



1996

The Literary Study of Non-Fiction: An Analysis of Selected Works by George Orwell, Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, and Virginia Woolf

Kenneth S. Rogers
Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss



Part of the [English Language and Literature Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Rogers, Kenneth S., "The Literary Study of Non-Fiction: An Analysis of Selected Works by George Orwell, Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, and Virginia Woolf" (1996). *Dissertations*. 3628.
https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/3628

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 1996 Kenneth S. Rogers

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE LITERARY STUDY OF NON-FICTION:
AN ANALYSIS OF SELECTED WORKS BY GEORGE ORWELL,
RICHARD WRIGHT, ZORA NEALE HURSTON, AND VIRGINIA WOOLF

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

KENNETH S. ROGERS

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MAY 1996

Copyright by Kenneth S. Rogers, 1996
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While recognizing that two paragraphs cannot properly acknowledge those people who made this work possible, I feel some words of gratitude are in order at the outset. Of the numerous contributions of my committee, Paul Jay's patience, Pamela Caughie's challenging comments, and Joseph Epstein's faith have stood out most clearly. This project would not have been conceived if it were not for the guidance of several outstanding teachers: Allen Frantzen, Edmund Perry, Stuart Small, and Theresa Stanton. Joby Berman's patience and generosity were also important contributions. And I must especially thank my wife Debbie for her encouragement, patience, and insistence.

The impersonality of this page cannot convey my feelings for my parents, Ed and Rae, to whom this dissertation is dedicated.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....iii

Chapter

1. THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF NON-FICTION STUDIES.....1

2. ORWELL AS SOCIAL EXPLORER: THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER.....49

3. HURSTON, HOODOO, AND ANTHROPOLOGY: MULES AND MEN.....84

4. VOICES AND FACES: WRIGHT AND THE PICTORIAL TEXTS
OF THE 1930S.....118

5. THREE GUINEAS: WOOLF'S BOMBSHELL.....159

6. THE HOPEFUL FUTURE OF NON-FICTION STUDIES.....200

WORKS CITED.....206

VITA.....224

CHAPTER 1

THE CURIOUS HISTORY OF NON-FICTION STUDIES

I begin with a statement which I believe to be, and trust will be accepted as, self-evident: non-fiction texts do not receive serious attention from literary critics and scholars. The quantity of non-fiction analyses is not only strikingly low compared to that of fiction and poetry, but the quality of what few analyses do exist also does not approach the sophistication of fiction and poetry analysis.¹ My primary goal in this study is to compensate in part for these inadequacies by performing an extended analysis of four works of non-fiction: Richard Wright's Twelve Million Black Voices, George Orwell's The Road to Wigan

¹ Should the terms "non-fiction," "fiction" and "poetry" be used, as I seem to be using them here, as boundaries demarcating self-contained literary categories? Literary scholarship in the past several decades has questioned the validity of such categorization, and this effort (part of the general trend toward eliminating long-standing scholarly barriers across the academy) offers an obvious strategy for the attempt to energize non-fiction studies. Denying the distinction between non-fiction and other forms of writing more privileged by the literary world, and subsequently applying fictional and poetic analysis to works of non-fiction, is one possible solution to the current dearth of non-fiction studies.

For a number of reasons, however, I have chosen not to follow this strategy, perhaps the most compelling reason being the status of this strategic approach in the literary academy. While the impact of non-traditional scholarship on literary studies cannot be denied, neither can the continuing influence of traditional academic paradigms in research, historical criticism, pedagogy, the canon, and a number of other institutions--including the division of texts into neat categories such as non-fiction, fiction and poetry. By not challenging these categories in this study, I intend neither to indict contemporary scholarship for its "failure" to transform literary studies (indeed, my desire to study non-fiction has been strongly motivated by nontraditional academics) nor defend traditional literary categories from the onslaught of contemporary scholarship, but rather to demonstrate how a non-traditional literary approach can be derived using the assumptions of traditional literary study.

Pier, Virginia Woolf's Three Guineas, and Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men.

Some preliminary questions must be answered, however, before analyzing these texts. Even if the above generalizations about non-fiction studies are taken at face value, it is still necessary to examine how non-fiction has come to be studied (or not studied) in the manner that it has. And the most practical way to begin this examination is with a selective look at the reception history of the four non-fiction works mentioned above.

Richard Wright's Twelve Million Black Voices (1941), a prosaic history of African-American life from slavery to the New Deal accompanied by over a hundred photographs, generated almost as much critical controversy as had his novel Native Son, published earlier that year. Several writers objected to the bitter tone of the narrative and, more significantly, the deliberate exclusion of the African-American upper classes, whose success did not, in Wright's estimation, fairly represent the experience of the majority of his people. Most critics, however, praised the quality of Wright's prose, and Twelve Million Black Voices sold very well.

After this initial response, however, the text has met with "a curious critical reception," according to Jack B. Moore, who claims that Twelve Million Black Voices "has not elicited the kind of in-depth analyses--with a few notable exceptions--that a popularly conceived major work by a major writer deserves" (415). Moore's comment is supported by even a casual glance at the body of criticism which the text has generated over five decades--brief mentions in Wright biographies, a citation here and there in the popular press, a few comments from the discipline of photographic criticism, and perhaps a dozen articles in literary journals.

Margaret Walker's comments on the text in Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius illustrate the type of critical response Twelve Million Black Voices has generated. Walker prefaces a lengthy quote from the text with the declaration that it is "one of Wright's best prose statements, showing his imaginative powers at their best. It is reminiscent of his poetry. Stylistically, it is not only poetic and deeply lyrical, it evokes emotion and empathy for the disinherited and the dispossessed" (107). What makes Walker's commentary noteworthy is not so much its content but rather its brevity. No further comments are offered in analysis of Twelve Million Black Voices, and while this fact is partially attributable to the fact that Walker's text is primarily biographical, Native Son and other Wright novels receive a great deal more critical attention in Walker's text. This paradoxical attitude--enthusiastic appraisal combined with relative inattention--typifies the use of the text in Wright biographies. "There were other, exciting projects in the five-year interval between Native Son and Black Boy," writes Dan McCall; "--his text for the photo-collection of 12 Million Black Voices, stories to write, reviews to get in, speeches to deliver--but his autobiography was slowly taking shape in his mind" (103). An exciting project, perhaps, but somehow also uninteresting; McCall makes no further reference to the text in his work.

The critical response to Twelve Million Black Voices can easily be read in its entirety in a day, and at the end of that day one would appreciate the number of favorable responses it has generated. In the field of Wright studies, then, Twelve Million Black Voices stands out as a text worthy of praise, but not worthy of attention. A curious reception, indeed.

The enduring popularity of Native Son may partially explain the lack of attention given to Twelve Million Black Voices, yet a similar

explanation cannot be provided for the critical reception of George Orwell's The Road to Wigan Pier (1937). The author of four critically well-received but commercially unsuccessful novels, Orwell nearly overnight became a controversial figure, especially among English left intellectuals, through his text on working and living conditions in the industrial north of England. In addition to making Orwell a recognized literary figure, the text arguably determined the direction which Orwell's writing career would take, for in The Road to Wigan Pier Orwell for the first time addresses issues which recur with great regularity in his subsequent work: industrial decay, the potential menace of technology to human freedom, the threat of tyranny in England, and the response of English socialists to these societal problems. One should expect, then, to find that The Road to Wigan Pier would be of great concern in Orwell criticism.

Surprisingly, however, the critical reaction to Orwell's text has been little better than that to Twelve Million Black Voices. Although The Road to Wigan Pier has been the subject of a good deal more critical attention than has Wright's text, it commands a smaller proportion of Orwell criticism than it would seem to merit. Indeed, the four Orwell novels written before The Road to Wigan Pier receive almost as much attention in Orwell studies, an especially ironic fact considering Orwell's own disappointment in those works of fiction.²

² Of the 41 citations for critical works in English since 1990 on Orwell, 17 analyze some aspect of his fictional work, with Animal Farm and 1984 receiving the majority of attention. Ten articles draw on Orwell's fiction and non-fiction to determine Orwell's views on political and literary issues, while six are devoted to biographical or bibliographic detail important to Orwell studies. Only four articles--two each on Homage to Catalonia and "Such, Such Were the Joys"--address his non-fiction exclusively.

Of course, the citations in the MLA Bibliography (which, despite its depth and reliability of coverage, does not include every published scholarly work) do not represent critical activity in its entirety. Indeed, there may have been many more published and unpublished works (such as conference papers and lectures) on Orwell's non-fiction texts

Yet it is not so much the quantity of critical attention paid to The Road to Wigan Pier which is upsetting, but the quality of what little critical attention it does receive. Gerald Graff's "George Orwell and the Class Racket" illustrates the dominant critical use of this text. Graff's essay consists of a series of observations on class, culture and politics taken from Orwell's early published work, mostly The Road to Wigan Pier. By combining extensive citations with lengthy commentary, Graff produces a coherent picture of Orwell's political and cultural opinions. Orwell, whose "peculiar circumstances gave him insights into the changing relations of culture to politics which neither the Right nor the Left has quite caught up with today" (118), emerges in Graff's essay as a visionary thinker on these issues.

Graff's handling of one particularly difficult passage merits special attention. After his vivid description of poverty in industrial northern England, Orwell, a proclaimed socialist, asserts that socialism has little support among the English working class even though it offers a solution to their plight. The non-Socialist middle and working classes, Orwell offers by way of explanation, have recoiled from the eccentricities of the middle-class intellectuals who are said to dominate English socialism. Orwell's description of English socialism is certainly the most notorious passage in his text: "the mere words 'Socialism' and 'Communism' draw towards them with magnetic force every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, 'Nature Cure' quack, pacifist and feminist in England" (173-4). Whether one

during the time frame indicated above than the MLA listings would indicate. However, while it may certainly be possible that a significant body of non-fiction literary criticism on Orwell or other writers exists, the fact that such little non-fiction literary criticism is published in renowned academic titles--a fact readily evidenced by the MLA Bibliography--suggests that any such unpublished material has yet to make enough impact on criticism to motivate published critical response. If, indeed, such a body of unpublished criticism existed, the amount of published criticism would certainly be more significant.

agrees with the sentiment or not, the above passage is clearly self-indulgent, and Graff laments the fact that the crankiness of this passage "deflects attention from the analysis of culture and politics which underlay Orwell's strictures" (114).

Graff's dismissal of this passage seems a bit too convenient, and reveals an assumption that by concentrating on certain segments of The Road to Wigan Pier while dismissing others, one can observe Orwell's true attitudes toward class, culture and politics. Such an approach would hardly be considered appropriate in the study of fiction, where the author's ideology is routinely considered enmeshed in a complex web of meaning and allusion, not buried under a few select passages, and where potentially contradictory passages are confronted, not dismissed.

Granting the difficulty of defining exactly what constitutes a "literary reading," it seems safe to say that a literary reading of The Road to Wigan Pier would consider to what extent the infamous "crank" passage serves some strategic purpose in the text, and would make this consideration part of a process whereby all elements of Orwell's text were analyzed to determine its overall effect and message.³ To dismiss

³ While it may be impossible to define a "literary reading" in a manner satisfying all or even a majority of literary scholars, it seems possible, and desirable, to isolate at least one element common to all definitions of the phrase: a literary reading of a text must include some discussion of that text's formal properties. In other words, if we accept for at least a moment the validity of a form/content division in the text, we could say that a reading which restricts itself to the text's content, which is solely concerned with the information conveyed by that text, cannot be considered a literary reading of that text. This is not to say that content cannot enter into a literary reading, that such analysis is restricted to formal considerations (my later analyses of non-fiction works by Orwell, Hurston, Wright and Woolf will discuss issues of content a good deal), or that an analysis which restricts itself to formal considerations (a type not found in any of the non-fiction criticism I have come across) is more of a literary reading than one which is "tainted" by discussion of content; indeed, an exclusive concentration on form may have as devastating an effect on a literary reading as does a sole concentration on content. This distinction bears repeating: Graff's reading of The Road to Wigan Pier fails to be a literary reading, in my estimation, not because it discusses Orwell's political views but rather because it is restricted

this passage as distracting, however, and to effectively exclude it from the analysis of the text, is evidence of a far different use--namely, to treat the text as a resource for ideas important to the critic (Graff's essay draws clear parallels to Orwell's observations on the English left of the 1930s and Graff's own observations on the Anglo-American left of the 1980s). For all of its valuable insights into Orwell's political philosophy, Graff's essay disappoints as a literary reading of The Road to Wigan Pier. His use of Orwell's text is another curious reception of non-fiction by the literary world.

A far more satisfying reading of a non-fiction work seems to be promised by the opening paragraphs of "'No more horses,'" Jane Marcus' essay on Three Guineas, Virginia Woolf's 1938 critique of English patriarchal culture made in the context of concerns about the start of another European war. Marcus praises the "innovative technical genius" of Woolf's text, drawing particular attention to Woolf's use of the epistolary format (the text is constructed as a response to three correspondents), a literary form which Marcus claims to be distinctively feminine. The bitterly ironic tone of the work, Marcus adds, places it next to Milton's Areopagitica and Swift's A Modest Proposal "on the shelf of English literature in the satiric mode" (273-4). An attention to the text's formal innovations in regard to both recognized and unrecognized literary conventions--the beginning of Marcus' essay holds forth the promise of a reading which addresses not merely the issues raised in Woolf's text but also the manner in which those issues are addressed.

However, it soon becomes obvious that Marcus is not really

to those views. This restriction is more the norm than the exception in the analysis of non-fiction texts, and is a major contributor to the current state of non-fiction studies.

interested in exploring the literary merits of Three Guineas. Her claim that "what Three Guineas says is why we read it" (273)--the unexpressed belief of Graff's essay on Orwell--marks a shift of focus away from the text's literary potential to a sole concentration on the text's content. And as was also the case with Graff's essay, Marcus makes quick work of a difficult passage in Three Guineas, in which Woolf symbolically burns the word "feminist," "an old word, a vicious and corrupt word that has done much harm in its day and is now obsolete" (101). Marcus asserts that Woolf's comments "were rather premature and optimistic" (268)--and that, it seems, is all that needs to be said.

Yet Marcus' use of a different Woolf quote demands even more attention: "if we use art to propagate political opinions, we must force the artist to clip and cabin his gift to do us a cheap and passing service. Literature will suffer the same mutilation that the mule has suffered; and there will be no more horses" (170). Rather than seeing the passage as Woolf's warning to herself or her readers, Marcus reads the quote as joyful self-denigration:

The declaration that "There will be no more horses" was not so much a criticism of the coupling of art and propaganda in the age of Fascism as a facing of the facts. Her novels were as thoroughbred a stable as any noble Englishwoman could wish. But Woolf could see that necessity for donkeys and "donkeywork" as well. In Three Guineas she produced her own mule. Perhaps it was sterile, but it did kick and it did bite (283).

Although she hints at the potential for a literary reading of Three Guineas, Marcus feels that the text's political message, important as it is, makes the text essentially unliterary. Yet earlier, Marcus had favorably compared Woolf to Milton and Swift. A text proclaimed to belong "on the shelf of English literature in the satiric mode," but later labelled sterile by the same critic--yet another curiosity.

As did all of Zora Neale Hurston's work, Mules and Men (1935), a

collection of southern African-American folk tales and hoodoo lore, went virtually ignored from the mid-1940s (when Hurston fell out of favor with the literary world) to the early 1970s, when her work experienced a scholarly and commercial revival. The key Hurston text during the early stages of that revival was Their Eyes Were Watching God, which Alice Walker, arguably the most important figure in Hurston studies at this time, proclaimed to be her favorite novel.

Decades of neglect in Hurston studies were now followed by an almost exclusive critical interest in Their Eyes Were Watching God, and when attention eventually turned to Hurston's other work the similarities to the novel were routinely cited. Mules and Men lends itself particularly well to such comparisons, for not only is Eatonville, Florida (Hurston's actual home town) featured in both texts, one can detect a great deal of similarity between the narrator in Mules and Men and Janie Crawford, the protagonist in Their Eyes Were Watching God. At the beginning of Mules and Men, Hurston reflects on the personal significance of her mission to collect folklore has deep personal meaning to her:

From the earliest rocking of my cradle, I had known about the capers Brer Rabbit is apt to cut and what the Squinch Owl says from the house top. But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see it for wearing it. It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that (1).

Similarly, in Their Eyes Were Watching God (published two years after Mules and Men) Janie Crawford returns to Eatonville after a long absence and reflects on the significance of her past through her conversation with Pheoby. But perhaps the greatest similarity between the texts lies in the wealth of information they provide about African-American folk customs; the novel retells, usually with little if any modifications, many of the tales and hoodoo practices described in Mules and Men.

Indeed, as Henry Louis Gates Jr. has observed, the folklore Hurston collected for Mules and Men "became metaphors, allegories, and performances in her novels" (292-3).

Yet while the comparison to the novel is understandable for a number of reasons, it is disturbing to note how literary critics until recently have used Mules and Men for little else. Gates' essay, written after Hurston's literary reputation had been firmly re-established, is indicative of such treatment. Beginning with a discussion of Janie Crawford, the essay explores a number of issues only tangentially related to Mules and Men, ranging from the reasons for Hurston's fading popularity during the 1950s and 60s to the problems involved in the creation of an African-American's literary tradition; the text itself routinely disappears from Gates' discussion for several paragraphs at a time. In one telling moment, Gates declares, without explanation, that Hurston was "always more of a novelist than a social scientist" (293)--a comment which seems particularly striking when one considers that it was Hurston's work as a folklorist, not as a novelist, that sustained what little presence she had in African-American culture for several decades.

