack or undercut other perspectives. There was no one-upmanship. In *DML I* and 2, for example, he repeatedly gave away entries on authors and topics on which *he* was the world expert

and had already published one or more books. Rather, he joyfully affirmed all scholarly endeavor and fostered young scholars beginning to make their way. The Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature and the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature* are manifestations of Dave's belief. The initial 1971 invitation to join the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature laid the groundwork for SSML's continuing egalitarian perspective in saying, "the Society will exist to encourage and assist the study of that literature in whatever direction the insight, imagination, and curiosity of the members may lead." We, the members of SSML, have enjoyed and benefitted from that open, welcoming, fostering orientation for nearly half a century. Now, almost four years after Dave Anderson's death, it is clear that he has indelibly forged the character of our Society.

I have recounted snippets from my experience with Dave Anderson. The value in those instances lies not in their uniqueness but rather in their commonality with the experiences of so many of Dave's students, members of the Society, and others. The experiences of many past and present members of the Society replicate my own. As just one example, recently, former SSML President Sara Kosiba shared the letter of welcome to SSML that she, as a graduate student, had received from Dave Anderson many years ago. That handwritten letter, now professionally framed, has a place of honor in her office. Like many others, Sara received joyful support and assistance from Dave. And, like many others, her interactions with students and colleagues will carry his legacy into the future.

Dave did not separate his life from his work. His students, his colleagues, and their families were his friends and his family. His support and assistance were equally unlimited. He was confident in himself and his work. He had no desire to push others down in order to raise himself. His work spoke for itself, and he was committed to assisting and lifting the level of scholarship of all. He brings to mind Whitman's pronouncement from stanza forty-seven of "Song of Myself":

I am the teacher of athletes,
 He that by me spreads a wider breast than my own proves the width
 of my own,

.....
 I teach straying from me, yet who can stray from me?
 I follow you whoever you are from the present hour

Dave Anderson is following us all. His influence—academic, personal, and professional—continues to follow and support us. He has shaped the Society and us.

University of Kentucky

DAVE ANDERSON AS AUDIENCE: AN ESSAY ON RECEPTION AESTHETICS

RONALD PRIMEAU

This essay is a revised version of the foreword to *Exploring the Midwestern Literary Imagination: Essays in Honor of David D. Anderson*. Ed. Marcia Noe. Troy, NY: The Whitston Publishing Company, 1993. 1-6.

I welcome this issue of *Midwestern Miscellany* on the prolific and significant research of David D. Anderson. In addition to the many books and articles he wrote and the dissertations he directed, Dave's role as a significant listener to others looms large in his legacy. His founding of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature as a stand-alone institution able to survive the fickleness of soft money from grants is a matter of record, as is his outlining the parameters of Midwestern literature in ways that has allowed the Society to continue to thrive for forty-four years. Beyond all this I have indelible memories of Dave, the author-editor-scholar-teacher-organizer and mentor to so many as a solitary figure sitting in the audience always listening closely and actively and enthusiastically to all of us he brought together.

The four decades of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature roughly parallel my academic career. I finished graduate school in 1971, went to teach at Central Michigan University, and attended the first "exploratory" meeting in East Lansing that October. By that time I had been to eight or ten academic conferences, but none prepared me for what I would discover at my first SSML. It's all been said before about the spirit of cooperation, the enthusiasm, the genuine sharing not only at the symposium but in the months and years to follow. As a newcomer, I listened a great deal, and people welcomed me in. There was no one-upsmanship, no name dropping, and credential building was saved for elsewhere. We know the force

behind these meetings was David D. Anderson, but as time went on I watched closely and wondered: how exactly did he do it?

Back home in the classroom I taught composition, African American literature and, later, critical theory. I professed a belief in process-oriented writing combined with an increasing interest in reader-response criticism. My class assignments included a great deal of revision by students, and a major element of that revising is always audience awareness. I observed Dave at conferences listening to everyone as audience anticipation, anticipatory feedback, and audience building shaped my assignments. Walter Ong told us in 1975 how useful it is for teachers to understand that “a writer’s audience is always a fiction.” And I was trying to make the composition class a laboratory where students could learn how “fictionalizing” their readers would work to their advantage. At that point I didn’t expect to find much connection between my composition class and my attending a symposium on Midwestern literature. I had been led to believe (no one to blame but myself) that fretting over whether the left hand knew what the right hand was doing would just increase professional anxiety. I started writing papers for these annual meetings, and I would mention to my students what I was up to. They were curious about who my audience was at a professional meeting. Again there was that solitary figure of Dave Anderson out in the crowd, listening and offering encouragement. Was Dave Anderson my fictionalized reader? A prototype audience for so many? Is that one way he worked his magic for SSML?

Most of my career I have taught literary theory with a special interest in reader-response theory, or what some call reception aesthetics. Again there was Ong, but also Gerald Prince (1973), who tells us that writers feel obligations placed on them by the writers they envision. Composition and literary theory were thus intertwined, but would a Midwestern literature conference be connected to either or both? At those SSML meetings I saw one version of Prince’s “particular,” that solitary figure in the crowd again who not only listened but answered mail, sought manuscripts for publication, stimulated real discussion from the floor, and (with his indefatigable and indispensable wife Pat) gave an annual SSML party aptly called a “convivium.” I started thinking that Dave might be Michael Riffaterre’s “super reader,” always there for us. Was he also Georges Poulet’s “self on loan to another”? He was surely creating a Society where Jean Paul Sartre’s “generous” readers would come to open up, listen,

and share. As my composition students and I kept learning, being able to anticipate the “generosity” of a Dave Anderson guides purpose, shapes a work, and energizes a developing text. Prince says that writers frequently have a public they don’t deserve. I felt that strongly at SSML meetings forty years ago, and the opportunities afforded by Dave were all to the good.

For over four decades Dave was both real and fictionalized audience for me and countless others. I think my stories are typical. I often wrote to Dave with suggestions for conference papers or larger projects. It amazed me that this super busy overachiever never failed to respond. Those short handwritten notes were always to the point and mixed business and pleasure as if they were never to be separated. He was always encouraging, sometimes even provocative or surprising. He told me once that he knew people who were on the scene of what I was “covering” and that things were not quite as I suggested (get the facts, Ron). In response to one of the electronic projects he said, “I’m a book man, myself, chalk and blackboard” (be careful about the McLuhan stuff, Ron). I noticed, though, that the book man helped others with films about writers before it was all that fashionable. And so his handwritten notes answered questions patiently, even when they were, for me, opening night on what for Dave was a show that had been running a long time. Dave helped me enjoy even more work I already liked. Dave was also a superb editor, supportive to fellow panelists, and (a real test) even seemed to enjoy his own parties. A wide-ranging and sympathetic reader, Dave was an insightful, understated, and good-natured critic. Five years into my career, I remember fishing for gimmicks from a man who never knew the meaning of the word. I wanted to know how to “take off,” or “make it big,” or some such. “Just keep doing your work,” he would say, admonishing, yet knowing I needed a lift, confident that I’d find my way.