It may be inappropriate to judge Gates' essay, written as an afterword to a popular edition of the text, by a strict scholarly standard; the work nevertheless deserves attention because it most clearly represents the dominant critical use of Mules and Men in the initial years of the Hurston critical revival. The text was routinely treated as a means to an end, especially in the interpretation of Hurston's fiction, but rarely as an end to itself. It is clear, for instance, that Mary Katherine Wainwright's reading of Their Eyes Were Watching God directs her reading of Mules and Men. Mathilda Moseley and Big Sweet, two prominent figures in Mules and Men, can each be seen "as a prototype of the female artist, Janie Crawford, in Hurston's Their Eyes Were Watching God, one who has found the ability to reclaim the

authority of language assumed by the male" (63). Mules and Men is used in this essay as a source text, a document containing the ideas which will later be developed into themes in Hurston's novel. Wainwright's reading, while providing valuable insight into Hurston's fiction, is as narrowly focused on issues of content, and therefore as blind to the possibilities of a literary reading, as is Graff's reading of The Road to Wigan Pier.

However, the critical reception of Mules and Men has been far more promising in recent years than has been the reception of the three other non-fiction works previously discussed. A number of studies have examined not only the tales and lore conveyed in Hurston's text but also the manner in which her information is presented. Sandra Dolby-Stahl, for example, has argued that Hurston's integration of literary conventions (dialogue, setting, characterization) in the context of her folklore scholarship provides a vivid example of ethnographic methodology, making Mules and Men a living handbook for the collection of folklore. Also noting the presence of literary conventions in Mules and Men, Rosan Augusta Jordan argues that Hurston was primarily interested in showing how folklore functioned within its cultural context. John Dorst sees a more general purpose to Hurston's narrative strategy, as he claims that the problems encountered by the text's narrator (she ends her visit to Florida by fleeing a violent scene at a logging camp) dramatizes Hurston's belief in the impossibility of effective ethnographic research. By considering not only the folklore presented in Mules and Men but also the strategic manner in which it is presented, each of the above studies could be said to produce a literary reading of the text.

That each of these three studies appeared in an anthropological or folklore scholarship journal should not be casually overlooked. Considering the cross-disciplinary nature of modern scholarship, this

fact in and of itself is hardly surprising, yet it is nevertheless significant that the majority of literary readings of Mules and Men in recent years have come from outside literary academia. In perhaps the most curious aspect of non-fiction studies considered so far, the literary world seems to have less literary interest in Hurston's non-fiction than do other academic fields. This statement may say much about interdisciplinary scholarship, yet it would seem to say even more about literary scholarship's interest, or lack of same, in non-fiction texts.

If the four examples cited above are indeed typical of non-fiction studies within the literary academy, a few general observations about non-fiction studies can be made.

The first, and most obvious, is that non-fiction is not studied with any degree of regularity in the literary academy.⁴ Indeed, non-

⁴ One very large exception to this statement seems to exist. Since at least the mid 1960s, autobiography has been the focus of a number of critical studies, and in recent years one particular mode of autobiographical writing, the personal essay, has garnered a great deal of attention, with some critics even designating this mode of writing as literary non-fiction. (Douglas Hesse's "The Recent Rise of Literary Nonfiction: A Cautionary Assay" provides an overview of this critical school.) If, indeed, autobiography is a form of non-fiction, and if the personal essay has attained the status of literature in the academy, it would seem that the conclusion reached here on the critical status of non-fiction is inappropriate.

However, the proposition that autobiography is a subset of non-fiction can hardly be taken for granted. It is a maxim of autobiography studies that there are very few formal restraints placed on autobiographical expression, and this freedom therefore allows the writer of autobiography to incorporate themes germane to several different fields. As James Olney says in his introductory essay to Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical (1980), "what is autobiography to one observer is history or philosophy, psychology or lyric poetry, sociology or metaphysics to another" (5). Olney attributes the interest in autobiography to "a fascination with the self and its profound, its endless mysteries and, accompanying that fascination, an anxiety about the self, an anxiety about the dimness and vulnerability of that entity that no one has ever seen or touched or tasted" (23). In such an era, autobiography, the most self-reflexive of discourses, would naturally be of great interest.

fiction is often considered irrelevant in considering an author's literary achievement; whether labelled as "mule work" or glossed over in between discussions of an author's more thoroughbred novels, non-fiction texts are often treated as sterile, insignificant, even frivolous--and, at any rate, not worthy of consideration as objects of literary analysis.

Secondly, when non-fiction texts are given attention, they are typically used as background material for either exploring the author's beliefs (political and/or artistic) or as an aid to interpreting the writer's fiction; to use the traditional terminology of literary studies, non-fiction texts are used as secondary sources in literary criticism, with fiction used as primary source material. In discussions of Wright's ambivalence about the African-American middle class, Orwell's allegiance to socialism, Woolf's views on feminism, and Hurston's knowledge of the black southern folk tradition, the works mentioned above are given extensive attention; when the topic turns to the author's literary achievement, however, these texts disappear from the discussion.

One final observation concerns the empirical nature of non-fiction interpretation. It often seems that literary critics feel that non-

It is perhaps best to see the interest in autobiography not as an exception to the rule in regard to the study of non-fiction, or to see autobiography as a form of fiction, but to consider autobiography a special case. In light of the generic confusion caused by autobiography, it is perhaps best to place this mode of expression neither in the field of fiction or non-fiction, but to consider it a distinct mode of expression.

The field of literary non-fiction, meanwhile, is in its early stages of development, and it is impossible to tell the direction it will take in the coming years. The fact that it has restricted itself exclusively to the personal essay, however, is cause for concern. There is little indication at this point that documentaries (The Road to Wigan Pier), social histories (Twelve Million Black Voices), political essays (Three Guineas), anthropological studies (Mules and Men), and other non-fiction works which are not explicitly autobiographical will be addressed by scholars of literary non-fiction; thus, this field of study in its present form has little significance for the current study.

fiction actually does not require interpretation at all; non-fiction, so it seems, speaks for itself. In order to understand Orwell's politics or Woolf's feminism, one simply needs to look at certain statements made in their non-fiction, regardless of the context for those statements. No such approach would be imaginable in regard to fiction, whose statements are presumed to suggest rather than prescribe. Non-fiction, however, seems to operate on a different principle than does fiction, at least in the estimation of literary critics. Non-fiction is routinely considered a purely instrumental mode of communication, with no element of expression.

Why is non-fiction not considered literature? Why are non-fiction texts routinely ignored by literary scholars? And when they are given attention, why are they not subjected to the same types of analyses which are customarily applied to works of fiction?

One cannot, of course, ask these questions without also asking perhaps the most problematic, and most frequently asked, question in literary studies: what is literature? Decades of debate over this term's meaning have led to no definitive conclusions. However, while the term itself may remain indefinable, several critics have charted how the term has evolved over the decades and centuries, revealing to us not what the term means but how the term has been used, and how significant that term has been at various points in Anglo-American culture. Raymond Williams' Keywords, a work perhaps best described as part etymology, part cultural history, is a good starting point in the examination of this term.

Williams identifies the late eighteenth century as an important time in the evolution of literature. Up to this time, the term most commonly meant a condition of being well-read, as in "a man of good literature;" less often, the term was used to refer to the books which

such a man was expected to have read in order to earn that distinction. It is important to note that, in the later sense of the term, works of philosophy, history, political theory, and other texts which we would today term non-fiction were considered part of literature.

However, by the late eighteenth century literature became more narrowly defined, became more closely associated with a certain type of writing--namely, imaginative writing. To understand this development, we must observe the radical transformation taking place at this time of a different cultural keyword. As Williams explains, up to this time "creativity" had been seen as a quality belonging properly only to the Judeo-Christian God; human creativity was at best a weak imitation of divine creativity, at worst even sacrilegious. (This connotation still survives, though less often and without religious overtones, in phrases such as "You're just being creative.") However, under the influence of Romanticism, with its emphasis on the imagination and near idolatry of the individual poem, creativity began to lose its pejorative connotation, becoming rather a term of high praise. Shelley's "A Defense of Poetry" (1821) is arguably this era's boldest proclamation of the potential for human creativity as evidenced through the act of imaginative writing:

[Poetry] awakens and enlarges the mind itself by rendering it the receptacle of a thousand unapprehended combinations of thought. Poetry lifts the veil from the hidden beauty of the world, and makes familiar objects be as if they were not familiar (21).

As it evolved from a pejorative to one of Western culture's more approbatory terms, creativity became an important criteria in the estimation of a text's merit. Literature, then, became more closely associated with creative writing.

The concept of faculty psychology played an important role in further narrowing the definition of creativity during the Romantic era. Even the driest of non-fiction texts can be said to show a form of

creativity, that is, intellectual creativity. For example, even if we were to judge the dramatic elements of the Platonic dialogues (scene, characterization, suspense) to be mundane window-dressing for the ideas presented therein, we could certainly say that those ideas are remarkable enough to be considered creative products of the intellect. However, the faculty of imagination was not only exalted in Romanticism, it was also clearly separated from the faculty of reason. Therefore, only those texts which displayed the work of creative imagination, not the creativity of the intellect, came to be designated literary. With such parameters in effect, the place of non-fiction texts--in other words, any text which was evidently not primarily the creation of the imagination--became tenuous.

Returning again to Williams' discussion of literature, we note another important cultural development in the late eighteenth century which would have a further impact on the status of non-fiction. Improvements in education and the printing process allowed for the development of writing as a viable profession. With something resembling a bookselling marketplace evolving during the century, the members of this new-found profession would naturally devote most of their energies to those texts which sold the best. And, as the popularity of creative writing continued to grow, so followed the interests of the writers. Novels and poems dominated the book market, with works of non-fiction being relegated to the press (which has never been granted the status of literature). This situation has changed little over the centuries; creative works still dominate the book markets, with modern bookstores devoting a small portion of their shelf space for works of non-fiction.⁵ Professional writers then and now have

⁵ Certain non-fiction genres, most notably biographies or histories, routinely appear on best-seller lists, of course. Yet it is interesting to note that popular non-fiction works are often directly

recognized this reality of the book market, or have certainly been reminded of this reality by their publishers, which partially explains why they have devoted less energy to non-fiction.

Yet can developments in the literary marketplace and general cultural attitudes properly account for the literary academy's continued neglect of non-fiction? Historically, the literary academy has had an uneasy relationship at best with both the literary marketplace and mainstream Anglo-American culture. Book sales alone are not considered a justifiable criteria for critical attention--the revival of Zora Neale Hurston's critical reputation, for example, occurred well before her novels reappeared in bookstores. The academy has challenged and modified the literary canon on several occasions, with several different motivations. If the literary academy has proved itself capable of such maverick attitudes in the past, and has in fact taken pride in this approach, then why does it share the popular attitudes of neglect and comparative disdain for non-fiction? Clearly, an additional explanation would seem to be necessary.

The answer perhaps lies with a term which in recent years has had almost an interesting history as literature: rhetoric. Once again, a great deal of debate over this term's definition has led to little agreement; for now, though, it is enough to point out that in most discussions of the term one finds a clear delineation between the principles of rhetoric, on the one hand, and the principles of poetics. This delineation should come as no surprise if we examine the history of the terms, for rhetoric and poetics have long been dissociated in

associated with a prominent public figure or celebrity (as in the biography of a politician or athlete), a dramatic event (as in a history of the Viet Nam war or a documentary of a highly publicized murder trial), or a popular hobby or lifestyle trend (as in "how-to" books and exercise manuals). The appeal of these texts reveals far more about the influence of mass media on consumer decisions than it does about the general public's interest in non-fictional genres.

Western humanist thought. And if we look at this history closer, we make a few more important observations: first, that rhetoric, as a theory of human discourse, has been treated with suspicion by poetic theorists since at least the Romantic era; and second--and more importantly--non-fiction has been closely associated with rhetoric since the classical era. The status of non-fiction, in other words, is closely linked to the status of rhetoric, a discipline which, at least until very recent years, has been treated with suspicion by literary scholars.

The above statements call for an examination of the uses of the term rhetoric from the classical age to the present, and as good a place as any to begin this ambitious task is with Aristotle and his two major books of discourse analysis, the Rhetoric and the Poetics.⁶ The subject

⁶ As I begin this task, I feel it is wise to admit my trepidations, for such an overview is fraught with dangers and open to any number of powerful and worthy objections. By citing only a handful of writers over the span of nearly 2500 years, I knowingly neglect the insights of countless numbers of influential thinkers; by citing mere paragraphs from the works of those writers who I do include in this overview, I run the risk of ignoring dozens of issues which would arise from a more extensive overview of their works; by making only brief comments on those paragraphs I do cite, I run the risk of oversimplifying complex issues. By definition, the following overview of the history of rhetoric within Western humanist philosophy will be tunnel-visioned, ethnocentric, biased, oversimplified, and misrepresentative.

What, then, is my justification for using these thinkers, these texts, these comments, for making this seemingly hopeless argument? One could take Stanley Fish's position that the arguments both for and against rhetoric have remained basically unchanged since the classical age, yet even were that true it would only apply to the terms of the debate, not its key figures. The only viable excuse for my approach comes from the fact that, as scholars such as Fish have examined the discipline of rhetoric over the years, it is these thinkers, these works, which have received, and continue to receive, the most attention. Discussions of rhetoric routinely return to the same sources; the thoughts which emerge from them, it seems, form the foundation for our concepts of rhetoric to this day. It is necessary to return to this well-traveled territory not to perpetuate the lofty reputations of its inhabitants, but rather to remind ourselves of their power over our own thoughts--and, where necessary, to challenge that power. Such a review need not be a reactionary perpetuation of the intellectual status quo, but rather the first step in the formation of a different intellectual perspective.

matter addressed in these two works is quite distinct, Rhetoric dealing with prose texts, especially public speeches, with Poetics devoted to poetry in all its forms (lyric, epic, and tragic and comic drama); this provides the first evidence for the linking of non-fiction with rhetoric. Yet the distinction Aristotle makes between rhetoric and poetics goes far beyond the formal level, as Aristotle clearly distinguishes the role which style plays in each of these two communicative modes. In his advice to the rhetor in the construction of the text to be delivered to the audience, Aristotle cautions that "it is not enough to know what we ought to say; we must also say as we ought; much help is thus afforded towards producing the right impression of a speech" (164) and subsequently refers the rhetor to his comments on style in the Poetics. However, Aristotle's further comments on rhetorical style indicate that he is not at all comfortable with this subject.⁷

No systematic treatise upon the rules of delivery has yet been composed; indeed, even the study of language made no progress till late in the day. Besides, delivery is--very properly--not regarded as an elevated subject of inquiry. Still, the whole business of rhetoric being concerned with appearances, we must pay attention to the subject of delivery, unworthy though it is, because we cannot do without it. The right thing in speaking really is that we should be satisfied not to annoy our hearers, without trying to delight them: we ought in fairness to fight our case with no help beyond the bare facts: nothing, therefore, should matter except the proof of those facts. Still, as has been already said, other things affect the result considerably, owing to the defects of our hearers. The arts of language cannot help having a small but real importance, whatever it is we have to expound to others: the way in which a thing is said does affect

However convenient this explanation may be, though, the growing effort to provide alternative views on rhetorical history and theory should not go ignored. Susan C. Jarratt's Rereading the sophists: classical rhetoric refigured (1991) and John Bender and David E. Wellbery's The Ends of Rhetoric: History, Theory, Practice (1990) are good examples of this effort.

⁷ In this chapter's discussion of rhetoric, the terms rhetor, text and audience will be used in favor of synonymous terms such as writer (or author), book and reader. The rhetor-text-audience terminology more properly reflects that rhetoric is an analytical system which can be applied not only to writing but also to speech and non-verbal modes of communication.

its intelligibility (165, emphasis added).

A clear implication of the above is that rhetorical style, while sharing some of the formal devices of aesthetic style (such as metaphor), should nevertheless not be identical to the latter, as the two discursive forms serve different ends (rhetoric being the art of persuasion, aesthetics being the art of imitation); indeed, Aristotle later claims that "the language of prose is distinct from that of poetry" (167). (Oddly enough, subsequent conceptions of rhetoric would place a far greater emphasis on rhetorical style; in some theories, rhetoric and style would become nearly synonymous.) The Poetics offers a further distinction between prose and poetry, based not on style this time but on the use of subject matter.

The distinction between historian and poet is not in the one writing prose and the other verse--you might put the work of Herodotus into verse, and it would still be a species of history; it consists really in this, that the one describes the thing that has been, and the other a kind of thing that might be. Hence poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars (234-5).

Herodotus' History fails to be poetry not because it describes historical events but rather because of the way it describes those events. Historical events, according to Aristotle, can be the subject of poetry so long as the poet uses those events to explore universal conditions, in other words "what such or such a kind of man will probably or necessarily say or do" (235); Herodotus, by restricting himself to particulars--what particular men actually did in certain situations--produced prose, not poetry. Aristotle's two works suggest that rhetoric and aesthetics--and thus, by direct association, prose and poetry--exist in distinct spheres, operate under principles which do not overlap. The role of each discursive mode is clearly delineated: Rhetoric deals with language as persuasive act, with Poetics dealing with language as imitative act. By further implication, rhetorical

criticism focuses on a linguistic act's persuasive ability, while aesthetic criticism judged a linguistic act's imitative ability.