Dave Anderson as audience was contagious for SSML scholars and teachers. The people who came to the symposia did their homework. They could blockbuster it with the best of them but brought along instead graciousness and good humor. These were not merely “competent” but what reader-response critics would call “ideal readers”—readers and listeners who co-created texts and presented their work with warmth and integrity. David D. Anderson had helped shape what David Bleich would call a community of interpreters, constructing Roland Barthes’s readerly texts, Umberto Eco’s open texts, and always Louise Rosenblatt’s literature as exploration.

Harold Bloom's strong readers regularly visited the Kellogg Center or the Michigan State University Union. My paradigm of what constituted an academic conference shifted very early in my career. David Anderson's misprision was leading the way to a re-examination of Midwestern literature, regional studies, and the canon of American literature as a whole. Dave was simply elegant at inviting us into ongoing conversations about literature. He invited us to come, made us all comfortable and secure, and then creatively and enthusiastically listened to us learning how to listen to each other.

Dave in person—as well as in the many ways we remember him—had been for so many a multi-faceted audience. John Milton's "fit audience . . . though few" reminds me of other stories. Dave and I were on an MLA program together in New York the first morning of the convention at 8:00 a.m. Almost no one came. Nonetheless, I felt I had a very fine audience sitting next to me, and Dave acted as if he were speaking to hundreds. Humor was also a large part of his repertoire. At one of the SSML symposia, I recall a panel with Dave, Gene Dent, Jerry Nemanic, and Clarence Andrews. The topic was "Is there a Midwest, and, if so, how do we define it?" Gene got the bright idea that Dave would speak last and everyone else would proclaim that—after years of deliberation—alas, no such place really existed. The hoax came off for fifteen minutes or so, and a bewildered Dave gave everyone more than we needed in his response. Calm, receptive, and always good on the uptake, he suggested we might be out of our minds!

Maybe this isn't complex theory I am presenting here, but I think the connections Dave made possible for so long are important in academic life today. Teacher-scholars ought to behave at professional conferences in ways at least consistent with what they expect of their students. "Audience" in composition classes ought to mean the same thing that it does at professional symposia, literature classes, and courses in theory. Our rhetorical and critical theories when we teach ought to match up with what we profess to be about in our own work. Dave Anderson showed us how to make these kinds of connections. When I worked in a restaurant I saw a very good manager who knew how to do (and would do himself) anything he expected employees to do. At SSML symposia, I saw Dave welcoming people, planning sessions, answering correspondence, editing publications, pouring water, and sharing his own work in presentations. He was seasoned at all this (and of course he did not do all this alone). No matter how

busy he got, Dave would sit out in the audience and attend each conference as if it was his first. A buoyant rookie out there bringing freshness and enthusiasm, a humble figure sitting in the audience as an attendee at the conferences he had founded and nurtured for years. A formidable yet unintimidating presence, he'd ask questions. I would come away from each conference refreshed and refueled. I'd forgive myself for being naïve. I'd leave every symposium feeling I was probably doing all right, anxious to write to several people, ready to explore new angles. With my students I would keep on anticipating audience response. At Dave's and Pat's convivium, the mood was Whitman's "profound lesson of reception" ("Song of the Open Road"); this is reception aesthetics in practice. Dave Anderson as audience may be his most significant legacy for us all.

In *The Cool Fire* Bob Shanks has defined the chief task of the television director as playing the role of the audience for the talent all along the way until they are actually on the air. Shanks directed the game show *Concentration* for over ten years with great success. Dave was a most successful director of SSML for over forty years. In all that time he sought out, developed, taught, encouraged, and listened to his talent. All this might be what we cherished about him the most.

Research tells us that good writers often write well in part because they know how readers behave as they process information. This is, of course, true about Dave's own writing. Dave was an audience builder in SSML, not by being an apologist for Midwestern literature but by bringing together people with different skills and interests and by connecting the scholarly and the popular. David Anderson as audience was contagious. I haven't said much new for people who knew Dave. If I could, I'd seek his advice writing this. He is still doing his magic as an audience as many of us take a look over our shoulders or out into an SSML crowd, and imagine that ideal audience still listening to and encouraging us all.

Central Michigan University

INVENTING THE MIDWEST WITH DAVID D. ANDERSON

MARCIA NOE

In 1981, Gerald Nemanic dedicated his *Bibliographical Guide to Midwestern Literature* “For David Anderson, who helped invent the Midwest.” The Midwest that Dave helped invent was shaped in part by the methodologies of the Americanists of the ’40s, ’50s, and ’60s who saw their scholarly project as that of identifying what was uniquely American about American literature and culture. Just as Leslie Fielder, Richard Chase, Leo Marx, Henry Nash Smith, R.W.B. Lewis and others searched for a definitive American myth, or pattern of experience, Dave set out to articulate the definitive myth of the Midwest, to identify “the explanatory synthesis, metaphor, or myth,” that would define the essential Midwest and its literature (“Notes toward a Definition of the Mind of the Midwest” 7). He conceptualized his project as one of discovering “the literary dimensions of the land between the two great mountain ranges . . .” (preface, *MidAmerica* 3). The lines of inquiry he pursued were set forth in his lead essay in the inaugural volume of *MidAmerica*: “[W]hat are the dimensions of the Midwest? Are they geographical only? Are they historical or mythical? Are there psychological and literary dimensions as well?” (“The Dimensions of the Midwest” 14).

As he co-founded the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature and led its endeavors throughout four decades, Dave continued to grapple with the question of the dimensions and definition of the region and its literature. His lead essay in *MidAmerica* 1 delineated some general characteristics of the Midwest: 1) it comprises twelve states, as defined by Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Jackson Turner; 2) it was the glue that held the nation together and prevented the ultimate polarization of the country into North and South; and,

most significantly, 3) it is defined most clearly as a region of contrasts: urban and rural, populism and capitalism, oppression and freedom. His lead essay in the third volume of *MidAmerica* cites a number of scholars who concerned themselves with the question of national literary identity: F.O. Matthiessen, Henry Nash Smith, R.W.B. Lewis, and Robert Spiller. Its title, “Notes toward a Definition of the Mind of the Midwest,” is derived from the titles of two such studies: Henry Steele Commager’s *The American Mind* (1950) and W.J. Cash’s *The Mind of the South* (1941). Dave explains in this essay that scholarly neglect of the Midwest stems from its lack of any definition or identity other than a geographical area comprising twelve states. Like the scholars he cites, Dave was in search of an essential mindset specific to a particular place; unlike them, the place he was investigating had no clear identity. Consequently, the Midwest that Dave helped invent was a place, first and foremost, of contradiction, paradox, and polarities: a place that offered opportunity for freedom and growth but also established conventions that restricted and limited those opportunities, a place where both populism and capitalism, industry and agriculture thrived, and, most importantly, a place where what Frederick Jackson Turner called the Jeffersonian ideals of “equality, freedom of opportunity and faith in the common man” formed the foundation of a democratic society (qtd. in “Dimensions” 9).