One can read in Aristotle's work an attempt to show the close affinities between rhetoric and poetics, yet in truth it is rhetoric's relationship to another discipline, dialectic, which is Aristotle's primary concern in Rhetoric. Aristotle calls rhetoric "the counterpart of dialectic," meaning that the terms were not antithetical but were in fact complementary. Of the numerous factors which influenced the relationship between the two disciplines, setting perhaps gives the best example; one uses rhetoric, Aristotle explains, when addressing a crowd of strangers, while dialectic is used when one is involved in a more intimate situation. This synthetic approach, however, did not have a great impact on subsequent Western intellectual history; rather, Plato's dismissive comments on rhetoric, seen most clearly in Phaedrus and Gorgias, dominated that history. As Stanley Fish has pointed out, rhetoric was seen as a deceptive art, in contrast to dialectic, seen as the unbiased search for truth.

While the influence of Aristotle's views on rhetoric remain significant to this day, it is necessary to turn once again to the Romantic era in order to understand rhetoric's status in our own time. In formulating their thoughts on the nature and purpose of communication, the Romantics, while echoing many of Aristotle's observations on rhetoric, augmented them with the philosophy of another classical figure, the anonymous first-century writer customarily known as Longinus. Specifically, Longinus' comments on the sublime would have a major impact on Romantic poetic theory. Note specifically the following comparison between the effect of the sublime and the effect of rhetoric:

[S]ublimity is a certain distinction and excellence in expression, and that it is from no other source than this that the greatest poets and writers have derived their eminence and gained an immortality of renown. The effect of elevated language upon an

audience is not persuasion but transport. At every time and in every way imposing speech, with the spell it throws over us, prevails over that which aims at persuasion and gratification. Our persuasions we can usually control, but the influences of the sublime bring power and irresistible might to bear, and reign supreme over every hearer. Similarly, we see skill in invention, and due order and arrangement of matter, emerging as the hard-won result not of one thing nor of two, but of the whole texture of the composition, whereas Sublimity flashing forth at the right moment scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt, and at once displays the power of the orator in all its plenitude (43).

Kant, perhaps the most influential of the Romantic philosophers, echoes Longinus' praise for the effects of the sublime, which he describes as "a feeling of pain, arising from the want of accordance between the aesthetical estimation of magnitude formed by the Imagination and the estimation of the same formed by Reason" (119). This pain, arising from the aesthetic judgment, acts as a revelation to the reason; put simply, the experience of the sublime reminds man of his unfulfilled potential, and, properly received, serves as the source of human inspiration.

For Kant, the experience of the sublime comes most naturally through poetry, which "expands the mind by setting the Imagination at liberty; and by offering within the limits of a given concept amid the unbounded variety of possible forms accordant therewith, that which unites the presentment of this concept with a wealth of thought, to which no verbal expression is completely adequate" (215). Far different in Kant's estimation, however, is the effect of rhetoric:

Rhetoric, in so far as this means the art of persuasion, i.e. of deceiving by a beautiful show (ars oratoria), and not mere elegance of speech (eloquence and style), is a dialectic, which borrows from poetry only so much as is needful to win minds to the side of the orator before they have formed a judgment, and to deprive them of their freedom; it cannot therefore be recommended either for the law courts or for the pulpit. . . . For although this art may sometimes be directed to legitimate and praiseworthy designs, it becomes objectionable, when in this way maxims and dispositions are spoiled in a subjective point of view, though the action may objectively be lawful (215-6).

Not only is rhetoric dangerous, Kant argues, there should also be no need for it.

Again, the mere concept of this species of matters of human

concern, when clear and combined with a lively presentation of it in examples, without any offense against the rules of euphony of speech or propriety of expression, has by itself for Ideas of Reason (which collectively constitute eloquence), sufficient influence upon human minds; so that it is not needful to add the machinery of persuasion, which, since it can be used equally well to beautify or to hide vice and error, cannot quite lull the secret suspicion that one is being artfully overreached. In poetry everything proceeds with honesty and candor. It declares itself to be a mere entertaining play of the Imagination, which wishes to proceed as regards form in harmony with the laws of the Understanding; and it does not desire to steal upon and ensnare the Understanding by the aid of sensible presentation (216-7).

The evaluation of rhetoric evolved significantly from the classical to the Romantic era. Whereas rhetoric had been seen as a (usually negative) counterpart to dialectic ever since Aristotle's time, rhetoric in the Romantic era was now evaluated for its relationship to poetry. And while the effect was the same--rhetoric again was made to seem the inferior discourse--we need to understand the revised conditions for justifying rhetoric's status in order to understand the distrust of the term which, until recently, has dominated modern literary studies.⁸

⁸ Bender and Wellbery's "Rhetoricality: On the Modernist Return of Rhetoric," the introductory essay to their anthology The Ends of Rhetoric: History, Theory, Practice (1990), provides further discussion of what they call the demise of rhetoric during the Romantic and Enlightenment eras of the late eighteenth century. They maintain that many of the values and, more importantly, the material conditions which structured classical rhetoric were made obsolete by the latter era; the valorization of disinterestedness in political discourse and the rise of the nation-state (supplanting the city-states of the classical era) made the continued existence of rhetoric impossible. Bender and Wellbery further maintain that the conditions of Romanticism and the Enlightenment have themselves been supplanted in this century by the cultural hegemony of modernism, a transition which opens the possibility for a revival of rhetoric. Yet rhetoric in the modern era, they claim, "is no longer that of the classical tradition; it is attuned to the specific structures of modernist culture; its fundamental categories are markedly new." In contrast to the highly codified system determining the nature of human interaction which was classical rhetoric, modern rhetoric--or, to use the term they create to distinguish this system, rhetoricality--"is bound to no specific set of institutions. It manifests the groundless, infinitely ramifying character of discourse in the modern world." (25)

Bender and Wellbery offer an intriguing explanation for the causes of rhetoric's demise, and their observations on the descriptive rather than prescriptive nature of modern rhetoric seem appropriate. However, their eagerness to dismiss the contributions of classical rhetoric seems excessive, and based on assumptions which other rhetorical scholars have

The Romantic distrust of rhetoric was echoed and reinforced in the philosophies of the critical movement customarily called the New Criticism, a guiding force in the development of literary study in Anglo-American universities in the first half of this century. Unlike their humanist predecessors, the New Critics were not interested in literature's potential for moral and cultural instruction. Their primary concern was textual analysis, the determination of how meaning could be derived from a text. New Critics insisted that the meaning of the text should properly be derived from the text itself, without regard to the author's intended meaning or the effect which the text has on any one reader. "The poem," claim W.K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley in The Verbal Icon, a valuable book for New Critical theory, "is not the critic's own and not the author's (it is detached from the author at birth and goes about the world beyond his power to intend about it or control it). The poem belongs to the public. It is embodied in language, the peculiar possession of the public, and it is about the human being, an object of public knowledge" ("Intentional," 5). Wimsatt and Beardsley also state that other critical approaches, conducted rigorously, became equivalent to New Criticism: "The more specific the account of the emotion induced by a poem, the more nearly it will be an account of the reasons for emotion, the poem itself, and the more reliable it will be as an account of what the poem is likely to induce in other--sufficiently informed--readers" ("Affective" 34). In an era

questioned. Writing several years before Bender and Wellbery's essay appeared, Andrea A. Lunsford and Lisa S. Ede identify classical antecedents for many of the supposed innovations of modernist rhetoric and argue that attempts to distinguish modern from classical rhetoric have relied on distorted interpretations of the latter. "On Distinctions between Classical and Modern Rhetoric," in Connors, Ede and Lunsford, eds., Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse (1984), 37-49. It is also important to note that Kenneth Burke, the prominent rhetorician of this century whose work will be examined later in this chapter, offers a far more sympathetic picture of classical rhetoric than do Bender and Wellbery.

when each university department was developing its own special methodology and terminology, New Criticism's elevation of the text to the level of autonomous cultural artifact proved useful in establishing the distinct role which the English department performed in the university. New Critical principles argued that English studies provided insight into a special form of knowledge--literature.

Those principles, however, left little room for rhetoric. No rhetorical analysis of a text can proceed without discussing either the rhetor's intention or the effect the text has on the audience--two concerns, as noted above, which were dismissed from New Criticism. And even if intent and persuasion could be measured, rhetorical criticism, in Wimsatt's estimation, would still be foreign to literary studies.

Aristotle [in Rhetoric] conceives verbal discourse as an act, complicated in itself, and having a personal context of two main dimensions, the speaker and the audience. But he looks on all the features of the verbal act in a pragmatic light--thinking how they will operate to produce an end, a vote by a jury or a senate. That is what rhetoric in the full classical sense means, a pragmatic art of discourse. But there is nothing in the nature of the verbal act to prevent us from looking at the same features not in a pragmatic, but in a dramatic, light, and if we do this we are looking at a given discourse as a literary work ("Introduction" xv).

Rhetorical criticism is possible, Wimsatt claims--yet it is in no way literary. In the first half of this century, then, the conditions which enabled the still-present bias against non-fiction in American literary studies had been established. Rhetoric, understood as a pragmatic art of persuasive language use, had been effectively dismissed from literary studies, which focused on language's aesthetic qualities (whether aesthetics was considered primarily an imitative, expressive, or imaginative mode of discourse). Non-fictive prose, never having been aligned with aesthetics, suffered the same dismissal in New Criticism due to its historic association with rhetoric.

The study of literature, of course, has changed radically since

the publication of The Verbal Icon in 1964. Literary categories and definitions established by the New Critics have been challenged from a multitude of critical schools. It is not necessary here to delineate the contributions made to literary study by deconstruction, feminism, reader-response theory, new historicism, and other contemporary approaches to literature, yet it is worth noting one trend which seems to run through all contemporary criticism: an interest in rhetoric. As Stanley Fish has observed, modern critics from across the literary academy have aligned themselves with the proposition that the nature of knowledge is, to use philosophical terminology, more a posteriori rather than a priori; put another way, knowledge is the product of language, not the other way around. Given such an assumption, rhetoric, traditionally seen as the art of persuasion, would naturally receive a much warmer intellectual welcome. Within literary studies, this movement has caused a change in emphasis away from the analysis of a text's meaning to an analysis of the rhetorical motive in even the most seemingly disinterested texts. After centuries of mistrust, rhetoric has emerged as a powerful component in literary studies.

The same, however, cannot be said of non-fiction. Literary criticism may now embrace rhetoric, but only in the context of fiction and poetry studies, if the MLA listings are taken as a reliable barometer. Contemporary criticism has broadened the range of literary study, has opened the discipline to numerous subjects and methods of analysis--and non-fiction still accounts for a small minority of literary study. This continuing situation leads to one last difficult question: what needs to happen within literary studies in order for non-fiction to be studied on its own merits?

It is perhaps wise at this point to once again consider rhetoric, which has for so long been associated with non-fiction. As mentioned above, the application of rhetorical theory to literary studies has been

a fairly recent development; if, as argued by Stanley Fish, the beginning of rhetoric's rehabilitation can be traced back to 1962, with the publication of Thomas Kuhn's The Structure of Scientific Revolutions and J.L. Austin's How to Do Things with Words, that leaves a little over three decades of research to counteract centuries of intellectual distrust. Given this relatively short time span, it is entirely possible that literary criticism has not come close to exploring the possibilities offered by rhetoric. Indeed, while the literary academy has been busy struggling over its defining concepts, the discipline of rhetoric has itself experienced monumental changes. And if, indeed, the status of non-fiction is so closely linked to the status of rhetoric, it is certainly advisable at this point to pay special attention to some of the recent changes in rhetorical study, and determine what impact they might have on the literary study of non-fiction.

The following overview is not meant to be exhaustive, as the field of modern rhetorical theory includes the work of scholars from numerous disciplines such as philosophy, political science, composition studies, communications, and anthropology. As should be expected, there are also numerous points of contention among rhetorical theorists; to cite one such controversy, there is considerable debate over the relationship of modern rhetoric to its classical antecedents, with some theorists insisting that modern rhetoric represents a radical departure from its antecedents and others noting modern principles in the work of classical rhetoricians. Debates such as these, however, should not obscure similarities which run through all modern rhetorical theories and which are directly relevant to rehabilitating the reputation of non-fiction among literary critics: the emphasis on invention; the exploration of rhetoric's epistemic potential; and the consideration of rhetoric as a social act.

The Renewed Emphasis on Invention

Roman rhetorical theory, which codified many of the suggestions found in Aristotle's Rhetoric, identified five resources for the rhetor: invention, arrangement, elocution, memory, and delivery. Invention was that step in the rhetorical process where the rhetor discovered what is to be said in the text to be delivered to the audience. For centuries in rhetorical theory, invention was not given much emphasis, as the rhetor was assumed to come to the task of composing the text with all the information necessary. When discussed, invention involved little more than selecting the mode of writing appropriate to the subject matter. In Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (1783), a composition text used in American colleges for over a century, Hugh Blair reveals the traditional assumption concerning invention in the rhetorical process:

The first of these [resources], Invention, is, without doubt, the most material, and the ground-work of the rest. But, with respect to this, I am afraid it is beyond the power of art to give any real assistance. Art cannot go so far, as to supply a speaker with arguments on every cause, and every subject; though it may be of considerable use in assisting him to arrange, and express those, which his knowledge of the subject has discovered (2: 180).

While rhetorical theory before the modern era often claimed that the rhetor should address the needs and values of the audience in the text, this consideration usually came into effect at the level of style, rather than invention.

The contrasting importance which modern rhetorical theory places on invention is indicated by the report of the 1970 Wingspread Conference of the Speech Communication Association, published as The Prospect of Rhetoric; the final essay in this report, "Report of the Committee on the Nature of Rhetorical Invention," is the only essay which concentrates on any of the five rhetorical resources. This shift

of emphasis was the prerequisite step in the exploration of the creative aspects of rhetorical theory.

Chaim Perelman's The Realm of Rhetoric provides a philosophical background for this change of emphasis through his emphasis on long-overlooked aspects of Aristotelian rhetoric. Perelman first reaffirms Aristotle's distinction between analytic and dialectical reasoning (the former dealing with formal demonstration, the latter with justifiable opinion), a distinction which Perelman claims has been abandoned for centuries in Western thought. Again looking to Aristotle as his inspiration, Perelman then aligns rhetoric with dialectical reasoning, thereby freeing it from the burdens of formal demonstration. Rhetoric, in Perelman's opinion, is not concerned with determining the ultimate truth or falsity of a proposition but rather with gaining the adherence of the audience to propositions whose truths are ultimately indeterminable. In Perelman's estimation, rhetoric is a practice in which the proofs affirmed by the rhetor are always tentative, and are always a function to some extent of the audience.

Given this view, the rhetor could not think of delivering the same text to different audiences, since each audience presents the rhetor with a unique set of circumstances (such as the audience's knowledge and values, current events, and the setting of the text). Since each text has to be addressed to these fluid circumstances, each text must necessarily be distinct. Each rhetorical situation, in other words, requires a separate act of invention.

The Epistemic Potential of Rhetoric

Modern rhetorical theory has certainly been influenced by, and been a major influence on, the contemporary movement across academic disciplines to investigate the role which language plays in constituting "reality"--or, to put it another way, modern rhetorical theory has

favored the notion that language helps shape the perception of reality, rather than merely being a mirror of the real world. Put specifically in rhetorical terminology, modern rhetorical theory suggests that each rhetorical act creates new knowledge which influences the way the audience perceives reality. This concept of rhetoric has broadened the scope of rhetoric, making it not merely the study of persuasion but also the study "about what is real and what is illusory, how to know one from the other, how to communicate the real, given the strengths and limitations of human nature, and finally, how language works" (Berlin 2).

John Gage is one of a number of critics who have explored the epistemic potential of rhetoric. Gage demonstrates how the Aristotelian concept of the enthymeme (in its generic sense, a syllogism with two premises, one unstated, supplied by an audience which does not agree at the outset with the conclusion to be reached by the rhetor) has implications for the text which extend far beyond its immediate function as a structure for expressing arguments. By combining the rhetor's beliefs and values with those of the audience, the enthymeme creates a text which transcends the beliefs and values of both rhetor and audience. The text is properly understood as a new perspective on the text's subject matter, a perspective which emerges from the fusion of the rhetor's and audience's beliefs.

The assumption that knowledge was discovered outside the rhetorical process should probably be given a large share of the blame for the distrust of rhetoric among the general public, which often considers rhetoric synonymous with deception. In claiming that rhetorical devices were to be used to convince the audience of the rhetor's conclusions, this view of rhetoric gave credence to the perception of rhetoric as an art of linguistic manipulation. Given this perception, literary criticism's long distrust of rhetoric seemed highly

appropriate. The view of rhetoric as an epistemic activity, not an art of deception, has been perhaps the most dramatic development in modern rhetorical theory.

The Social Nature of Rhetoric

As mentioned previously, the traditional conception of the audience's influence on the rhetor's speech was limited to stylistic advice concerning how the rhetor can present arguments in a manner which will be most appropriate to the audience--an almost complete inversion of Aristotle's comments on rhetorical style. In modern rhetoric, however, the audience influences not only the presentation of the text but also the creation of that text. In this view, the text is not created in isolation and then presented to an audience but rather is created through the interaction of the rhetor and the audience. In effect, the audience helps create the text.

While the audience's influence on the text is clearly suggested by the concept of the enthymeme, Karen Burke Lefevre extends the concept of rhetoric's social nature even further by demonstrating how several social forces, not just the immediate audience for the text, influence the rhetorical process--the rhetor, after all, is influenced by other people and by social institutions; uses language, a socially created and shared instrument; builds on a foundation of past knowledge; and often inspires the audience to create texts in response to the rhetor's. Lefevre also cites numerous examples of how different inventors (scientists, philosophers, craftsmen and others, not just writers) collaborate with others in the inventing process. Lefevre insists, and powerfully argues, that social forces play an important role in the rhetorical process.

This is not to say, however, that the rhetor does not have a powerful role as well in this process. In fact, the rhetor has as much

effect on society as that society has on the rhetor. The rhetor uses cultural material (such as the audience's values) among his sources and, through the rhetorical process, that cultural material is transformed. In this view, rhetoric does not manipulate knowledge but rather molds it into new forms.

Rhetorical theory in this century has evolved from the study of style and arrangement to an investigation into human communication and interaction. One critic in particular has played a significant role in that evolution. Although routinely considered an eccentric and uneven critic when his major works appeared from 1930s through the 1960s, Kenneth Burke has in the last twenty years begun to receive serious attention from a number of academic disciplines, most especially rhetoric and literature. His critical work, which has already had a significant influence on literary criticism, also has much potential impact on the study of non-fiction.

In the growing school of scholarship devoted to his work, Burke's career has been divided into three eras.⁹ The first begins with his efforts at fiction writing in the 1920s and culminates in Counter-statement (1931), a collection of critical essays which outlines his early aesthetic theory, and Towards a Better Life (1932), his only published novel. Burke's interests at this time are said to have been almost exclusively aesthetic. During the economic and social crises of the late 1930s, however, Burke apparently reassessed his views on the

⁹ William H. Rueckert's "Field Guide to Kenneth Burke" actually offers five phases to Burke's career, the fourth centering around the publishing of his Collected Poems in 1968 and the fifth composed of extensive traveling and lecturing. However, these latter two phases are clearly in Rueckert's estimation an anticlimax to the "long and productive creative period" which preceded, and he expresses some dismay at the lack of critical productivity after the publication of Language as Symbolic Action in 1966.

relationship between literature and society, leading him to experiment with Marxism and psychoanalysis. The central concern of this second phase of Burke's career is the attempt to meet the demands of two seemingly antithetical critical schools, defined by Burke as formalist criticism, with its concentration on the structure and internal relationships of a text, and sociological criticism, with its focus on the text's "bearing upon social acts in general," as Burke puts it in The Philosophy of Literary Form (1941), the text which closes the intermediate phase of his career. The third stage, routinely characterized as Burke's mature and productive phase, involves the development of Dramatism, a highly complex theory of human interaction which has drawn attention from a wide range of academic disciplines.¹⁰ In each stage of Burke's career, rhetoric has played a vital role in his critical project.

Indeed, Burke concludes his first major work of criticism with the proclamation that "effective literature could be nothing else but rhetoric" (210). In Counter-statement, Burke uses rhetoric to identify the interaction between artists and their audiences, an interaction which is the essence of artistic appeal. Burke's explanation for art's appeal relies on a Platonic view of human psychology:

[T]hroughout the permutations of history, art has always appealed, by the changing individuations of changing subject-matter, to certain potentialities of appreciation which would seem to be inherent in the very germ-plasm of man, and which, since they are constant, we might call innate forms of the mind. These forms are the "potentiality for being interested by certain processes or arrangements," or the "feeling for such arrangements of subject matter as produce crescendo, contrast, comparison, balance, repetition, disclosure, reversal, contraction, expansion,

¹⁰ The theory of Dramatism is developed over a series of books: A Grammar of Motives (1945), A Rhetoric of Motives (1950), The Rhetoric of Religion (1961), Language as Symbolic Action (1966), and a number of essays from this era which supposedly constitute the unpublished A Symbolic of Motives. Armin Paul Frank's Kenneth Burke (1969) and Greig E. Henderson's Kenneth Burke: Literature and Language as Symbolic Action (1988) both offer valuable insights on the potential impact of Dramatism on literary studies.

magnification, series, and so on" (46).

Narrowing his focus from art in general to literature specifically, Burke claims that literary form, by manipulating innate potentialities of appreciation, has a more enduring artistic influence than does subject-matter because "the aesthetic value of information is lost once that information is imparted" (35).

The opening chapters of Counter-statement are tightly focused on the relationship between human psychology, literary form and literary subject matter. Subsequent chapters of the text, however, move in a far different direction:

Art--"eternal" in so far as it deals with the constants of humanity ("constants of humanity": the recurrent emotions, the fundamental attitudes, the typical experiences).

But art is also historical--a particular mode of adjustment to a particular cluster of conditions. The cluster of conditions is fluctuant (from age to age, from class to class, from person to person) thus calling for changes in emphasis. . . .

Any particular cluster of conditions will involve the recurrent emotions (fear, tenderness, delight, etc.), and fundamental attitudes (belief, cynicism, skepticism, expansiveness, reclusion, etc.); but the particularities of the cluster will require the stressing of some and the slighting of others (107).

This represents Burke's initial attempt to integrate what Greig Henderson has identified as the "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" approaches to literature. Burke insists that a text can simultaneously meet the demands imposed on it by "constants of humanity" and the "particularities of its age": "an artist who dealt simply with emotions and attitudes in their broadest aspects (leaving the specific political and economic considerations to take care of themselves) would not find his work impaired by the rise of new conditions" (121). Such a text, in other words, would rise above propaganda and achieve the status of literature.

The above passage shows that Burke was interested in extrinsic approaches to literature even during his early aesthetic years, yet what

is most intriguing about the above is the continuing focus on the interaction between artist and audience. Burke's choice of rhetoric as the term to identify this interaction (in addition to numerous concerns raised about the lexical imprecision of the text) has drawn criticism from a number of writers, and indeed the lack of any indication of how his use of the term relates to the classical rhetorical theory can lead to a great deal of confusion.¹¹ Burke's rhetorical principles may not be adequately explained in this text, yet they provide the foundation for his subsequent critical project.

While Burke would quickly abandon much of the critical terminology used in Counter-statement, the theories explored there would be refined in his subsequent criticism, significant portions of which were collected in The Philosophy of Literary Form. In "Literature as Equipment for Living," we see Burke beginning to develop a much smoother synthesis between formal and sociological literary criticism. In words which recall Shelley's assertion that poets are "the unacknowledged legislators of the world," Burke states that literature "singles out a pattern of experience that is sufficiently representative of our social structure, that recurs sufficiently often mutandis mutatis, for people to 'need a word for it' and to adopt an attitude towards it" (300). Criticism, in his estimation, "would seek to codify the various strategies which artists have developed with relation to the naming of

¹¹ Merle E. Brown in Kenneth Burke (1969) and Robert L. Heath in Realism and Relativism: A Perspective on Kenneth Burke (1986)--writing from the fields of literary criticism and rhetorical theory respectively--have noted Burke's inconsistencies, especially the lack of precise terminology in Counter-statement. Heath maintains that Burke unwisely conflates poetry and rhetoric in this work, a problem which, according to Heath, Burke corrects in his later theoretical work. However, while Burke does differentiate between poetic and rhetorical effects in works such as A Rhetoric of Motives, Heath's claim that the two disciplines are neatly divided by Burke goes too far. Throughout his critical project, Burke emphasizes the rhetorical nature of literature.

situations. In a sense, much of it would even be 'timeless,' for many of the 'typical, recurrent situations' are not peculiar to our own civilization at all. The situations and strategies . . . invariably aim to discern the 'general behind the particular'" (302).

One of the more noticeable features of this essay is Burke's use of The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs to illustrate his discussion of "literary" strategies. To a far greater extent than was shown in Counter-statement, Burke shows a willingness to cover a broad field of texts, many of them not considered literary by anyone's definition, in The Philosophy of Literary Form. In the earlier works Permanence and Change (1935) and Attitudes Towards History (1937), Burke had shifted his focus from literature to other forms of communication while maintaining much of the terminology which he had been developing in his strictly literary criticism. Burke's attempt to broaden the range of literary investigation, to apply literary criticism to texts not traditionally considered literary, will have obvious consequences for the study of non-fiction.

Burke notes that his approach "might occasionally lead us to outrage good taste as we sometimes found exemplified in some great sermon or tragedy or abstruse work of philosophy the same strategy as we found exemplified in a dirty joke" (302)--a possibility which does not concern him, since in his estimation "'good taste' has become inert. The classifications I am proposing would be active" (303). Perhaps the most striking example of his strategy appears in "The Rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle,'" a review of Mein Kampf in which Burke traces the development of Hitler's political thought with the same terminology he uses to describe the poetic process, at one point noting "Hitler combining or coalescing ideas the way a poet combines or coalesces images" (206).

In the politically sensitive era in which this review was written,

the ease with which Burke uses poetic imagery to discuss the presentation of Hitler's political agenda--he makes no apology for this metaphor in the review--must have been unsettling. Yet rather than a deliberate violation of good taste, it is perhaps best to see Burke's imagery in this essay as an example of what he calls "perspective by incongruity" in Permanence and Change. He wants to change the way in which critics react to Hitler, a way he feels provides a more effective response to Fascism. Had Burke merely demonstrated how Hitler had used (or, in Burke's view, bastardized) religious patterns of thought to convey his arguments--Mein Kampf presents the Germans with a Mecca (Munich), a devil (the Jew), a concept of the inborn dignity of man (as exemplified by the innate superiority of the Aryan race), sin (the corruption of the Aryan race by the Jew), and rebirth (through Hitler's politics)--Burke's essay would not have any appeal beyond its historical moment. Burke's understanding of rhetoric, however, does not allow him to take the immediate approach of "exposing" Hitler's demagoguery, a tactic which Burke accuses of "contributing more to our gratification than to our enlightenment" (191).

Burke sees rhetoric not merely as the manipulation of linguistic patterns but also, and more importantly, as the interaction of the desires of rhetor and audience. Hitler's success, Burke argues, has as much to do with the sincerity (if not wholesomeness) of his convictions and the reasonable desire for unity among the German people as it has to do with Hitler's skill as a demagogue, and Burke concludes with the claim that Hitler's rhetoric cannot be defeated with refutations of his ideology but rather require an equally powerful appeal to innate human desires. "The Rhetoric of Hitler's 'Battle'" highlights the wide range of interests which characterize the middle phase of Burke's career, from politics and sociology to psychology and religion and, ultimately, language. It is important to note that for Burke the goal of criticism

is not textual analysis but rather the analysis of how humans use language, and for what purposes; or, as one Burke critic has put it, "the function or ultimate end of rhetoric is to help the critic promote social cohesion and improve society" (Holland 24).

Further evidence of Burke's maverick critical attitude can be seen in "Revolutionary Symbolism in America," a paper presented at the American Writer's Congress of 1935. Although not anthologized in The Philosophy of Literary Form, this essay provides crucial insight into Burke's rhetorical theory. Furthermore, some misleading comments on this essay by one of the most influential commentators on Burke, Frank Lentricchia, need to be addressed.

Like many Anglo-American intellectuals of his day, Burke had begun reading Marx since early in the 1930s largely in response to the international financial crises of the era. Addressing an audience of Marxist writers at the Congress, Burke begins with the proposition that "myths of collectivity" are necessary in organizing collective action in any society. He then claims that current economic conditions showed that the existing American myth of bourgeois nationalism was decaying, presenting Marxists with the opportunity to put another myth in its place.

The most striking feature of the essay, as Lentricchia has noted, is Burke's claim that the term "worker," a common feature of revolutionary literature, needed to be replaced with "people" if that literature were to be successful in establishing a national revolutionary myth of collectivity. Burke bases his argument on the notion that any new myth must offer its audience an incentive in order to attract adherents. In Burke's estimation, "the worker" only elicits people's sympathies, not their ambitions--one can feel sorry for a dock worker, for example, but few find that lifestyle particularly attractive. In offering "the people" as an alternative, Burke proclaims

that this term suggests the idea of a classless society which, in addition to being the ultimate goal of Marxism, suggests an idea of society agreeable to most Americans. Burke insists that the propagandist pay as much attention to the desires of the audience as to the message itself. "As a propagandizer, it is not his work to convince the convinced, but to plead with the unconvinced, which requires him to use their, vocabulary, their values, their symbols, insofar as this is possible" (92). What is noteworthy here is that the rhetorical process is seen as transforming the author, whereas before the emphasis had been the effect the rhetorical process had on the audience.

Further evidence of the degree to which Burke's rhetorical process transforms the author comes at the conclusion of his essay, with his plea for the revolutionary writer to align himself with cultural awareness as a whole.

In the purely imaginative field, the writer's best contribution to the revolutionary cause is implicit. If he shows a keen interest in every manifestation of our cultural development, and at the same time gives a clear indication as to where his sympathies lie, this seems to me the most effective long-pull contribution to propaganda he can make. For he thus indirectly links his cause with the kinds of intellectual and emotional engrossment that are generally admired. He speaks in behalf of his cause, not in the ways of a lawyer's brief, but by the sort of things he associates with it. In a rudimentary way, this is what our advertisers do when they recommend a particular brand of cigarette by picturing it as being smoked under desirable conditions; it is the way in which the best artists of the religious era recommended or glorified Faith; and I imagine it would be the best way of proceeding to-day (91).

This passage, with its comparison of Marxist propagandizing to advertising and religion, is probably responsible for the animosity shown by Burke's audience to his paper than any other passage of the text. But for our purposes what is most interesting about this passage is the perspective it offers on Lentricchia's influential reading of the essay. As an intellectual radical committed to using literary criticism to bring about social change, Lentricchia uses the essay (and the figure

of Burke in general) as the theoretical basis for the cultural/political agenda set forth in Criticism and Social Change. Burke's shift from "worker" to "people" is significant for Lentricchia as an illustration of how the literary radical can "seize the means of representation" (28): "the tropes, [are] now manipulated not for ornamental purposes but for the ends of social change. The tropes must carry the argument of Marxism, which cannot be made 'literally and directly' but only by the 'intellectual company' it keeps" (34-5). Lentricchia assumes that the rhetor first discovers truth (in this case, socio-economic truth), then uses tropes and other rhetorical devices in order to "carry the argument" of that truth to the audience; for Lentricchia, making the revolutionary argument implicit means using the same cultural material as other writers, yet to different ends.

However, Burke's conception of rhetoric is far different than Lentricchia's critique indicates. In arguing that the revolutionary writer must surround himself with as many favorable aspects of American culture as possible, Burke is claiming that these aspects should influence the writer in addition to but not merely, as Lentricchia would seem to have it, the other way around; the symbol of revolutionary change as the next logical step in American cultural development can only be developed through the fusion of the writer's revolutionary ideas and American culture in the large. Lentricchia sees social change happening at the level of style, the rhetor using rhetorical devices to convince the audience of the necessity of radical change, whereas Burke sees social change happening at the level of invention, the rhetor creating symbols which merge the concepts of radical change and national destiny. To phrase the distinction another way, Burke's sees rhetoric as an epistemic activity, the writer merging with his culture in order to form a new method of cultural understanding, whereas Lentricchia sees rhetoric as an inert vehicle for truth. Lentricchia's misunderstanding

of Burke's rhetoric (which, incidentally, should reinforce the suspicion that contemporary literary critics may not be adequately aware of developments in rhetorical scholarship despite their avowed interest in the field) is a key flaw in his analysis--an observation which leads us to wonder whether the reaction of the members of the Congress (with whom Lentricchia feels an affinity, despite his disappointment over their treatment of Burke) to Burke's speech had as much to do with Burke's unconventional rhetoric as it did with his unconventional Marxist political agenda.¹²

Burke's rhetorical theory comes closest to complete expression in A Rhetoric of Motives, one of the central texts in the development of Dramatism, Burke's culminating theoretical achievement. Dramatism focuses on the role language plays in shaping the course of human affairs, and A Rhetoric of Motives focuses specifically on the persuasive qualities of language. The second section of the text, "Traditional Principles of Rhetoric," details the mechanics of the rhetorical process in order to demonstrate how language, symbolic action, works upon the human psyche to achieve the effects desired by the author. It is at this point that Burke addresses the discipline of rhetoric in a scholarly fashion for the first time.

Burke begins this crucial middle section by acknowledging Cicero's definition of rhetoric as "speech designed to persuade." Burke, however, offers a key distinction between types of persuasion.