In the preface to the second volume of *MidAmerica*, Dave wrote that “[T]he literary dimensions of the Midwest may be more completely defined and established by the Society’s members . . .” and many of us journeyed with him in his search for a quintessential myth of the Midwest. The first volume of *MidAmerica*, published in 1974, comprised ten essays; several of these authors joined Dave in his inquiry into the nature of Midwestern regional identity. In his essay in this volume, Ronald Primeau asserts that the slave narrative evolved into something distinctively Midwestern (34); similarly, Blair Whitney’s essay quotes Vachel Lindsay’s definition of the uniquely Midwestern identity: “a standard of self-reliance and freedom and dignity . . . the true spirit of the ideal Midwest” (48-50), while Paul J. Ferlazzo focuses on the urban-rural polarities of Carl Sandburg’s oeuvre, arguing that “in the combining of these two separate physical entities and separate states of mind, something can be learned about the meaning of the Midwestern experience in shaping the imagination of this Midwestern writer” and concluding by enu-

merating other Midwestern writers whose vision has been shaped by an urban-rural vision (52).

If there is one word that appears most frequently in Dave's scholarship, it is "myth," and that word continued to be prominent in our work as many of us joined the conversation that Dave began about Midwestern mythologies. In *MidAmerica* 11, Philip A. Greasley offers one of the fullest discussions of Midwestern mythic identity, first delineating the functions of myth—to tell us who we are, what our purpose is, what our values are, and how we fit into the social order—and second, arguing that Carl Sandburg and Sherwood Anderson created, through their works, a new mythos for the region, valorizing both individualism and collective action to counteract the brutality of the urban and rural early twentieth-century Midwest ("Beyond Brutality: Forging Midwestern Urban-Industrial Mythology" 14, 17). Four years later, a *MidAmerica* essay built on the work done by Anderson, Greasley and others to identify a particular kind of Midwestern myth—the failure story—a mirror image of the Horatio Alger rags-to-riches story in which the protagonist, through failure, achieves moral growth, exemplified most clearly in *The Magnificent Ambersons* ("Failure and the American Mythos: Tarkington's *The Magnificent Ambersons* 14).

A big part of Dave's conceptualization of Midwestern identity was its myth of origin: the Jeffersonian pastoralism that promised a natural aristocracy of small farmers in the heartland—through their hard work becoming successful, self-sustaining, independent and equal citizens—and its displacement, as America became an urban and industrial nation, by an opposing Hamiltonian myth of greed, commodification, and materialism. William Barillas's *The Midwestern Pastoral: Place and Landscape in Literature of the American Heartland* (2006) engages with this paradigm by examining the ways in which Willa Cather, Jim Harrison, Aldo Leopold, Theodore Roethke, and James Wright have espoused pastoral values and deplored the ways in which that ideal has been put in the service of conquest, commodification, and environmental abuse. Barillas refines Dave's articulation of the Midwestern pastoral myth, noting that pastoralism has changed over time to comprise both a conservative, utilitarian version that justifies commodifying the environment and expanding the human incursion into nature for material gain, and a more democratic and Romantic version that respects the environment as an end in itself and advocates a vigilant stewardship for its

human inhabitants, as well as the prioritizing of a community that includes both human and nonhuman members. Barillas builds on Dave's mythic conception of the Midwest to identify specific Midwestern archetypes born out of the Romantic and utilitarian schools of the pastoral: the yeoman farmer, the tinkerer, and the booster (4-6, 24-36).

A similar approach is taken by Mark Buechsel in *Sacred Land: Sherwood Anderson, Midwestern Modernism, and the Sacramental Vision of Nature* (2014). His introductory chapter posits a "mythical conception of the region" that centers on the pastoral ideal. "[T]he interaction of the nineteenth century's increasingly industrial civilization with a fertile region full of mythical pastoral promise is the central experience defining the region's identity," argues Buechsel (4-5). Here he echoes Dave's assertion in "Sherwood Anderson's *Poor White* and the Grotesques Become Myth" that "the Hamiltonian definition of progress fused with New England Puritan values to smash forever the Jeffersonian dream of a self-sufficient society of farmers and craftsmen united by their common human dignity" (*MidAmerica* 14, 92). Buechsel focuses his discussion on key works by Midwestern authors—Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ruth Suckow, and Jane Smiley—that offer a remedy to the region's loss of the pastoral dream: "the evocation of a sacramental vision of nature as a corrective for the culture's spiritual failings" (10), failings that he, like Dave, attributes to Protestant values.

Over time, Dave concluded that the definitive myth of the Midwest was a myth of movement, part of a quest for self-fulfillment that the Midwest was ideally situated to foster. In "Mark Twain, Sherwood Anderson, Saul Bellow and the Territories of the Spirit," he argues that these three writers, in their landmark novels of movement, relate such a search. Earlier he had explored this notion in "The Midwestern Town in Midwestern Fiction," writing of *Winesburg, Ohio* that "[T]he town had become for George, as it had for countless others, the place where he had been initiated into acceptance of the American dream, of the conviction that in America the individual, no matter how humble his origins, may advance as far as his ability and virtue may take him" (43).

Dave's notion that Midwestern identity centers on a myth of movement is refined and developed in two books by Ronald Primeau: *Romance of the Road: the Literature of the American Highway* (1996) and his edited collection, *American Road Literature* (2013).

The word “myth” recurs throughout the former book, as Primeau conceptualizes the road tale as a quest, echoing Dave’s emphasis on the quest for fulfillment as an essential characteristic of Midwestern literature. In the introduction to the latter volume, Primeau is still talking about quests and myths as he emphasizes the central role the Midwest plays in these narratives:

The journey has been central to the mythic dimensions of the quest motif . . . the midwestern heartland has been crucial as both a central location and a defining state of mind . . . the highways through the heartland are in many books either the setting of the story or the significant space through which travelers must pass on their way toward their destination . . . Through it all . . . the American heartland holds anchor as a departure point, a rite of passage, and a residual mythology of values tied to the land. (1, 9).

Dave’s Midwest, like all other places, was characterized most significantly by change, and early on he noted that this region, once a destination for pioneer settlers, had become a point of departure for backtrailers and expatriates. “The new generation of writers who came of age in the first decades of the twentieth century began a pattern of movement in their lives and in their works that . . . rejects stability and permanence for a new, mobile reality rooted in the confidence that freedom exists and that somewhere they or their people can find it,” he wrote in “Saul Bellow and the Midwestern Myth of the Search” (49). Many of us took up the study of peripatetic Midwesterners and their work. Roger Bresnahan builds on this idea in his article on the expatriates of the 1920s—Willa Cather, Theodore Dreiser, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and Ernest Hemingway and their characters—who took their small-town Midwestern values to New York City and Europe (“The Midwestern Expatriates: Why They Left, What They Remembered” 83). Paul Miller’s series of essays on Midwestern expatriates continues to explore this territory, as does his entry on Midwestern expatriates in volume two of the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature*, which offers an extended analysis of the various reasons for their removal to Europe, stressing that expatriation was one aspect of the revolt from the Midwestern village movement. Russ Bodi in “James Thurber, Midwestern ‘Innocent Abroad’” and Doris Grover in “Louis Bromfield in France” examine the ways in which these expatriate authors’ experiences abroad helped to shape their writing.