Insofar as a choice of action is restricted, rhetoric seeks rather

¹² Lentricchia is one of several writers who has attempted to establish links between Burke's work and contemporary literary theory. See Stephen Bygrave, Kenneth Burke: Rhetoric and Ideology (1993) and Samuel B. Southwell, Kenneth Burke and Martin Heidegger (1987). Paul Jay, meanwhile, has cautioned against the attempt to establish such links, as "the possible parallels between Burke's work and forms of contemporary theory are less interesting than how he responds--as an aesthetic theorist--to political and intellectual changes during the 1930s, especially as that response leads him toward an interest in rhetoric" ("Kenneth Burke and the Motives of Rhetoric," 535-6).

to have a formative effect upon attitude (as a criminal condemned to death might by priestly rhetoric be brought to an attitude of repentance and resignation). Thus, in Cicero and Augustine there is a shift between the words "move" (movere) and "bend" (flectere) to name the ultimate function of rhetoric. This shift corresponds to a distinction between act and attitude (attitude being an incipient act, a leaning or inclination). Thus the notion of persuasion to attitude would permit the application of rhetorical terms to purely poetic structures; the study of lyrical devices might be classed under the head of rhetoric, when these devices are considered for their power to induce or communicate states of mind to readers, even though the kinds of assent evoked have no overt, practical outcome (50).

Perhaps realizing that the power which the concept of persuasion to action holds over the term, Burke abandons the term persuasion in favor of identification. "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, identifying your ways with his. . . . the orator, following Aristotle and Cicero, will seek to display the appropriate 'signs' of character needed to earn the audience's good will" (55-6).

Burke's provides a key reading of Marx at this point. The value of The German Ideology, according to Burke, lies in the rhetorical analysis embedded within its economic program, as Marx demonstrates how under capitalism material conditions came to be identified with universal conditions. The work of Marxist demystification is rhetorical, not directly political, as it involves the unmasking of one set of identifications and replaces them with another. "As a critique of capitalist rhetoric, [The German Ideology] is designed to disclose (unmask) sinister factional interests concealed in the bourgeois terms for benign universal interests" (102).

The concept of identification is actually not a new concept to Burke. His review of Mein Kampf had unmasked and demystified Hitler's rhetoric in much the same way as The German Ideology had for capitalism. Similarly, his 1935 address to the American Writers' Congress had proposed a propaganda campaign with the goal of forging identities

between Marxist politics and American culture. Thus, his discussion of identification in A Rhetoric of Motives can be seen in part as the culmination of his critical project.

From his first text and continuing throughout his critical career, Burke argues that literary appeal can best be explained through rhetorical terminology. Burke's alignment of rhetoric with the concept of identification--an identification in and of itself--is certainly one of the more effective arguments he creates to this effect. As a relatively new concept in rhetorical theory, Burke's presentation has the advantage of not being associated with the discipline's long history of intellectual distrust. Moreover, rhetoric as identification alters the perception of the discipline's very nature, making it seem less the territory of direct argumentation and more an art of appeal, where emotion and eloquence are as important as formal reasoning. Identification itself has been identified with terms closely associated to literary analysis--eloquence, style, virtuosity--thus allowing for the exploration of the rhetorical nature of these literary terms without necessarily outraging conventional literary study. Burke makes a powerful argument for the rehabilitation of rhetoric's reputation and its application to literary studies--arguments which could have a potentially powerful effect on the study of non-fiction.

As the above discussion of Burke suggests, the concept of persuasion, perhaps the discipline's most crucial term, has undergone a radical transformation in modern rhetorical theory. Traditionally, rhetoric has been viewed as a discursive system pertaining to argumentation; indeed, Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of

observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (24).¹³ However, modern rhetorical theory has expanded the notion of persuasion so that the term is no longer synonymous with argumentation. The modern approach has suggested that rhetoric should be understood more as a general theory about language than as a specific theory about persuasive language. This general theory maintains that each linguistic act offers a perspective on its subject, a perspective which the rhetor shapes in response to the audience. In other words, rhetoric is not necessarily equivalent to argumentation, but rather, in the words of Chaim Perelman, an activity in which the rhetor "tries to gain a meeting of minds instead of imposing its will through constraint or conditioning" (11). Perelman makes the clear distinction between the truth of a proposition and the audience's adherence to that proposition; he points out that if an audience is presented with a conclusion it finds unacceptable even if it agrees with all the premises of the argument, the audience will most likely reject one of the premises rather than accept the conclusion. Perelman's statement of the goal of rhetoric is crucial: "to strengthen a consensus around certain values which one wants to see prevail and which should orient action in the future" (20). Different rhetors, then, could have different goals in the rhetorical process; some will, in the traditional sense of rhetoric as argumentation, want the audience to agree completely with the rhetor's perceptions, while other rhetors will merely want the audience to be aware of its own perceptions, to question if not change them, while still others may want to affirm or reinforce the audience's perception. Whatever the specific motivation may be, the rhetor always seeks some interaction with the audience's

¹³ The Rhetoric was written at a time when handbooks of argumentation, made necessary due to heightened public consciousness of the Athenian law courts, were popular; this cultural context perhaps explains Aristotle's special focus on rhetoric as a form of argumentation.

perception, to provoke some reaction from that audience, to become part of the audience's pattern of experience. Works such as Aristotle's Rhetoric, in this view, are applications of this general theory about language to a specific context--the discourses of law, politics and public oration, in which argumentation is necessary.

The importance of this revised notion of persuasion to modern rhetorical theory, and to the study of non-fiction, cannot be understated. A brief look at Jean Guiget's analysis of Three Guineas should underscore this importance. Guiget finds several faults in this "imperfect" work, and chief among them is what he considers to be the irrationality of Woolf's views (a criticism often made of the text). Interestingly, in his final words on the text Guiget attributes the book's failure to the author's literary skill. Woolf's mind, Guiget claims, worked far more intuitively than logically. "She visualized scenes or situations far better than she could deduce abstract connections, and in consequence she is more skilled at making one see things than at explaining and convincing" (190, emphasis added). What Guiget sees as Three Guineas' failure, however, could be said to be the text's triumph under the assumptions of modern rhetorical theory. If, indeed, the text succeeds at "making one see things," the quality of the text's formal arguments becomes essentially irrelevant.

This new understanding of rhetoric's possibilities can lead to a significant impact on the study of literature. A rhetorical analysis of a text would analyze how that text "makes one sees things;" it would consider the persuasiveness of the text to be, borrowing Burke's terminology, a persuasion to attitude, not a persuasion to action.¹⁴

¹⁴ Burke's distinction is particularly significant to the proceeding analysis. Of the four core texts in this study, only Woolf's Three Guineas, which recommends a specific response to the threat of war in the late 1930s, can be read as an appeal to action, whereas the "arguments" of the other core texts are more appeals to attitude than to

Burke also defines this action as a dancing of an attitude, and seen from this perspective the literary critic's task is to evaluate the performance of that dance. Such a critical approach would lead to the following questions: How is the text's perspective created? What elements are used to create that perspective? What are the major differences between this text's perspective and other perspectives on similar subjects available at that time? How does the text both use and alter cultural perspectives?

Of course, such questions could be asked of any text, including works of fiction. However, considering the historically close association between rhetoric and non-fiction, this approach to textual analysis would affect non-fiction studies to a greater degree than it would any other form of written communication. The analytical approach sketched above would provide a basis for non-fiction studies, and would be the first step in correcting the literary world's disinterest in this form of literature.

This discussion of the possibilities for non-fiction studies has been necessarily theoretical to this point; a practical demonstration of the above is now in order, and the analysis of the four core texts will provide such a demonstration. Applying the rhetorical approach outlined above will highlight the literary qualities of each core text. Some further words of explanation, however, are necessary before proceeding.

The most effective way to highlight a text's literary qualities using the above approach is to examine how that text interacts with its subject matter, to explore the perspective the text creates on its

action. Considering the historic link between rhetoric and argumentation, it is important to broaden the definition of the latter term to include appeals to both action and attitude. To borrow another key Burkian concept, an identification must be made between argumentation and the appeal to attitude.

subject matter. The text is initiated by and is constrained by its subject, yet the perspective which emerges from the text offers a distinct view of that subject and therefore alters the way the subject is perceived by the reader. It will be necessary, therefore, to discuss each text's subject matter a great deal, not for the immediate purpose of exploring the various issues and debates surrounding that subject but rather for the larger goal of appreciating what the text has to say about that subject. For example, the following chapter on The Road to Wigan Pier will discuss the economic and political context in which Orwell's text appeared; without this contextual understanding, the dynamic perspective which the text brings to issues of intra-class relations could not be as powerfully demonstrated.

Furthermore, to enable an even greater appreciation of the core texts, each will be compared to other texts on the same subject matter written in the same era. For example, Hurston's discussion of African-American mysticism, often called hoodoo or voodoo, in Mules and Men will be compared to similar discussions in Robert Tallant's Voodoo in New Orleans and Newbell Niles Puckett's Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro. Both Tallant's and Puckett's texts offer perspectives which intersect with Hurston's at many points; however, Mules and Men also diverges from these two texts in significant ways, and ultimately provides a view on hoodoo far different, and far more intriguing, than that offered by the other two texts. This comparative analysis, undertaken within the context of each text's genre, will highlight the distinctive features--the literary qualities--of the core texts.

Yet this comparative approach raises an issue which demands to be addressed before proceeding--namely, there is little evidence that the authors of the core texts had read any of the other texts in their respective genres. As an academic folklorist, Hurston may indeed have read Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, although she makes no reference

to it in her published work, correspondence, or journals; however, Voodoo in New Orleans appeared a decade after Mules and Men. Placing a text within a certain genre--i.e., to claim that the text's author was writing within specific generic boundaries--may seem odd if the author was not aware of the genre's existence. However, the author's awareness of a specific genre is not a necessary condition for including the author's text in that genre, since genres can be seen as much the products of extra-literary conditions as they are of literary influence. For example, although there is no evidence that Richard Wright was aware of other histories of folk life which were written in the late 1930s when writing Twelve Million Black Voices, the national curiosity in folk life at this time could certainly be said to have inspired Wright's text along with other texts in the genre. Certain cultural interests and beliefs create conditions favorable to producing certain texts; what the four core authors share with other authors in their respective genres is an awareness of and interest in those cultural conditions.

The primary concern, again, is to evaluate the perspective generated in each of the core texts. Finally, the time has come to focus attention on these four important works of non-fiction.

CHAPTER 2

ORWELL AS SOCIAL EXPLORER: THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER

What I have most wanted to do throughout the past ten years is to make political writing into an art. My starting point is always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice. When I sit down to write a book, I do not say to myself, "I am going to produce a work of art." I write it because there is some lie that I want to expose, some fact to which I want to draw attention, and my initial concern is to get a hearing ("Why I Write," 6, emphasis added).

George Orwell's 1946 autobiographical essay makes a moral distinction between two definitions of "art:" on the one hand, "artistic," "artistry," verbal craftsmanship, attention to detail; on the other, "artifice," "artificial," a substitute for reality and truth. While he admits that these two definitions (one might better call them perspectives) both appeal powerfully to all writers, himself included, Orwell clearly privileges the first perspective (he wishes to make political writing into an art) while seeing the latter as an alluring temptation which ultimately must be resisted (his first instinct is to tell the truth, not to produce a work of art). Orwell's highly-praised plain style is motivated by this paradoxical ambition to achieve an artless artistry. It is an ambition born of deep political concern, and for decades Orwell critics have noted the connection between Orwell's principled stand regarding truth-telling in the face of political orthodoxy and government deception and his direct, unadorned, dispassionate writing. As one critic has said, Orwell "commanded a prose style that strongly implied truth-telling ought to take precedence over art" (Epstein 17).

This critical touchstone of Orwell studies has only recently begun

to be challenged, as a handful of critics have recently argued that Orwell's prose is, despite surface appearances, polemical rather than disinterested. Ironically, support for this point of view comes from Orwell's seminal essay itself, as when he declares that "Every line of serious work that I have written since 1936 has been written, directly or indirectly, against totalitarianism and for democratic Socialism" (5) and when he speaks of his highest motivation for writing as being a political purpose, the "desire to push the world in a certain direction, to alter other people's ideas of the kind of society that they should strive after" (4). However, such statements were downplayed in the rush to praise Orwell's ethically-correct prose style, and it has only been acceptable in recent years to say, as one critic has said in a clever play on one of the more memorable aphorisms from "Why I Write," that "Orwell's style is less a 'windowpane,' as he likes to call it, than a special-angle lens" (McNelly 556).¹

To see Orwell in this light--to view Orwell's straightforward prose persona not as a direct reflection of his steadfast honesty but rather as a carefully crafted pose designed to win the trust of his reader--is to view Orwell as a rhetorician as well as a moralist. It is an approach which can lead to productive readings of some of Orwell's more controversial texts--specifically, The Road to Wigan Pier, a text which can be as perplexing today as it was to its first publisher in 1936.

In a foreword to the text, the publisher, Victor Gollancz, praises the first part of The Road to Wigan Pier, which describes living and working conditions in the economically depressed coal-mining in northern

¹ Graham Good's "Language, Truth and Power in Orwell" provides one of the more insightful interpretations of the rhetorical aspect of Orwell's seemingly innocent prose by noting how the persuasiveness of his writing "relies on the rhetorical effect of an abrupt, dramatic contrast between what others say and what he sees" (67).

England. "[I]t is a long time since I have read so living a book, or one so full of a burning indignation against poverty and oppression (xi);" Gollancz' comment has been echoed by critics throughout the decades. However, Gollancz is far less enthusiastic for the second half of the text, which, in attempting to explain why British socialists had not been able to change the conditions detailed in the first half of the text, includes an infamous diatribe against the presence of "every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, 'Nature Cure' quack, pacifist and feminist in England" among socialists (174). The comment infuriated Gollancz, a member of the British left (as was Orwell), who claimed that he saw "no similarity whatsoever between the picture as Mr. Orwell paints it and the picture as I see it" (xiv). While critics over the years have debated the accuracy of Orwell's depiction of and disgust with British socialism, nearly all have been confused by the sudden shift of topic and tone in the second half of The Road to Wigan Pier

The confusion generated by this text perhaps makes it an ideal place to begin applying the model for non-fiction studies advocated in the preceding chapter. Perhaps this new approach, which considers each work of non-fiction a unique and potentially revolutionary perspective on its subject matter, can shed some new and useful critical light on this text. Moreover, perhaps this approach to non-fiction can provide a fuller understanding of the exact nature of Orwell's art.

Orwell had traveled throughout northern England in the early months of 1936 to research The Road to Wigan Pier. Both the journey and text had been preceded by the work of a significant number of British writers, most based in London, who traveled to the economically depressed industrial regions of Britain to investigate and report on living and working conditions. The texts produced by these writers form

a distinct genre of non-fiction. Two factors, one literary and the other sociological, were primarily responsible for the creation of this genre.

First, a literary precedent for this genre existed in the work of the social explorers of the nineteenth century. As Keating says in his introduction to Into Unknown England 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers, several Victorian writers, motivated by a belief that class differentiation and hostility was creating two nations, one rich and the other poor, within English society, explored the lower classes and reported on their findings. Most of these works were restricted to London and other major cities in England such as Manchester. While these social explorers appealed to England's sense of justice by revealing the inadequacy of existing social institutions to address the problem of poverty adequately, they also exploited romanticized notions of life in the slums; references to "jungles" and "pygmies" were frequent, and the explorers often boasted of their ability to disguise themselves as tramps and discover the sub-culture of the poor.

However, the social explorers of the 1930s did not simply follow the pattern of their literary ancestors. Their investigations were significantly affected by the ongoing economic crisis of the decade. Until this time, southeastern England (which at the time was still virtually synonymous with the English reading public) had known little about the industrial regions in Wales and northern England, other than that these areas were home to monstrous Dickensian factories which produced textiles (from Lancashire), coal (Lancashire, Durham and Wales), and shipping (the Tyneside cities of Jarrow and Hebburn). These regions had become far less remote, though, when England's trouble in international markets created mass unemployment. Entire towns went on

the dole; Jarrow, perhaps the most famous of the distressed cities of that era, had an unemployment rate of 75% by the mid 1930s.²

Government efforts to provide relief to these regions (officially designated "distressed areas," and later renamed "special areas") were largely ineffective and unpopular. The plans to stimulate the northern industries produced little improvement; job training programs offered few practical skills; social centers established for the unemployed were met with derision; the Means Test, established in the early thirties as a standard for determining relief rates, was felt to be a dehumanizing infringement on workers' lives. Feeling that their interests were not being properly addressed, the unemployed of the north organized large, highly-publicized marches down to London, gathering in Hyde Park in the thousands; the Jarrow March was only the most well-publicized of the numerous demonstrations of the decade, when the industrial regions literally arrived at their government's doorstep and insisting on a hearing.

This sudden, dramatic assertion of the industrial regions' concerns altered the work of social exploration in two ways. First, attention shifted from London street tramps to the northern unemployed. Second, the 1930s social explorers placed greater emphasis on letting the explored--the people of the industrial regions--tell their own story. The 1930s social explorers attempted to act less like spies infiltrating a foreign land and more like stenographers recording the concerns of a misunderstood but vocal people.

Perhaps no other cultural phenomenon better symbolizes the

² Social scientists have been debating for some time whether the economic slump in 1930s England was as severe as writers such as Orwell depicted it. See John Stevenson, "Myth and Reality: Britain in the 1930s" in Alan Sked and Chris Cook, eds., Crisis and Controversy: Essays in Honour of A.J.P. Taylor (1976): 90-109, and Stephen Constantine, Unemployment in Britain between the Wars (1980). However, the concern here is not the severity of the economic situation, but the reactions to that situation as expressed in literature.

interests of this era than does the Mass-Observation movement of the later part of the decade. The organization actually traced its origins not to the industrial marches but rather to the emotional response to Edward VIII's abdication in 1936, which convinced the founders of Mass-Observation that "a sphere of unwritten laws and invisible pressures and forces" played a powerful role in British society, and that British politicians and newspapermen did not properly understand the people they supposedly represented (First Year's Work 8).

Much lip-service is paid to the Man in the Street--politicians and newspapers claim to represent him, scientists and artists want to interest him in their work. Much of what they say is sincere, but it must remain ineffective while the Man in the Street has no medium through which he can express with equal publicity what he thinks of them (Britain 11).

Seeing itself "in the position of a party of explorers which has barely got a foothold in its island," a metaphor which echoes the language of the Victorian social explorers (First Year's Work 23), the organization conducted numerous man-on-the-street polls and questionnaires, recruited 420 Observers to record their activities on prescribed days (one such day being the coronation of George VI on May 12, 1937), and organized teams of researchers to record their impressions of working-class life in selected communities.

As the project progressed, it became clear that as far as Mass-Observation was concerned the Man on the Street was synonymous with the working man, usually from the industrial north. The organization's most ambitious tasks was the "Northtown" or "Worktown" project, which involved organizing a team of Observers in Bolton and the neighboring resort town of Blackpool, with the goal of collecting data both on the work and leisure habits of the region. This interest in the north and in working-class life is evident in almost all Mass-Observation literature.

Mass-Observation received a great deal of attention in the late

1930s from the British press, simultaneously fascinated and annoyed at the organization's fastidious efforts at data collection (the image of an Observer writing in a notepad while following a young couple became a popular newspaper cartoon). The efforts of some members to pose as drunkards or as members of the opposite sex in order to gain the confidence of the observed also gained a great deal of notoriety for the organization. Snide comments and hints of scandal did not adversely affect the organization, however; Britain by Mass-Observation sold 100,000 copies in ten days in 1939. The organization did not last long after the second world war, when it was briefly employed by the Ministry of Information to track morale, yet for a number of years Mass-Observation symbolized perhaps more powerfully than any other individual or organization the attempt by London intellectuals to understand the concerns of the British public who lived in the foreign lands of the industrial regions.

In keeping with its desire to present its readers with the facts surrounding the observed, Mass-Observation was content to present its data in raw form. Others, however, would take a much more self-consciously literary approach to the task, and the first commercially successful such project was J.B. Priestley's English Journey. This text was the brainchild of two men, Priestley's publisher William Heinemann and the aggressive young publisher Victor Gollancz, who approached the writer with the idea of an autobiographical journal through the northern industrial regions.³ The book would be a departure for the already highly successful author and playwright, yet Priestley approached the task with an enthusiasm and a sense of responsibility characteristic of the age: "Hitherto I have always written what I want to write . . . But

³ Information on the Heinemann-Gollancz collaboration on English Journey can be found in Bookseller articles for 11 April and 18 April 1934 and in "A talk with J.B. Priestley" in the Spring 1934 issue of The Book Window.

when it was suggested to me that the time is ripe for a book which shall deal faithfully with English industrial life of today, and that I was the man to write such a book, it seemed my duty to undertake it" (The Book Window). English Journey would become one of the most popular books of the decade; it remains in print today, and was the subject of a two-hour 1977 BBC television documentary which retraced Priestley's journey (Atkins 112).

Priestley begins his journey in the southern port town of Southampton, where he encounters a steward he had met on a past voyage. The author recalls the friendship they had shared at the time, and is surprised to learn that the steward is now seeking work on land. "I dare say it looks all right from the passenger's point of view, but it's a rotten life. Bad quarters. Working all hours. And no proper food and nowhere to eat it.'" The revelation causes Priestley to reflect: "Most of us would be willing to give up a little space in the ship and a few items from the menu if we knew that the people waiting upon us were being allowed to lead a civilised life" (20-21). This sentiment establishes the moral theme guiding Priestley's observations on his journey north.

The author admits to some ambivalence about visiting the industrial regions, as "they are usually unpleasant and rather remote and so we leave them alone" (244); the illness he suffers for a number of days when he first enters the north is a convenient thematic coincidence. Yet Priestley finds comfort in the companionship he encounters on his journey. In Newcastle, Priestley meets Bob, a communist party member who guides him through the town. As was also customary for writers with liberal sympathies in his day, Priestley quickly dispels what he feels are his reader's misperceptions of communists: "Wipe out at once any mental sketch of a sullen, greasy, long-haired, blue-chinned 'comrade.' Bob is a strongly-built, alert

working man in his thirties; with a good forceful face--eyes slightly aslant and wide apart, blunt nose, short moustache, square chin; and a clean neat appearance. He is married and has a fine little boy, of whom he is immensely proud" (225). While Priestley admires Bob's sincerity and work ethic, he is dismayed at Bob's narrow-mindedness and intellectual shallowness, which Priestley sees as functions of Bob's political orthodoxy. As he did with the earlier conversation with the steward, Priestley uses this character sketch of Bob to address issues of class and economic development; this latter passage, however, also more clearly shows Priestley's ambivalence, also not unusual in this or any age, for the effects of social planning on the human spirit.

However, any ambivalence Priestley feels about reform is far outweighed by his shame at the living and working conditions he sees in the industrial north. This shame, perhaps the overriding sentiment of English Journey, is foreshadowed in Southampton and expressed outright during a different encounter, while on a tour of the slum areas of West Bromwich:

I was being shown one of the warehouses, where steel plates were stacked in the chill gloom, and we heard a bang and rattle on the roof. The boys, it seems, were throwing stones again. They were always throwing stones on that roof. We went out to find them, but only found three frightened little girls, who looked at us with round eyes in wet smudgy faces. No, they hadn't done it, the boys had done it, and the boys had just run away. Where they could run to, I cannot imagine. They need not have run away from me, because I could not blame them if they threw stones and stones and smashed every pane of glass for miles. Nobody can blame them if they grow up to smash everything that can be smashed (89-90).

In response to these conditions, Priestley advocates a patriotism which begins at home, an assertion of national pride which, when confronted with industrial poverty, will motivate a solution. "Let us be too proud to tolerate social injustice here, too proud to suffer anywhere in this country an ugly mean way of living" (311). English Journey can be seen as a long moral argument, an assertion of southeastern England's

obligation to aid the struggling industrial regions. Much of the force and immediacy of this moral argument comes through the character sketches provided, which to an extent allow the people of the industrial regions to tell their own story.⁴

Whatever function they perform in Priestley's text, these character sketches certainly account in large part for the popular success of English Journey. The Scottish poet Edwin Muir, however, took a different narrative approach the following year in his Scottish Journey, also published by Heinemann and Gollancz. While sharing the urgent cry for economic reform of English Journey, Muir conveys none of the character sketches and conversations offered by Priestley. Muir's style conveys distance rather than immediacy. He refuses to indulge in sensationalized descriptions of slum conditions, a feature which appears to some extent in English Journey (as in the incident at West Bromwich) and far more commonly in the popular press of the day.

[T]he appetite of moderately well-off and quite well-off people for these infamous morsels is one which has no connection with the sentiment of pity, but is likely to check rather than induce it, creating disgust in its stead. Disgust is the coldest of human emotions, colder than hatred because more self-centered. If one hates the slums one may do something about them; but if one is filled with disgust of them there is nothing but to turn away (116-7).

Muir's approach, however, was atypical of the genre, which by that time had already come to rely heavily on intriguing character sketches and graphic descriptions.

Heinemann and Gollancz also collaborated that same year on Philip Gibbs' European Journey. Gibbs, a London journalist who had won international recognition for his reportage of the Great War, followed

⁴ Cunningham claims (53) that English Journey was one of Orwell's inspirations for The Road to Wigan Pier. However, no evidence for this claim of direct influence is provided. Such influence seems unlikely, considering that Orwell calls Priestley a "blatantly second-rate novelist" in his review of Angel Pavement (An Age Like This 25-7).

that text the following year with England Speaks, "being talks with road sweepers, barbers, statesmen, lords and ladies, beggars, farming folk, actors, artists, literary gentlemen, tramps, down-and-outs, miners, steel workers, blacksmiths, the man-in-the-street, highbrows, lowbrows and all manner of folk of humble and exalted rank with a panorama of the English scene in this year of grace, 1935." Gibbs' text is structured around several encounters in London (Jubilee celebrations, social clubs, a Labour Exchange in Trafalgar Square, London University, literary parties) and in the villages and farms outside the city. His travels reach their climax, as with Priestley, in the industrial north.

Gibbs claims early in his text that the Jubilee celebration of 1935 motivated his desire to let the English speak for themselves. The outburst of emotion over George V's coronation, he believes, offered strong evidence that the English held a great deal of their inner lives in reserve. "England is not much given to self-expression" (2), he concludes, and his text is a deliberate attempt to compensate for that reticence. And, to suggest that his curiosity is shared by his countrymen, Gibbs has one of his subjects express the theme of the work:

"I would like to explore England. I would like to meet its oddities, all its queer characters, all its peasants and fishermen and working folk. I would like to have a talk with the Bishop of Durham, and an old duchess or two, and a village blacksmith, and a tramp sleeping under a hedge, and a gypsy woman smoking a cutty pipe on the steps of her caravan. I would like to get to know what is really in the soul of England, if it has a soul. We are a most mysterious people. We all hide from each other. We are inarticulate" (124-5).

Gibbs makes explicit an implication of English Journey: the writing of this text, the effort "to open many doors and to introduce my readers to odd and interesting folks of all degrees" (338), is an important national service. While Gibbs does not provide the compelling character sketches offered by Priestley, England Speaks offers far more direct quotations than does English Journey.

Gibbs presents his subjects speaking frequently, even when unprovoked, upon domestic and international problems. The fear of debt promoted by the lease-lending system, the economic problems of the industrial regions, Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, Hitler's pronouncements on the Jews; much of Gibbs' text is a transcription of comments on these and other events. "We are, of course, living in a world of illusion which one day--not far off--will be dispelled by unpleasant realities," a gentlemen at a garden party observes. "All these people think they are safe! They think this kind of thing is going on! They think England is getting prosperous again!--while Europe is lurching towards another war and ultimate ruin" (139).

As in English Journey, such dark tones become more prominent the further north Gibbs travels. The title of the section "The Front Line of Industry," seems a deliberate evocation of the war imagery with which Gibbs was familiar. That imagery is echoed in the text--"Men and women lead different lives, harder, grimmer, closer to the firing line, and with the effects of this industrial war visible about them" (288). At other times the language of war gives way to the language of apocalypse, as when a civic leader in Jarrow extends a warning: "'Tell England,' he said, 'that our patience is getting exhausted. We wish the nation to know that the patience of the people of Jarrow is coming to an end. They cannot go on forever waiting for the fulfillment of promises'" (298). These two extended metaphors combine in a penultimate reflection in Durham Cathedral:

Through the centuries Durham Cathedral has stood above the tumult of history, above the misery of men, through the ages which led to an industrial era when England waxed fat on the slave labour of men and women and children working in the mines over there in a countryside which the eye can reach from the high towers. And now it stands still as those Norman craftsmen built and carved it through another time of change and transition in the story of civilization. Something has happened to the industrial era. There is a new enemy menacing the lives of the Durham men. It is an invisible enemy but very deadly. The strength of men's arms, their skill in craftsmanship, their quality of character are unable to defeat this foe (307-8).

This passage reveals a rhetorical tactic used several times in Gibbs' text. He sees contemporary events as the latest development in English history. Observing the Jubilee, Gibbs claims "there was all English history in it. Bells were ringing from the old Abbey and many churches, and in that sound the past was calling--the past of a people who are not without heroic memories, who, deep down in their hearts, thought inarticulate, have a pride in their own quality and spirit throughout a thousand years of struggle and conflict and tremendous drama" (8-9). Whereas Priestley sought a solution for industrial poverty in the moral character of England, Gibbs appeals to English history in his search for hope in the current situation. England's success in conquering its past problems forms the foundation for the solutions to the problems of the 1930s.

Of all the texts in this genre, James Hanley's Grey Children offers the most intimate portrait of its subjects. Hanley, a moderately successful novelist of the era, structures his text around his relationship with John Jones, a miner unemployed for nine years. Grey Children is set entirely within the unnamed Welsh mining town through which Jones guides Hanley; unlike Priestley and Gibbs, the author here does not journey to and from the region he studies. Hanley restricts his text to the miners, their families (Jones is married and has three children) and the social organizations created by or for the mining community. The text contains far more information about mining wages, unemployment statistics, relief rates, and living costs than the two previously discussed texts, and every item of datum offered is presented through the mouths of the subjects. "I have met many idle men and their families, and talked with them on the present conditions," Hanley proudly proclaims in his Foreword. "They have said their say and I have no comment to make, for I could not better their own words" (vii). To a far greater extent than does either Priestley or Gibbs, Hanley tries to

live up to these words. Hanley's first chapter, "Many Voices," is composed entirely of a series of quotes, on a variety of subjects, with no seeming organizing principle.

Another distinguishing feature of Hanley's text is the absence of any calls for government action to improve the conditions of the Welsh miners. Indeed, Hanley believes that all such actions threaten the independence of the people he admires so greatly. The social centres established by Parliament to provide support for the unemployed, for example, are dismissed as "humbug." While the centres provide not only a gathering place but also woodworking and leather-repair materials, their rules of conduct (gambling and swearing, for example, were prohibited) seem restrictive to the miners. "[T]he Government has just treated us men like a lot of naughty kids," a friend of Jones comments, later adding that "the point is that we haven't got our independence at all. There's enough silly rules in this centre here really, that you'd imagine you were a boy scout or something" (85). The mounting threats to the independence of the Welsh miners is a primary concern of the text. Hanley identifies several forces in addition to patronizing government programs which mitigate against their independence, from the press ("I read in one of them that there is work, but that the men simply don't want it. Well, now, that's a lie" (30)) to the political allegiances which come with reform movements, a specter which frightens Hanley in particular.

One other assault against the Welsh miners' independence is the presence of social explorers such as Hanley. The "Many Voices" chapter of Grey Children begins with a bitter accusation from an unnamed miner: "We're about fed up with people coming down here looking us over as though we were animals in a zoo. Put that in the headlines for a change" (1). Hanley's text is the first in its genre to indicate that social exploration was having an adverse effect on the explored. His

awareness of this problem does not, however, prevent Hanley from using many of the same literary tactics of the genre. His character sketch of John Jones is more complete than any offered by Priestley. The "many voices" of his subjects dominate the text as they do with Gibbs. Moreover, Hanley is at times able to elicit greater sympathy for the plight of his subjects than either Gibbs or Priestley. On a tour of Jones' house, the author notes an old piano which he is told had been bought for the daughter but then abandoned when the family could no longer afford lessons. Jones soon leaves after hearing of a job possibility, only to return in anger when he is rejected. Jones' wife consoles him, and Hanley retires to the front porch with its abandoned piano.

When I played almost every note gave off a sort of weird, whining sound as though it resented being interfered with. Mr. Jones seemed very sad about it all. "Waste of good money, really, but then it was the missus's idea that the kids should learn. But, damn, you don't have your hopes long before something happens to wipe them out for you. Those kids never even look at the thing. Suppose I'll sell it some time as junk. It would bring in a few bob." I looked at the instrument again and thought of its history, the ambition and hope that had placed it against that wall, its closed lid, its derelict and neglected condition, the struggle it must have been for them to purchase it and then the man suddenly losing his work. It was like a little drama played in secret; there were no onlookers but the actors themselves (145-6).

The conceit of this passage illustrates the overriding sentiment of the social exploration genre of 1930s England. The piano's deterioration not only symbolizes the frustrated ambitions of Welsh miners but also suggests the desperate conditions of the people themselves, for they, like the piano, have lost much of their vitality due to lack of employment.

Jones, however, seems far less interested in the piano than does the author ("Suppose I'll sell it some time as junk"), and thus the extended metaphor seems more of a direct appeal to the literary sensibilities of Hanley's readers than a description of typical Welsh

concerns. For all its expressed concerns about the genre of social exploration, then, Hanley's text uses many of the same devices of that genre. Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of this genre is the use of character sketches; Priestley's Bob, Gibbs' garden partiers, and Hanley's Jones emerge as memorable figures from their respective texts.

The rhetorical effect of these character sketches cannot be underestimated, for they form a powerful identification between subject and reader. The success of a character sketch depends largely on the author's ability to highlight elements of the character's personality which are appealing (or, in the case of negative character sketches, unappealing) to his or her readers. Priestley's emphasis on Bob's relationship with his son, for example, suggests a different relationship, one between Bob and the reader on the area of values. Passages such as these in 1930s social exploration texts identify key similarities between Northern subjects and Southern readers, and certainly account in part for the popularity of those texts.