But as scholarly winds shifted Theoryward and poststructuralist methodologies captured our attention, many of us heeded the mission statement Dave articulated for the Society: “encouraging and supporting the study of Midwestern literature in whatever directions the interests of the members may take” (preface, *MidAmerica* 1). And our interests and theoretical orientations took us in many widely diverging methodological directions as we continued, with Dave, to invent the Midwest. Essays began to appear in *MidAmerica* and *Midwestern Miscellany*, as well as in other journals, that viewed Midwestern texts from historicist, materialist, feminist, ecocritical, and other poststructuralist lenses as scholars of Midwestern literature moved away from the essentialist approach of the myth critics. In contrast to the tightly focused inaugural volume of *MidAmerica*, which concentrated mainly on canonical authors such as Hemingway, Sandburg, Lindsay, and Anderson, *MidAmerica* 41, published forty years later, offered a wide variety of authors and critical approaches. While canonical authors are still included, with three essays on Hemingway, one on Fitzgerald, and one on Anderson, the quest to define an essential Midwest, or Midwestern literature, or Midwestern myth is not much in evidence. Rather, essays exploring intertextuality and utilizing the methodologies of feminist criticism, textual criticism, and historicism predominate. The previous volume, *MidAmerica* 40, reflects the same trend, with essays employing historicist, feminist, and ecocritical methodologies. The paradigm had shifted from an essentialist search for the defining qualities of a truly Midwestern work to a view of Midwestern literature as a continuum of responses to place and region and the ways that place and region, in the words of Laura Laffrado, “significantly shape the social and material conditions” of their inhabitants (283).

Dave’s own work exemplifies this pluralistic approach. While he was a leading Sherwood Anderson scholar who also wrote about other canonical Midwestern authors—Twain, Howells, Dreiser, Hemingway, and Bellow—he also published on a wide variety of lesser-known Midwestern writers, among them John Herrmann, Thomas Beer, Ross Lockridge, Ignatius Donnelly, Clarence Darrow, Jim Tully, Brand Whitlock, Andrew Greeley, Louis Bromfield, Jack Conroy and a number of others, as well as on Midwestern topics such as the literature of the Great Lakes, the Chicago Renaissance, the Lincoln myth, Michigan proletarian writers, Cincinnati literature, Missouri fiction, and the literature of the Ohio frontier.

Dave's enduring legacy, therefore, was not so much a definitive theory of Midwestern literature or a new critical methodology specific to its analysis; it was an inclusive *modus operandus*, a Whitmanesque embrace of many voices and many approaches, a special way of seeing the Midwest and Midwestern literature as diverse, complex, and marked by contraries, disjunctions, and polarities. By articulating the Society's mission as "encouraging and supporting the study of Midwestern literature in whatever directions the interests of the members may take," Dave invited us to invent the Midwest along with him, offered us resources, facilitated our publishing, encouraged our efforts, commented helpfully on our work, and, above all, taught us how to see and hear and celebrate many Midwesterns and Midwestern voices. Dave's special gift to us was to show us how to explore the Midwest, and Midwestern literature, innovatively and inclusively, collaboratively and collegially, in whatever direction our interests and imaginations might lead us.

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OLD-FASHIONED

ROBERT DUNNE

David D. Anderson liked bourbon. *I* like bourbon. From 1990, when I first met Dave at SSML, until his death in 2011, I had frequent experiences of being with Dave at restaurants after literature conventions or meetings of the *Dictionary of Midwestern Literature* when he would order Old-Fashioneds. He was a connoisseur of the Old-Fashioned: he would know from the first sip whether the bartender got it right or botched it. Thanks to Dave, I've made many an Old-Fashioned *the right way*.

It is my sincerest wish that Dave's vast body of work on the Midwest will not be remembered by current and future scholars as being old-fashioned—if, by old-fashioned, one means outdated and not relevant. His foundation-building approach to Midwestern literary studies may no longer hold sway when pitted against postmodern, feminist, New Historicist, and other more recent methodologies. However, those who study the Midwest from these newer perspectives owe a debt of gratitude to the decades-long work set down by Dave. And more than gratitude, scholars should not forget that Dave's contributions to our knowledge of Midwestern literature should continue to be mined for their insights, even if they came out of an earlier era. Dave's body of work is the gift that keeps on giving. *Fuzzy Navels* and *Sex on the Beaches* are frivolous cocktails. Old-Fashioneds are a classic.

Of course, current scholars of the Midwest are bereft of Dave's actual *physical presence*, which always contributed to anyone's enthusiasm and interest in the Midwest. I can remember numerous occasions when Dave would pull me aside and share with me some new treasures he had unearthed about Sherwood Anderson. Like a kid showing off what he found in his grandparents' attic, Dave's joy

in a new find was infectious. Dave and his wife Pat frequently shared stories of their experiences with such Sherwood Anderson luminaries as his wife Eleanor and his many friends and associates. I was jealous that Dave was in on the ground floor when Anderson studies took off during the 1960s, and that he began his career having access to so many people who knew Sherwood Anderson. I was fortunate to know Dave personally during the last twenty years of his life; I know that there are many scholars who knew Dave for a lot longer and who can no doubt amplify my gratitude for having had many rewarding and fun conversations with him.

Lucky for students of the Midwest, Dave's presence is still among us in the plentitude of his published works. *Just on Sherwood Anderson alone*, Dave published one book, edited two others, and wrote over fifty essays. In my own evolving study of Sherwood Anderson's works, I know that many of my earliest publications on Anderson, especially those on some of his more obscure works, owe a great debt to Dave's long fascination with Anderson. Over time, however, and definitely by the time that I was researching what would turn into my 2005 book on Sherwood Anderson's early fiction, I began to branch out into virtually new territory by examining Anderson's works by way of postmodern literary theories.

In my research of literary histories and literature anthologies for the book, I came to realize that by the late twentieth century, Anderson's place in the American canon was stagnant or diminishing. In my introduction to the book, I argued that Anderson merited scrutiny from more contemporary approaches to literature. As I wrote,

There has been a superabundance of biographical, New Critical, and psychoanalytic work done on Anderson—much of which has been insightful, informative, and genuinely rewarding for anyone interested in his life and work. This core criticism has kept Anderson's work in circulation and his reputation intact But we also have to admit . . . that Anderson scholarship has not adequately tapped into some of the more recent and innovative theoretical approaches to literature that have, taken as a whole, replaced New Criticism as the industry standard Anderson's canonical status could very well be the beneficiary as current literary theory moves away from measuring the significance of literary works by "purely" artistic standards and begins to consider matters of race, class, gender, and postmodern conceptions of language and power [I]f Anderson

scholars can tap into the rich reservoir of newer critical approaches, we will discover . . . many “new” Sherwood Andersons. (xvi)

And so, this is what I set out to do in the book. I did not, out of hand, forego previous generations of Anderson criticism solely to embrace Derrida and Foucault. But I was consciously trying to break new ground in making the case for a new appreciation of Anderson’s work into the twenty-first century.

On some levels, perhaps the approach I took implied that Dave’s scholarship had become old-fashioned. (To tell the truth, I don’t think Dave and I ever discussed the book in depth. I don’t know if he ever read it.) True, I did avoid in my book undue attention to Sherwood Anderson’s biography or other aspects related to the American myth school that was prevalent in the 1950s and ’60s. But that is not to say that Dave’s huge body of work on Anderson was erased from my mind. In fact, I cited in the book five of Dave’s works on Anderson. Hermeneuticist Hans Georg Gadamer once argued that interpreters of a text have to enter into a “dialogue” with a text in order to formulate their own interpretation of it. This dialogue entails what he calls a “fusion of horizons” with the text that includes understanding the text’s earliest meanings and the entire tradition of previous interpretations (306). In other words, although Dave’s approach to Anderson was no longer comparable to my approach, I probably could not have staked my new ground without having absorbed the previous interpretations of the likes of Dave, Ray Lewis White, Charles Modlin, Hilbert Campbell, and others. Their interpretations may no longer constitute the vogue, but they still demand and deserve our present-day (and future) attention. Therefore, scholars who choose to avoid immersing themselves in Dave’s wide-ranging writings about the Midwest do so at their intellectual peril. After all, there *are* insights that transcend any one particular methodology, whether new or old.

The Old-Fashioned cocktail received its name in the 1880s and is still being served today (Simonson 5). Like this classic cocktail, I will wager that Dave Anderson’s writings will continue to refresh and inspire anyone who wants to study the Midwest, now and into the future.

Cheers, Dave.

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MIDWESTERN WRITERS AND THE MYTH OF THE SEARCH

DAVID D. ANDERSON

This essay was originally published in the *Georgia Review* in 1980.

In the final pages of *The Great Gatsby*, described by Malcolm Cowley as F. Scott Fitzgerald's "Romance of Money," couched in the "symbolism of place,"¹ Fitzgerald has his narrator, Nick Carraway, reflect that:

One of my most vivid memories is of coming back West from prep school and later from college at Christmas time. Those who went farther than Chicago would gather in the old dim Union Street station at six o'clock of a December evening, with a few Chicago friends, already caught up into their own holiday gayeties, to bid them a hasty good-by. I remember . . . the long green tickets clasped tight in our gloved hands. And last the murky yellow cars of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad looking cheerful as Christmas itself on the tracks beside that gate.

When we pulled out into the winter night and the real snow, our snow, began to stretch out beside us and twinkle against the windows, and the dim lights of Wisconsin stations moving by, a sharp wild brace came suddenly into the air. We drew in deep breaths of it . . . unutterably aware of our identity with this country for one strange hour, before we melted indistinguishably into it again.

That's my Middle West—not the wheat or the prairies or the lost Swede towns, but the thrilling returning trains of my youth, and the street lamps and sleigh bells in the frosty dark and the shadows of holly wreaths thrown by lighted windows on the snow. I am part of that, a little solemn with the feel of those long winters . . . I see now

that this has been a story of the West, after all—Tom and Gatsby, Daisy and Jordan and I, were all Westerners, and perhaps we possessed some deficiency in common which made us subtly unadaptable to Eastern life.²

As Fitzgerald's narrator suggests, *The Great Gatsby* is indeed a novel imbued with the symbolism of place, but it is not merely the place suggested by Cowley, that of West Egg and East Egg, the twin protuberances that display varying degrees of Roaring Twenties fashionableness as they project into Long Island Sound. Rather it is imbued with a much older, more traditionally American symbolism of place, that of East and West, and it is imbued too—I think more significantly—with another old, uniquely American, traditionally Midwestern symbol, that of movement.

Since the beginning of the American experience, East and West have been both places and directions, physically identifiable on the map and on the landscape; they have also been points of departure, way stations, and goals for journeys (both literal and metaphorical) for Americans since that time. Consequently, intrinsic to a sense of place has been, for Americans, a sense of movement. In *The Great Gatsby* Fitzgerald deals not only with the symbolism of place, East Egg and West Egg, East and West, but he deals too with the symbolism of movement, with the reasons for movement between places real or symbolic, as well as with the means by which that movement is accomplished.

Fitzgerald's West, the place of his own origin as well as that of Nick Carraway, is Minnesota—the Old West that had, by the Civil War, become the Midwest. It had by Fitzgerald's time been successively a goal in the early years of the nineteenth century, a way station in the later years, and then (for young people in the first decades of the twentieth century) a point of departure—for the Far West, for the City, for the East, for Europe, for wherever, in fact or fancy, in reality or dream, for wealth or satisfaction, status or fulfillment, one might be carried further on the American path that permits or encourages the pursuit of happiness.

Fitzgerald's people in *The Great Gatsby*—Nick Carraway, Tom and Daisy Buchanan, Jordan Baker, Jay Gatsby himself—are not only Westerners, (i.e., Midwesterners), but they are products of the determination to move, to seek, to pursue, and perhaps ultimately to return. For Nick, it is simply escape from threatened domestic con-

finement, and he is eminently suited to serve as observer-narrator-participant; for the Buchanans it is a larger, freer, more exciting place in which to exercise their carelessness and spend their money; for Gatsby it is a place where he can acquire money as a means by which the otherwise unattainable Daisy may be his; for Jordan it is a larger arena for her fleeting, celebrated success and minor, secret transgressions.

Fitzgerald's people had their counterparts in a literal late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century movement of young people out of the Midwestern towns—a movement so vast that it has taken on the dimensions of myth, becoming the substance of a good deal of our literature, as well as providing the foundations for some of the most confused and confusing social and literary criticism of our time. The factual migration East, a search for success that paralleled earlier movements West, had manifested itself before Fitzgerald's time in success stories as diverse as William Dean Howells' journey (from printer's devil in Martin's Ferry, Ohio, to occupant of the editorial Easy Chair in Boston) and John D. Rockefeller's journey (from Cleveland produce merchant to world oil monopolist); and during his time by James Thurber's passage from the Ohio State *Crimson* to *The New Yorker* and Earl Wilson's metamorphosis from Washington Court House police reporter to "Buckeye on Broadway."

These literal movements of people, who have left the Midwest to seek greater fulfillment in the East or beyond, provide the factual foundations for the metaphorical movement which informs much of the literature that has come out of the Midwest, just as, in many cases, the writers themselves were part of the literal migration. In both literal and metaphorical dimensions that movement begins with the first and greatest Midwestern writer; it is evident also in the work of the Midwesterner who became the 1976 Nobel laureate; and it is equally evident in the dozens of others between them who have become prominent in the three generations that separate the first and latest as they added substantial dimensions to our preoccupation with movement and our determination to seek fulfillment. Our search, begun in fact, has given substance, meaning, and philosophical structure to a pattern of life and a significant literature. Both life and literature are firmly rooted in Midwestern tradition, and from the beginning they have provided direction and stimulus to our national life and literature.