By February 1936, the genre of social exploration was firmly established--English Journey had been very successful, Scottish Journey had been published the year before, and England Speaks would soon appear in bookstores. Perhaps attempting to capitalize on the sudden popularity of this genre, Victor Gollancz commissioned one of his young novelists, George Orwell, to write a book on the industrial north. The choice of Orwell was not surprising, for Orwell had explored poverty and class division in all his earlier work for Gollancz. Down and Out in Paris and London was Orwell's semi-autobiographical descent into poverty, which Orwell undertook to purge his class biases. The central characters in Orwell's two novels for Gollancz paralleled this descent into poverty--Dorothy Hare in A Clergyman's Daughter survives a bout of amnesia through tramping and numerous menial jobs, and Gordon Comstock's

pride in Keep the Aspidistra Flying prevents him from receiving anything more than the meager income he receives from his writing. In all three works, Orwell emphasizes the ability of poverty to shape the will of its victims--Orwell's political motivations are altered through his experiences, Dorothy rejects her religious beliefs, and Gordon abandons his writing when he can no longer tolerate his way of life.⁵

Gollancz' decision to commission Orwell, however, may have been primarily influenced by their mutual affiliation with the British Left. Priestley's text, with its frequently stated ambivalence over economic reform, may not have fulfilled Gollancz' political agenda, however much its success may have pleased him professionally. Gollancz may indeed have seen in Orwell, who seemed to combine personal experience with poverty and literary sensibility as few others did, an author who could write on social concerns as effectively as had Priestley, although this time with a political slant more closely aligned to Gollancz'.

During Orwell's trip north, Gollancz founded the Left Book Club, modeled closely after the Book-of-the-Month club in America yet with a political slant closely aligned, by Gollancz' admission, to English Popular Front politics. Orwell's text, The Road to Wigan Pier, was made the February selection for 1937. Gollancz' hopes for a successful text were fulfilled; it outsold all other Left Book Club selections (and sold more copies than his previous works combined), and the work attracted the praise of literary critics such as Cyril Connolly and Q.D. Leavis.

To a limited extent, the text fulfilled Gollancz' political

⁵ Orwell's attention to poverty at this time was not simply motivated by his own depressed finances; as Beadle has documented, Orwell had been drawn since childhood to poverty as a literary subject. His reviews and letters praise works such as Dickens' Bleak House; he hailed George Gissing as "the greatest English novelist"; his journeys through London's East End closely paralleled the narrative of Jack London's The People of the Abyss. "Orwell's selection of the theme of poverty as the initial outlet for his creative aspirations might also be viewed as a logical consequence of his early literary interests" (Beadle 189).

expectations as well. The first of the text's two parts contains memorable passages in line with revolutionary writing of the era: a grotesquely comic description of the depraved living conditions of a lodging home ("On the day when there was a full chamber-pot under the breakfast table I decided to leave," 17); a detailed analysis of the coal-miner's job, structured around a juxtaposition between the comfortable life on the surface, with a fire burning in the coal furnace, and the hellish work in the pit which makes life "up top" possible; a close look at the miners' compensation, with an observation on the significance of the rubber stamp used to mark pay stubs for death stoppages ("The rate of accidents among miners is so high, compared with that in other trades, that casualties are taken for granted almost as they would be in a minor war," 44); a description of housing conditions which pays some attention to the special demands placed on women, a unique feature of the social exploration of Orwell's era; an unforgettable passage on coal scavengers climbing burning slag heaps outside the mines; and a concluding tribute to the people whom he had visited on his journey (which, among other effects, juxtaposes and compensates for the lodging house description at the start of the text):

In a working-class home--I am not thinking at the moment of the unemployed, but of comparatively prosperous homes--you breathe a warm, decent, deeply human atmosphere which it is not so easy to find elsewhere. I should say that a manual worker, if he is in steady work and drawing good wages--an 'if' which gets bigger and bigger--has a better chance of being happy than an 'educated' man. His home life seems to fall more naturally into a sane and comely shape. I have often been struck the peculiar easy completeness, the perfect symmetry as it were, of a working-class interior at its best. Especially on winter evenings after tea, when the fire glows in the open range and dances mirrored in the steel fender, when Father, in shirt-sleeves, sits in the rocking chair at one side of the fire reading the racing finals, and Mother sits on the other with her sewing, and the children are happy with a pennorth of mint humbugs, and the dog lolls roasting himself on the rag mat--it is a good place to be in, provided that you can be not only in it but sufficiently of it to be taken for granted (116-7).

"These chapters really are the kind of thing that makes converts" (xi) Gollancz announces enthusiastically in his Foreword.

The focus shifts sharply in Part II, however, as Orwell examines English socialism's answer to the less appealing conditions described in the first part of the text. It must be pointed out that, despite the severe reservations about socialism raised in Part II, there is a good deal of sincere socialist propaganda in this section. Orwell asserts "There is no chance of righting the conditions I described in the earlier chapters of this book, or of saving England from Fascism, unless we can bring an effective Socialist party into existence" (230), noting earlier that "Socialism is such elementary common sense that I am sometimes amazed that it has not established itself already" (171) and elsewhere claiming that rejecting socialism now would be suicidal. Orwell observes, however, that "the terribly difficult issue of class" makes the acceptance of socialism by most English people difficult; therefore, he begins Part II with three autobiographical chapters detailing the troubled evolution of his own ideas on class. His introspective study leads to the most infamous section of the text, the concluding three chapters on "the present intensely stupid handling of the class-issue" by English socialists and their consequent inability to mount a significant political campaign. While Part I ultimately conveys admiration for the working-class people of the northern coal regions, the overriding sentiment of Part II is contempt for the socialists who are trying to aid their cause.

In making an evaluative distinction between the two parts of the text--"it is a long time since I have read so living a book," he says in reaction to Part I, while claiming that he can observe "no similarity whatsoever between the picture as Mr. Orwell paints it and the picture as I see it" in relation to Part II--Gollancz in his Foreword initiated a judgment of The Road to Wigan Pier which would be echoed by several

other critics. Beadle claims that Part I "is a moving sociological study of lasting historical interest" (196), with Part II being a cranky, sarcastic assault on socialists. Wain suggests that while the text as a whole may be Orwell's worst work, its first two chapters paradoxically contain some of his best prose.

A second common critique of the text can be closely associated with this observation of the seeming incompatibility of the two halves. Several critics have claimed that the text lacks much insight into the personalities of the people of the industrial north; these critics have insinuated that Orwell's political agenda--his attack on socialist "cranks" expressed in Part II--prevented him from going beyond the surface details he describes in Part I. Hopkinson, citing Wigan as Orwell's worst book, claims that Orwell "failed to make that real contact with the working class which was the purpose of his journey" (20). Wollheim argues that Orwell relies exclusively on external evidence in his text and is therefore guilty of the naturalist fallacy, the belief that essence of things can eventually be conveyed through reference to the transient and ephemeral. The Road to Wigan Pier, Wollheim claims, would be of more lasting interest if Orwell had addressed the head and heart rather than the eye and nerves exclusively. Fyvel, a friend of Orwell's, acknowledges these flaws and claims (66) they were caused by Orwell's rush to finish the text before heading to Spain, where he would participate in the civil war and use those experiences to write Homage to Catalonia.

Orwell's distance from his subjects throughout the text is indeed striking, especially when The Road to Wigan Pier is compared to similar works by Priestley, Gibbs, and Hanley. There is no Bob the communist, no John Jones, no lengthy quotations in Orwell's text; no personal names are used in The Road to Wigan Pier other than in the opening chapter description of the Brooker's lodging home, a passage which inspires far

more disgust than sympathy for the people described. In contrast to each of the other texts in its genre, Orwell's seems unconcerned with establishing identifications between his subjects and his readers; indeed, the subjects of The Road to Wigan Pier are almost invisible. Cleo McNelly, speaking as a writing instructor who works closely with working-class students, claims that Orwell portrays the working class in Wigan and elsewhere as mute and inarticulate; he is apparently deaf to the communicative styles of the working class, which leads McNelly to question the use of Orwell in composition classes. By not letting his subjects tell their own story, The Road to Wigan Pier violates one of the principal rules of social exploration.

It is one thing to note Orwell's departure from generic standards in this text, yet it is quite another to note that, in startling ways, The Road to Wigan Pier deviates from Orwell's earlier work, the work which had inspired Gollancz to commission the Wigan project. Indeed, that work, which features several in-depth studies of working-class and destitute characters, could very well be seen as typical works of social exploration. The following excerpt from Down and Out in Paris and London, in which the narrator encounters Paddy, an Irish tramp who will travel with the narrator through the slums of London, displays several attributes of the social exploration genre:

"D'you come out o' one o' de London spikes [casual wards], eh" he asked me.

I said yes, thinking this would make him accept me as a fellow tramp, and asked him what the spike at Romton was like. He said:

"Well, 'tis a cocoa spike. Dere's tay spikes, and cocoa spikes, and skilly spikes. Dey don't give you skilly in Romton, t'ank God--leastways, dey didn't de last time I was here. I been up to York and round Wales since."

"What is skilly?" I asked.

"Skilly? A can o' hot water wid some bloody oatmeal at de bottom; dat's skilly. De skilly spikes is always de worst" (139; the bracketed comment is Orwell's).

Orwell gives a transliteration of Paddy's speech, provides definitions

of spike and skilly, and goes on to give an exhaustive character sketch of Paddy--exactly the type of material found in the work of the social explorers.

Furthermore, his Wigan diary includes several biographical sketches of people he met on his journey.⁶ Of particular interest is Joe Kennan, an electrician Orwell was introduced to through his contacts. "A very short, stout, powerful man with an extraordinary gentle, hospitable manner and very anxious to help. His elder child was upstairs in bed (scarlet fever suspected), the younger on the floor playing with soldiers and a toy cannon. Kennan smiles and says, 'You see--and I'm supposed to be a pacifist'" (174). Kennan's pleasantness and sense of humor would seem to be the ideal basis for a sympathetic character sketch along the lines of Bob the communist or John Jones. Based on the material he collected during his time in Lancashire, and on his earlier work on poverty and the working class, it would seem likely that Orwell would have produced a work very much like that of the social explorers of his era.

Joe Kennan, however, never appears in The Road to Wigan Pier. The relative silence of Orwell's subjects, when compared to the vivid accounts of similar individuals in his earlier work, certainly suggests that Orwell chose a different rhetorical strategy for this text, a decision perhaps motivated by his observations on the nature of inter-class relations. In his studies of tramps and manual laborers, Orwell cites how these people are often expected to adopt the behavior patterns of the middle-class when they associate with the latter; the converse

⁶ Crick has warned against perceiving the diary as a record of Orwell's immediate impressions of events; Crick considers the text an abandoned first draft, following the diary format Orwell had used in Down and Out in Paris and London. Even if the diary does not represent a more accurate version of the experiences described in The Road to Wigan Pier, it is nonetheless interesting to note how changes between the draft and finished text (such as Orwell's placing himself on a train instead of on foot) affect the representation of that experience.

was never true. In The Road to Wigan Pier diary, he cites an example of this process in describing the Meades, one of the working-class couples with whom he stayed during his visit north. The husband had become a trade union official and editor of a working-class newspaper.

The Ms have been very decent to me. Both are working-class people, speak with Lancashire accents and have worn the clogs [traditional working-class footwear] in their childhood, but the atmosphere in a place like this is entirely middle-class. Both the Ms were faintly scandalised to hear I had been in the common lodging house in Manchester. I am struck again by the fact that as soon as a working man gets an official post in the Trade Union or goes into Labour politics, he becomes middle-class whether he will or no, i.e. by fighting against the bourgeoisie he becomes the bourgeoisie. The fact is that you cannot help living in the manner appropriate and developing the ideology appropriate to your income (Collected Essays 173).

Whenever the classes met, the values of the more socially established always drove out the values of those less advanced. This syndrome was the cause for the absence of the working class in literature, since the literary world was essentially middle class and thereby little receptive to a truly working-class viewpoint. Critics such as McNelly have pointed out that Orwell never considered himself a proletarian writer; what is less often recognized is Orwell's doubts over whether anyone from his middle-class background could be such a writer. As he says in a 1935 review of Jack Hilton's Caliban Shrieks, "Books like this, which come from genuine workers and present a genuinely working-class outlook, are exceedingly rare and correspondingly important. They are the voices of a normally silent multitude" (Collected Essays 149). Orwell not only believed that middle-class writers could not effectively portray the working-class viewpoint, he also feared that working-class writers were usually forced, often without much argument, to forsake their backgrounds in order to become successful in the literary world.

This effect of intra-class relations extends even into literary descriptions of the working class, a fact recognized by Priestley. The author of English Journey acknowledges that the character sketches found

in abundance in his work treat the people of the industrial areas "as if they were so many minor characters in a novel" (248).

It is possible that, being a literary man, I attach too much importance to "character," preferring a dirty diseased eccentric to a lean healthy but rather dull citizen. Unconsciously I may see people as so much possible raw material for novels and plays. England of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a wonderfully rich country for a novelist because it was full of odd characters. . . . I must guard against this, the bias of my trade. You cannot estimate the life of a people by the wealth of dramatic material it offers you (302).

Such self-reflexive comments, of course, do not prevent Priestley from indulging in the character sketches of the ship steward, Bob the communist and others which have helped make English Journey so memorable. Yet what Priestley seems to recognize here is that, while characterization certainly personalizes the plight of the industrial poor by creating a sense of shared humanity, this form of identification has a potentially disturbing consequence. To characterize the people of the industrial areas--to describe their plight in a rhetorical framework familiar to the reading public of the south--is to define those people in terms more closely associated with the reader than with the subject. While the people of the industrial areas may tell their own story, their story is fashioned with respect to their readers. In consequence, then, the people of the industrial areas sacrifice a bit of their autonomy in order to satisfy the needs of their readers. Priestley's awareness of this potential consequence is what motivates his concerns, as it motivates comments from the observed such as the following: "'We're about fed up with people coming down here looking us over as though we were animals in a zoo. Put that in the headlines for a change'" (Hanley 1).

Orwell's awareness of the relationship between the world of literature and the world of labor, meanwhile, motivated him to seek an alternative to the traditional rhetoric of social exploration in The

Road to Wigan Pier. There are two principal components of Orwell's revised strategy. The first involves a dramatic reversal of a principal goal of most works in this genre, the attempt to identify his readers in some way with the people he is writing about. The overriding sentiment of disgust in the opening chapter disrupts any attempt to feel empathy for the Brookers or to identify with their plight by any other means. Orwell blames the disgusting conditions in the Brookers' lodging house on the proprietors, and makes great pains to portray them in the least favorable manner possible; the bedridden wife wiping grease from her mouth with scraps of newspaper and the surly husband hunched over a tub of filthy water peeling potatoes and grumbling about having to do "bloody woman's work" are, along with the chamber-pot under the table, just a few of many such Dickensian depictions of degradation. And even when Orwell turns to more favorable descriptions of the people he encounters, he constantly emphasizes the differences he notices between himself and them. "The miner's job would be as much beyond my power as it would be to perform on the flying trapeze or to win the Grand National," he admits after describing his humiliating collapse in his effort just to reach the coal face; "by no conceivable amount of effort or training could I become a coal-miner; the work would kill me in a few weeks" (32-3). In describing the efforts of one disabled man to collect his compensation from the colliery company where he was injured, Orwell notes how he and other people from his bourgeois background would demand to be treated with far more respect. And Orwell does not find all working-class attitudes admirable; he is disappointedly surprised to see that Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland met with far less interest than did a decision affecting the weekly football pools.

Orwell's text constantly and consistently emphasizes the distance which stands between its subjects and the reading public of Orwell's own class. Perhaps the best way to illustrate this distance is to examine

what is routinely celebrated as the most striking passage of The Road to Wigan Pier; Wollheim claims the passage to be the only one in which "the book transcends the limitations that the author imposed upon it: sincerity, passion and observation suddenly combine to produce a fragment of true literature" (96). Near the end of the first chapter, just after retreating from the misery of the Brookers' lodging home, Orwell boards a train bound for his next stop:

As we moved slowly through the outskirts of the town we passed row after row of little grey slum houses running at right angles to the embankment. At the back of one of the houses a young woman was kneeling on the stones, poking a stick up the leaden waste-pipe which ran from the sink inside and which I suppose was blocked. I had time to see everything about her--her sacking apron, her clumsy clogs, her arms reddened by the cold. She looked up as the train passed, and I was almost near enough to catch her eye. She had a round pale face, the usual exhausted face of the slum girl who is twenty-five and looks forty, thanks to miscarriages and drudgery; and it wore, for the second in which I saw it, the most desolate, hopeless expression I have ever seen. It struck me then that we are mistaken when we say that "It isn't the same for them as it would be for us," and that people bred in the slums can imagine nothing but the slums. For what I saw in her face was not the ignorant suffering of an animal. She knew well enough what was happening to her--understood as well as I did how dreadful a destiny it was to be kneeling there in the bitter cold, on the slimy steps of a slum backyard, poking a stick up a foul drain-pipe (18).

Immediately after this encounter, Orwell absorbs himself in the English countryside. "According to the almanac this was spring, and a few of the birds seemed to believe it. For the first time in my life, in a bare patch beside the line, I saw rooks treading. They did it on the ground and not, as I should have expected, in a tree. The manner of courtship was curious" (19). As Crick has observed, these comments on rooks are taken almost verbatim from Orwell's diary entry for March 2, nearly two weeks after his entry which formed the basis of the drain-pipe scene. This is not the only significant difference between the diary entries and the text of The Road to Wigan Pier; to identify just one more, Orwell encounters the woman at the pipe while on foot, not while on a train as in the text, in the diary.