The greatest of Midwestern writers is, of course, Mark Twain. Not only has he provided much of the language of Midwestern writing—as Sherwood Anderson, Hemingway, and others have freely acknowledged—but perhaps more important he contributed to the pattern of life of the Midwestern writer and the substance of Midwestern fiction. Just as Twain himself went down the river, then West toward the setting sun and the glitter of gold, and finally established himself in the East, he has provided the archetypal story of youth and movement in *Huckleberry Finn*; nowhere else is the pattern of escape, of the search for freedom, of the ultimate goal of the far-off, mythical Territory in the West so clearly defined.

Although Huck's journey down the river had followed an early path of exploration, adventure, and commerce, it was inevitable that he turned West, to the path that had become by Twain's time the main stream of American movement and destiny, not only for empire but for the countless individuals who sought individual success or escape. In Twain's lifetime the path to success was to take on added dimensions: to the cities that had become the temples of a new, collective cult, and to the East, where those shrines had their fullest, most glittering development. And gradually, imperceptible to some observers but increasingly evident in the lives and works of writers who have built on Twain's foundation, those paths have again in our time turned as those who follow them seek elusive fulfillment in a new manifestation of what is perhaps its oldest dimension, that of the home place, of origins, of what it has become stylish to call roots.

Two groups of Midwestern writers—those who came to maturity in the years preceding World War I and gathered in Chicago for about a decade between 1910 and 1920 before moving on, and those who came to maturity during the War, often as participants in it, before gathering in the East and France—are especially illustrative of the determination to move, to seek a measure of fulfillment in their own lives, and to use both the experience and its significance in their own work. A third, later group, many of them sharing a Chicago background, illustrate something of both of those earlier groups in the lives and their work.

Among the first group, those who were participants in what Sherwood Anderson later termed a "robin's egg renaissance," are Anderson himself and Floyd Dell; the second group includes Fitzgerald and Louis Bromfield; and the third is dominated by Saul Bellow. Of these five, two eventually sought to return to their origins

in their lives as well as their work; one suggested a metaphorical return that he was unable to carry through in either his life or his work; and a fourth, himself the product of the most recent migration into the Midwest, has chosen to remain there.

Anderson and Dell were not only typical members of the Chicago movement that in effect attempted to fuse the traditional Mark Twain experience with the Post-Marxist, post-Darwinian twentieth century, but they combined to give it much of its direction and substance. Dell, born in 1887 in Barry, Illinois, migrated with his family to Iowa, where he became a journalist, then moving to Chicago as a reporter. In 1909 he became assistant editor of the Chicago *Evening Post's Friday Literary Review*, which he built into an influential focal point and voice of the incipient Chicago movement. In 1913 he moved on to New York, affiliating himself with the old *Masses* and later *The Liberator*, and standing trial for sedition during the War. Not until 1920 did he turn to fiction, publishing *Moon-Calf* in 1920 and *The Briary-Bush* in 1921, both stories of his youth and his early search. He remained in the East until his death in 1969.

Anderson, born in 1876 in Camden, Ohio, had come from Clyde, Ohio, to Chicago (initially in 1896 as a laborer, again in 1900, after Spanish-American War service) as an advertising writer and salesman; and then, after business success and a breakdown in Ohio—later celebrated as a conscious rebellion from business—he returned to advertising in Chicago as a means of earning a living and supporting his family while he fulfilled his determination to write. Inevitably he drifted into the Chicago group, where, at age 38, he became a leader. When *The Little Review*, the voice of the movement, appeared in 1914 under the editorship of Margaret Anderson (herself a migrant from Columbus, Indiana, pausing in Chicago before going on to San Francisco, New York, and Paris), Anderson contributed an essay, “The New Note,” that not only defined the spirit and philosophy of the movement but also defined the search—metaphorical, literal, and literary—on which he and the others who had come out of the Midwestern towns to gather in Chicago had embarked:

In the trade of writing the so-called new note is as old as the world. Simply stated, it is a cry for the reinjection of truth and honesty into the craft; it is an appeal from the standards set up by money-making magazine and book publishers in Europe and America to the older, sweeter standards of the craft itself; it is the voice of the new man, come into a new world, proclaiming his right to speak out of the body

and soul of youth, rather than through the bodies and souls of the master craftsmen who are gone.

In all the world there is no such thing as an old sunrise, an old wind upon the cheeks, or an old kiss from the lips of your beloved; and in the craft of writing there can be no such thing as age in the souls of young poets and novelists who demand for themselves the right to stand up and be counted among the soldiers of the new³

The first of the group to attain substantial literary recognition, Anderson published in quick succession four works that define the nature of the search he had experienced personally in two dimensions; the search for financial and conventional success that he had abandoned at the age of thirty-six and the search for an intangible, ill-defined meaning and fulfillment that followed. Of the four works, *Windy McPherson's Son* (1916), *Marching Men* (1917), *Mid-American Chants* (1918), and *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), the first and the last are the clearest, most significant records of the search as he had known it to that point.

Windy McPherson's Son is, to a point, the story of the search for material success as Anderson had known it: Sam McPherson, from a small Midwestern town, is born to a poor family headed by a wastrel father and a silent, hard-working mother, becomes infected with the spirit of the age, and eventually becomes wealthy and successful in Chicago. Much of the novel reflects Anderson's experience, and the structure and believability of the novel deteriorate when McPherson learns that in his pursuit of success he had rejected human values, and he finds fulfillment to be as elusive as ever. Putting success behind him, he roams the Midwestern countryside until he meets a woman who wants to be rid of her children; accepting the children, he returns to his wife at home, where presumably a new, close human relationship will evolve.

The ending is absurd, as Anderson knew it was, and he attempted to rewrite it with no more success for the second edition of 1922. The search was equally absurd in the context of his own life at that point—he had left his own wife and children during the year of its publication and had married the liberated Tennessee Mitchell. But its significance is important: unlike earlier manifestations of the search for fulfillment through movement in Midwestern fiction—in Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*, for example—Anderson's protagonist, like Anderson himself, determines that conventional success in a con-

ventional family setting is not enough, and recognizing (not rationally but intuitively) that there must be something more, he is determined to find it through continued search.

Anderson's achievement in *Winesburg, Ohio* is superior to that in *Windy McPherson's Son* for a number of reasons: its psychological unity, its exploration of the reaches of the Midwestern small town (not bitterly, as some insist, but with a good deal of compassionate insight), and the skill with which George Willard is drawn as he touches human lives and learns from them. Often ignored but important to the assessment of the novel is the ending, a conclusion that rings true both literally and metaphorically as he enters the car that is to take him from Winesburg to something greater:

... With the recollection of little things occupying his mind he closed his eyes and leaned back in the car seat. He stayed that way for a long time and when he aroused himself and again looked out of the car window the town of Winesburg had disappeared and his life there had become but a background on which to paint the dreams of his manhood.⁴

Ambiguous—as perhaps it had to be at the point in the work and in Anderson's life as well. Nevertheless, as George goes West with the sun, from Winesburg to Chicago, that ending reflects the fact that George is following the twin paths of destiny that had brought men to Winesburg and promised to take them on as far as their dreams, their courage, their energies would take them. George's departure is not rejection, not revolt; it is multidimensional movement forward in his life and in the collective American, Midwestern life of his time.

The ambiguity of this ending was to carry on into Anderson's following longer works, particularly in *Poor White* (1920), *Many Marriages* (1923), and *Dark Laughter* (1925), to the perplexity and consternation of his critics. But the only conclusion appropriate to Anderson's work at that point was the continuation of the search. Only after his discovery of the hills of Southwestern Virginia, the town of Marion, and the people epitomized for him by Eleanor Copenhaver (whom he married in 1933), could he in his last published works, *Home Town* (1940) and his posthumous *Memoirs* (1942), define the ending of a search that had begun for him in Clyde, Ohio, nearly fifty years earlier.

Neither *Windy McPherson's Son* nor *Winesburg, Ohio* is a product of the Chicago Renaissance)or the Liberation, as it was called by

many of its participants), although Anderson's participation in the movement had perhaps made them possible. However, Floyd Dell and his fictional counterpart Felix Fay, the protagonist of *Moon-Calf* and *The Briary-Bush*, most nearly reflect both the spirit and the search that many members of the Chicago Liberation insisted that the movement represented: a release from the restraints of outmoded Victorianism and Puritanism that would inevitably lead to a new freedom in life and in literature. That emphasis was not only at odds with Anderson's assertion in "The New Note" that the new literature must be a return to the old sense of craftsmanship destroyed by the machine age, but it was also the attitude denounced by Anderson's alter ego, Bruce Dudley (formerly John Stockton of Chicago) in *Dark Laughter*. In that novel Anderson rejected the spirit of the Liberation as clearly as he had rejected materialism in *Windy McPherson's Son*, when he sent Dudley to the South, in the path of Mark Twain and in the search for a new, human fulfillment.

Dell's two novels combine to tell the story of Felix Fay's search for identity in the Iowa towns of Maple, Vickly, and Port Royal—all of which differ in many ways from the generic symbol *Winesburg, Ohio* has become—and then in Chicago and beyond. Felix's movement is not, however, a flight born out of a desperation to flee—he concludes at the end of *Moon-Calf* that "He had been happy in Port Royal" and had, like George Willard in *Winesburg*, acquired a measure of wisdom and adventure there—but his spirit demanded something more that, in common with the other young men of his generation, he knew he would find in Chicago.

The novel is essentially the story of Fay's apprenticeship: he had been introduced to art, to sex, to radical ideas in Port Royal; and in *The Briary-Bush* he continues the search, first for a job and then, in a new dimension, as drama critic for a daily newspaper. Searching for meaning in the arts, he becomes a modestly successful playwright, while his young man's search for sexual fulfillment leads him to love and marriage. The novel is the story of a young man who attempts to find identity and fulfillment, experiencing in the process misunderstanding and frustration—both of them more intense than any he had known in the towns—until he is reconciled with his wife,

and the two of them determine to build their house on the solid, realistic foundation of the acceptance of life.

As in the conclusion of *Windy McPherson's Son*, Dell implies a life lived happily ever after—a conclusion as absurd for Dell (whose own marriage had disintegrated as he pursued a series of affairs) as for the novel, which suggests finally only that Fay's liberation is the absence of freedom, that what he had been seeking and had presumably found was no more than he might have found had he stayed in Iowa. Like Anderson, Dell eventually came full circle, and he did indeed find with B. Marie Gage a long, happy marriage. But, like his protagonist, he came to it much earlier and more easily than did Anderson and his people.

By the time Dell's novels were published, the Chicago Renaissance had run its course and its participants had gone on to the East, to Europe, and to greater or lesser measures of success. New writers, a younger generation, were beginning to exchange their uniforms for civilian clothes and to find a means of defining their experience. Among them were Louis Bromfield, born in 1896 in Mansfield, Ohio, who had gone to France by way of Columbia University and the United States Army Ambulance Service, and Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald, also born in 1896, in St. Paul, Minnesota, who had gone into the Army and the South via Princeton, but who long regretted that the end of the War had left him at a port of embarkation for France. After the War both young veterans sought employment in New York, Bromfield more successfully. Both of them became overnight literary celebrities with their first novels: Fitzgerald with *This Side of Paradise* in 1920, and Bromfield with *The Green Bay Tree* in 1924. Their lives continued a curious parallel as each experienced greater success with immediately succeeding novels, and each spent much of the decade after his success in France. Although each became friends with other writers—American, English, and French—whose literary reputations were also growing (and with many of the hangers-on who also went to France, ostensibly to work), Bromfield and Fitzgerald rarely met and did not become friends. Their lives departed abruptly and obliquely from the parallel then, except for some curious similarities in the last phases of their lives and writing careers.

When the first novels of each appeared, critical reactions were quite similar. Fitzgerald was seen as the spokesman of the new, post-war, liberated age, acquiring a reputation that endured long after he deserved it and that was largely responsible for the decline of his reputation in the 1930s and the failure of *Tender Is the Night* (1934). With the onset of the social and economic crisis in the 1930s, he was—to a good many critics and editors—no longer relevant. Bromfield was seen as revolting against American and capitalistic values, a reputation that prevailed until the coming of the Depression and the rise of the Marxist criticism, which saw that he was not manning the barricades as critics assumed he had been doing, and reviewers asserted that he had surrendered to commercialism. Fitzgerald's reputation has recovered from its decline, but Bromfield, who was to become a fine nature writer, remains in disfavor.

Since his death in 1940, Fitzgerald has been re-evaluated as a literary craftsman whose work reflected two important dimensions: a new romanticism and the values of his age. Of the former there is no doubt, but the latter has largely focused upon his awe of the wealth and culture of the East and Europe, neglecting (particularly in assessing *The Great Gatsby* as well as a good many of the short stories) the fact that Fitzgerald and his people had come out of the Midwest carrying with them the ambition, the determination, and the will to succeed that had marked the original incursions of their people into that area. (Perhaps the most relevant illustration of this in discussing Fitzgerald is the migration of Ignatius Donnelly into Fitzgerald's own Minnesota two generations earlier.) Creatures of their origins, they took those characteristics into the larger arena of the new century; neither rebelling nor succumbing to awe, they were, instead, seeking.

With his initial, youthful success, Fitzgerald captured the fairy princess Zelda Sayre, and with her embarked on the intense pursuit of momentary fulfillment that the spirit of the age demanded. But that pursuit was punctuated by periods of concentrated work, including the ten months of craftsmanship and feeling that produced *The Great Gatsby*. Like Fitzgerald, Gatsby had come out of the Upper Midwest; however, Gatsby—the product of a harshness not found in Fitzgerald's middle-class St. Paul—merely endured childhood, but it was an endurance made possible by a naïve dream of success inspired

by Benjamin Franklin and directed by the new Midwestern folk heroes, Thomas Edison and Henry Ford. His university was not Princeton but a democratic army that gave him a commission, thereby dubbing him a gentleman by congressional fiat. Unlike Fitzgerald's *Zelda*, Gatsby's fairy princess, Daisy, was unattainable if equally destructive, and perhaps one might impose a metaphorical interpretation on Gatsby's fate as it foreshadows Fitzgerald's critical, creative, and personal crisis when romantic fulfillment became psychotic torment.

Whether that posthumous metaphor is valid or not, it is clear that Gatsby and Nick Carraway combine to define the dimensions of the Midwestern dream that they had shared, the search to make it real (which, by 1924, was for Fitzgerald already proving illusive and impermanent), and the ultimate choice—if indeed fate permits a choice to those of us imprisoned by our origins—for those who would make the dream real.

The misinterpretations that continue to haunt Louis Bromfield's work, particularly that of the twenties—*The Green Bay Tree* (1924); *Possession* (1925); *Early Autumn* (1926), for which he received the Pulitzer Prize; *A Good Woman* (1927); *The Strange Case of Miss Annie Spragg* (1928), together with *The Farm* (1933)—ignore one vital fact: Bromfield's novels, more than any others that have come out of the Midwest, reflect the Jeffersonian and eighteenth-century philosophies that directed the initial settlement of the area and provide much of its intellectual foundation even yet. Bromfield, like Sherwood Anderson, was convinced that somehow in the post-Civil War years the area had taken a wrong turn in the course of its development, thereby superimposing a value system that made impossible the development of its full potential as an agrarian empire with (here and there as part of the countryside) small towns that were close to nature as well as to the farms that supported them. Instead, again like Anderson, Bromfield saw the domination of industry, the superimposition of material values, and the exploitation of men and nature as the factors that had, before 1914, prevented the full development of the potential of the Midwest and Midwesterners. Consequently, there was nothing for himself and his characters to do but flee, carrying

with them the ideals and the goals that had been carried West of the mountains two generations earlier.

Each of the central characters in the first four novels—termed panel novels by Bromfield, because each was to explore a similar contemporary ramification of the theme of “escape”—is driven out of the town by the forces that prevent fulfillment. But escape is not fulfillment, each of them learns, and the dream remains illusive. Thus, in *The Green Bay Tree* Lily Shane apparently escapes the town to find fulfillment in Europe, but it is snatched away by the War; in *Possession* Ellen Tolliver seeks fulfillment in a jussical career that eventually dehumanizes and isolates her; in *Early Autumn* Olivia Pentland succumbs to a graceful defeat by dead tradition; in *A Good Woman* Philip Downes finds his ultimate escape in death.

Like Anderson, Bromfield learned that escape is not fulfillment, nor can one find fulfillment at the end of the search; the only end is the result of circumstances or forces directed by the new values, by the nature of the age. In *The Strange Case of Miss Annie Spragg*, he turned to a deliberate rejection of the search in an attempt to find and define man’s relationship to the natural order. The result is an intriguing novel that, together with *The Farm*, was one of Bromfield’s favorites among his own works, and in it Bromfield turned to the Ohio past, as had Anderson in *Winesburg, Ohio*, and as Bromfield was to do again in *The Farm*.

As the western world moved rapidly toward war again in late 1938, Bromfield himself returned to Ohio and (much as had Anderson in the Virginia hills more than a decade before) found a measure of personal place and a new dimension in his work. Anderson had found the towns, the countryside, and the people, and perhaps the only conclusion that such a search may have. Bromfield found Malabar Farm, the re-creation of what he had thought the impossible more than a generation before, and the result was not only a renewed closeness to nature and a renewed way of life, but—in *Pleasant Valley* (1945), *Malabar Farm* (1948), and *Out of the Earth* (1950)—some of the finest nature writing the Midwest has produced. Like Fitzgerald, he died in disfavor while writing some of his most durable work.

With the century at midpoint, what was perhaps the most fertile and influential period in Midwestern literary history had apparently come to an end. The deaths of Anderson, Fitzgerald, Bromfield, and others; the decline in their literary reputations; the emergence of the South as a fertile literary region once more; and the rise of ethnic, particularly Jewish, writers (some of them Midwesterners)—seemed to indicate new directions and new dimensions of the national literature. Although much of this renewed vigor was based on the accomplishments of the Midwesterners of the first half of the century, Midwestern literature in the hands of James Farrell, Nelson Algren, Wright Morris, Frederick Manfred, and others had seemingly lost much of its national momentum; the Midwestern literary future seemed uncertain at best. Then, in 1976, Saul Bellow, nurtured in Chicago on Sherwood Anderson, received the Nobel Prize—the first writer to be so honored (not excluding Sinclair Lewis and Ernest Hemingway) who stressed his origins, his influences, his ideology so completely in the context of the Midwestern literary past. And in his best known work, as well as most of the others, there is the search. As Augie March—the central character in *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953) and a modern Huckleberry Finn—leaves Chicago for Mexico, for the War (the third war for Midwestern writers), for Europe, it is once more the search through endless way stations. It is the same search that Bellow (perhaps the first of a new generation who inherited a dream that had brought people over the mountains nearly two centuries before; across the Atlantic, to the cities, and beyond in the last century; and that brought Bellow's family to Chicago) will hand on to his successors: movement, search, escape, and the continuation of the search until perhaps he, too, together with the rest of us, stands at the end of *The Great Gatsby* with Nick Carraway, pondering on the past that becomes the future:

And as I sat there brooding on the old, unknown world, I thought of Gatsby's wonder when he first picked out the green light at the end of Daisy's dock. He had come a long way to the blue lawn, and his dream must have seemed so close that he could hardly fail to grasp it. He did not know that it was already behind him, somewhere back in that vast obscurity beyond the city, where the dark fields of the republic rolled on under the night.

Gatsby believed in the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us then, but that's no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther And one fine morning—

So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.

Late of Michigan State University

NOTES

¹Malcolm Cowley in his introduction to *Three Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), pp. xii, xx.

²F. Scott Fitzgerald. *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 211.

³Sherwood Anderson. "The New Note," *The Little Review*, 1 No. 1, (March 1914), p. 23.

⁴Sherwood Anderson, *Winesburg, Ohio* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1919), p. 303,

⁵F. Scott Fitzgerald. *The Great Gatsby*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 182.

DIMENSIONS OF THE MIDWEST: DAVID D.
ANDERSON'S WRITINGS ON MIDWESTERN
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Dictionary of Midwestern Literature Volume 2

Dimensions of the Midwestern Literary Imagination

Edited by Philip A. Greasley

A project of the Society for the Study of Midwestern Literature

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