Despite Hunter's claim that the three participants in the drain-pipe scene--Orwell, the woman, and the reader--"are united in opposition to the snobbery which deals in clichés and comfortably divides the world into 'them' and 'us'" (451), this passage emphasizes the distance between the author (and, by association, the reader) and the woman at the drain-pipe. Dodd has noted the significance of Orwell's placing his narrator on a train instead of on foot; the narrator has a freedom of mobility denied to the woman. The narrator's immediate fascination with the rooks suggests his discomfort and desire to place himself, intellectually and emotionally now as well as physically, from the woman. Orwell and the woman are indeed united in thought for a moment--but Orwell does not find any comfort in that union, nor does he at any moment later in the text build on that union in any way. Rather, the predominant tone of his work is disgust--disgust with living and working conditions in the north, disgust with working-class manners, disgust with English socialists. The text portrays the very reaction which Muir warned against in Scottish Journey. Of course, Orwell at numerous times expresses his admiration for the people he encounters; "I cannot end this chapter without remarking on the extraordinary courtesy and good nature with which I was received everywhere," (73) he announces at the end of his description of housing conditions. Yet Orwell's appreciation at all times is that of a appreciative guest in response to a courteous host--never that of one brother to another.

In The Road to Wigan Pier, no one from the industrial areas rises to the status of character; the woman at the drain-pipe is dismissed as soon as she threatens to attain that status. A different image of the people of the industrial areas arises from Orwell's text; they are foreigners, and while someone like Orwell can feel sympathy for their plight, these people can never be fully understood, at least not well enough to build a character sketch. Whereas the other texts of the

social exploration genre used character sketches to craft powerful identifications between subject and reader, between North and South, Orwell eschews such character sketches and any other device which may lead to such identifications, choosing instead to emphasize his (and, by extension, his reader's) alienation from his subjects.

However, rather than being the result of Orwell's inability to understand and communicate effectively with northern workers, this sense of the insurmountable foreignness of the working class which surrounds The Road to Wigan Pier may be an attempt to provide a much stronger sense of their autonomy than is provided by other texts in this genre. In his concluding chapter, Orwell proposes a tentative alignment between various classes under the socialist banner: members of the slowly sinking middle classes, he argues, need to unite their cause with that of the working classes. Whatever one may think of the political content of Orwell's proposals, it is noteworthy that he sees this alignment as a parliamentary meeting between distinct camps and not as a blending into one body. This political program can be seen as an extension of the textual strategy used in the earlier sections of The Road to Wigan Pier. Rather than assimilating his working-class subjects into bourgeois culture through such literary devices as characterization, Orwell grants them the autonomy due to an admirable yet foreign people.

The second component to Orwell's unique rhetorical strategy in this text involves the complex psychological profile which emerges from the autobiographical ruminations on the class and socialism which comprise much of Part II. As a response to the graphic conditions depicted in Part I, this section is greatly disappointing as it is illogical and inconclusive. Several errors in reasoning could be cataloged, such as the following non sequitor: "Why should a man who thinks all virtue resides in the proletariat still take such pains to drink his soup silently? It can only be because in his heart he feels

that proletarian manners are disgusting" (136). The entire eleventh chapter, with its infamous diatribe against socialist cranks, can easily be read as an example of the exact same priggish behavior which the author is admonishing. The following chapter on the influence of machinery in English society is not prepared for at any earlier stage; the observations may be of interest, yet the chapter itself disrupts the flow of the work. The concluding chapter which follows, meanwhile, offers an idealistic political program of alliance between working and middle classes with no practical suggestions (other than emphasizing that socialism stands for "common decency" and other such nebulous concepts) for implementing the type of "intelligent propaganda" necessary to bring about such an alliance.

However, to dismiss Part II as irrational (as critics since Gollancz have done) is to evaluate the section of The Road to Wigan Pier under the assumptions of traditional rhetoric, which among other duties demands that a problem posed must be met with a logical answer. Yet from a perspective informed by modern rhetorical studies, which emphasize not so much the logical structures of a text but the way that text, through logical and what might be called extralogical means, offers a perception of reality, directs the thoughts of the reader on the subject, defines what is important--from such a perspective, the seemingly illogical second half of Orwell's text may indeed become quite sensible.

A central assertion in Orwell's dismissal of "the present intensely stupid handling of the class-issue" is the claim that class divisions are, in the end, insurmountable. By asking members of the bourgeois to embrace the proletariat, English socialists ignored the strength of class prejudices even among well-intentioned people, and therefore ironically drove people away from their cause. It is interesting to note that this important assertion is offered without

much supporting evidence. In sharp contrast to the amount of detail he provides in regards to the coal-mining and living conditions, the text is remarkably brief in its description of social interactions:

For some months I lived entirely in coal-miners' houses. I ate my meals with the family, I washed at the kitchen sink, I shared bedrooms with miners, drank beer with them, played darts with them, talked to them by the hour together. But though I was among them, and I hope and trust they did not find me a nuisance, I was not one of them, and they knew it even better than I did. However much you like them, however interesting you find their conversation, there is always that accursed itch of class difference, like the pea under the princess's mattress. It is not a question of dislike or distaste, only of difference, but it is enough to make real intimacy impossible (156).

Orwell offers only broad outlines here, not the details found in other parts of this text and in the character descriptions found in works by Priestley, Gibbs, Hanley, and the Orwell of only a few years earlier. The brevity here might lead one to question whether Orwell made a sincere effort to associated with the people he meet in the northern coal mining regions.

Yet Orwell does provide evidence of a different sort for his assertion, evidence found in his confessional description of the development of his ideas on class. It is a history filled with various forms of self-deception, the first of these being his family's desire to maintain its lower-upper-middle-class standard of living in spite of the fact that their income relative to society will not sustain such a lifestyle. This class is actually more conscious of poverty than are members of the working class, according to Orwell: "Rent and clothes and school-bills are an unending nightmare, and every luxury, even a glass of beer, is an unwarrantable extravagance. Practically the whole family income goes in keeping up appearances" (124). The exactness and awkwardness of the hyphenated phrase Orwell uses to describe this class conveys the awareness and uncertainty of this class.

One effect of this denial of economic reality was an

intensification of class prejudices, a symbolic warding off of the elements which were forcing people of his class down the social ladder. Members of his lower-upper-middle-class, Orwell claims quite scandalously, were brought up to believe that the lower classes smell (a statement which Gollancz found particularly offensive). His class prejudices were modified some while attending public school on a scholarship, as most of his schoolmates were from families which had no need for financial assistance. "The correct and elegant thing, I felt, was to be of gentle birth but to have no money. This is part of the credo of the lower-upper-middle-class. It has a romantic, Jacobite-in-exile feeling about it which is very comforting" (137-8).

In order to sustain his comforting self-deception after graduation, Orwell joined the imperial police in India, where "with cheap horses, free shooting, and hordes of black servants, it was so easy to play at being a gentleman" (123-4). He found, however, that the realities of colonial government would not allow him to sustain his self-deception: "it is not possible to be part of such a system without recognising it as an unjustifiable tyranny" (144). Adopting a seemingly unproblematic philosophy that "the oppressed are always right and the oppressors are always wrong" (148), Orwell returned to England after his five years of imperial service with a determination to be rid of his prejudices against the working class, "the symbolic victims of injustice" in his homeland.

This commitment led to Orwell's adventures as an amateur tramp, undertaken in order, in words reminiscent of Thoreau, to touch bottom, to associate intimately with the lower classes and thereby lose his discomfort around them. It was not long, however, before he discovered that "you do not solve the class problem by making friends with tramps" (154). One may get rid of certain class prejudices in the process (Orwell proudly admits that, as a result of his tramping, he can now

drink from the same glass as a working man), but becoming intimate with the working class was for Orwell impossible. What seemed a straightforward answer to the intellectual predicament of the young man newly returned from India soon turned out to be yet another form of self-deception, precipitated once again by the issue of class.

Thus, by the time of his trip north to Wigan in early 1936, Orwell had experienced a wide range of thoughts and feelings on class; his only conclusion at the time, it seems, was that definitive conclusions were impossible. This sentiment is incorporated into the structure of The Road to Wigan Pier, and accounts both for the interest and consternation it has generated over the years. Throughout his writings on class in this text, Orwell appears to problematize his case as much as possible. Admiration for the working class and disgust for the very same people can appear on the same page. He parodies bourgeois fears and prejudices concerning the working class, and admits that he shares many of these same beliefs. He embraces technological advances, yet warns against their potential impact.

Yet of all the paradoxes of Part II, the impassioned plea for socialism amid the dismissal of its followers stands out most spectacularly. Indeed, Orwell's diatribe against socialist cranks has generated the majority of critical comments over the years, and therefore cannot be ignored in any discussion of the text. The passage is best read as an example of English satire mastered by Swift, one of Orwell's literary role models. One of the principal concerns of satire is to identify the deviation of the satirized from an assumed social norm, a norm represented in Orwell's case by terms such as decency, moderate behavior, and traditional values and mannerisms. Satire routinely achieves this deviation through monstrous exaggeration of the satirized; indeed, one of the ironic components of the crank passage is that, by portraying English socialists in as grotesque a fashion as he

described the Brookers in the opening chapter, Orwell provides one of if not the only means of identification between subject and reader in the text. Yet however monstrous a threat the satirized seems to pose to the social norm, that threat ultimately is revealed to be empty; the subject of satire always fails in its attempt to disrupt society.

By dismissing the perceived threat and revealing the true harmlessness of the situation, satire can be seen as an example of Burke's perspective by incongruity, which works to reveal hidden associations through the use of unconventional literary devices. In this particular case, the crank passage, by invoking grotesque caricatures of the British left, effectively dismisses the perceived threat of socialism (namely, the upheaval associated with centralized economic planning) and identifies the true concern of "normal" English people regarding socialism--namely, the upheaval associated with having one's class prejudices disrupted. It is the identification of this threat which is at the heart of the crank passage.

Despite the numerous paradoxes in Part II, Orwell is able to put across a reasonably clear overall argument (namely, that members of the working and middle classes must temporarily put aside their undeniable class differences and form an effective progressive socialist party), yet this conclusion is not what makes The Road to Wigan Pier compelling. Rather, it is the depiction of a mind struggling mightily and honestly with the issue of class which gives this text its power. The other texts in the social exploration of this era had offered far more streamlined perspectives: Priestley's compassionate liberalism, Gibbs' patriotic concern, Hanley's steadfast admiration. Elements of all these traits could be found in Orwell's text, yet none is allowed to take precedence over the other.

Another look at the encounter with the woman at the drain-pipe illustrates this complex psychological self-portrait. Portions of the

scene could find a comfortable home in English Journey (her face "wore, for the second in which I saw it, the most desolate, hopeless expression I have ever seen"), Grey Children ("It struck me then that we are mistaken when we say that 'It isn't the same for them as it would be for us,' and that people bred in the slums can imagine nothing but the slums"), or England Speaks ("She knew well enough what was happening to her"); Orwell's response wavers between disgust, shame, concern, pity, and fear. It is not long, however, before he turns his attention to the mating rooks, and the incident is forgotten. By describing the various reactions he experienced in this incident and, more importantly, by not forcing an interpretation on the scene by identifying any of these reactions as more significant than the others, Orwell allows his readers to decide for themselves the significance of this brief yet powerful encounter.

In his cautionary evaluation of The Road to Wigan Pier, Gollancz cites Orwell's failure to resolve the problems he raises in regard to the class issue as a challenge to his readers, for "it shows the desperate struggle through which a man must go before, in our present society, his mind can really become free" (xvi). Gollancz' comment is of course a slap at Orwell's political unorthodoxy, yet the observation is not entirely without merit. The text does indeed show a divided mind, an intellect struggling mightily with important issues of its time, yet it is important to note that, in Orwell's estimation, such issues are not ultimately resolvable: "The fact that has got to be faced is that to abolish class-distinctions means abolishing a part of yourself. . . . to get outside the class-racket I have got to suppress not merely my private snobbishness, but most of my other tastes and prejudices as well" (161). The only answer suggested, other than the vague political program offered in the final chapter, in The Road to Wigan Pier is a sincere evaluation of one's own views on "the terribly

difficult issue of class." The text itself is an example of this strategy.

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, Orwell was reluctant to call himself an artist, and critics have tended to valorize the political implications of Orwell's plain style over searching for more subtle textual strategies in his writing. The calendar year 1984, however, is now more than a decade removed, and the supercilious debate over the exact nature of Orwell's political views seems to have died down.⁷ There is an opportunity now to explore the rich possibilities offered by one of the more renowned writers of non-fiction in English. Orwell's first instinct may not have been to produce works of art, especially in his non-fiction work, yet such work continues to hold interest to this day. Orwell studies in the future should concentrate on exploring the nature of that appeal--even if it means, as it probably will, discovering aspects of his art which the "artless" Orwell may not have been aware.

⁷ The attempt to claim Orwell's legacy by writers consciously representing various political interests was certainly one of the most controversial if least enlightening debates in Orwell studies from the time of his death in 1950 to the early 1980s; the exchange between Norman Podhoretz and Christopher Hitchens in the January and February 1983 issues of Harper's represents the argument taken to its absurd extreme. And while debate on this issue has indeed died down, it is far from ended; the battle has been recently resumed by Hilton Kramer, in "An Orwell for the Nineties?" The New Criterion 10.3 (1991): 4-8 and Gerald Mazorati in a January 1992 letter to the magazine.

CHAPTER 3

HURSTON, HOODOO, AND ANTHROPOLOGY: MULES AND MEN

I was once talking to Mrs. Rachel Silas of Sanford, Florida, so I asked her where I could find a good hoodoo doctor.

"Do you believe in dat old fageyism, chile? Ah don't see how nobody could do none of dat work, do you?" She laughed unnecessarily. "Ah been hearin' 'bout dat mess ever since Ah been big enough tuh know mahself, but shucks! Ah don't believe nobody kin do me no harm lessen they git sometin' in my mouth."

"Don't fool yourself," I answered with assurance. "People can do things to you. I done seen things happen."

"Sho nuff? Well, well, well! Maybe things kin be done tuh harm yuh, cause Ah done heard good folks--folks dat ought to know--say dat it sho is a fact. Anyhow Ah figger it pays tuh be keerful" (185-6).

After decades of being considered a minor figure in the Harlem Renaissance, Zora Neale Hurston has in the last twenty years emerged as one of the most prominent writers in the African-American literary tradition. The geographical shift in critical attention from Harlem to Florida in Hurston studies was certainly necessary, for while controversy seemed to follow her throughout her time North, and while many of her actions at the time still seem disturbing, her Florida writings are filled with interest.¹ The above passage from Mules and

¹ For several years Hurston received financial support from Charlotte Osgood Mason, a controversial white patron of several Harlem Renaissance figures. Langston Hughes among others found Mason's views on African-American art too restrictive and left her patronage; Hurston, however, maintained a long relationship with her, and in the Introduction to Mules and Men acknowledges her as "The world's most gallant woman" (4). This relationship no doubt contributed to the decline of her fame, as did Hurston's tempestuous relationship with Hughes himself. Close friends and supportive critics of each other for over a decade (Hughes traveled with Hurston for a good portion while she conducted her research on Mules and Men), the two had a falling out over Mule Bone, a play they had co-wrote and which Hurston apparently attempted to publish and produce with neither his consent nor acknowledgment of his contribution. This disagreement, and Hurston's

Men illustrates many of the qualities which have drawn the interest of contemporary critics: her attention to southern African-American folk customs and dialect; her way of displaying her involvement in the act of collecting folklore material; the articulation and prioritization of feminine relationships, and the role women play in maintaining cultural traditions. It is literary qualities such as these which led Alice Walker to enshrine Hurston as "A Genius of The South" in her landmark 1975 Ms. article.

The above passage also touches on a subject which, considering its presence in Hurston's work, has not received the attention it deserves in Hurston studies: hoodoo, the loosely organized body of African-American superstitions, magical practices, and religious beliefs common among the people who routinely formed the subject of Hurston's writings. The latter half of Mules and Men, the source of this passage, provides a mythical history of hoodoo practice, describes initiation rites Hurston underwent to become an initiate to several hoodoo doctors, offers details of hoodoo spells performed by those doctors and by Hurston herself, and includes an appendix listing a number of hoodoo spells, charms, and mystical properties of roots.

Hoodoo lore appears throughout Hurston's published career: it

continuing relationship with Mason, helped shape Hughes' portrait of her in his autobiography The Big Sea:

Only to reach a wider audience, need she ever write books--because she is a perfect book on entertainment in herself. In her youth she was always getting scholarships and things from wealthy white people, some of whom simply paid her just to sit around represent the Negro race for them, she did it in such a racy fashion. She was full of side-splitting anecdotes, humorous tales, and tragicomic stories, remembered out of her life in the South as a daughter of a traveling minister of God. She could make you laugh one minute and cry the next. To many of her white friends, no doubt, she was the perfect 'darkie,' in the nice meaning they gave the term--that is a naive, childlike, sweet, humorous, and highly colored Negro (238-9).

For decades, this would be the most frequently quoted description of Hurston. Neal alludes to this character sketch in his highly ungenerous portrait of her as "a kind of Pearl Bailey of the literary world" (167).

plays an integral role in several of her short stories from the 1920s ("John Redding Goes to Sea," "Spunk," "Black Death"); "Hoodoo in America," a lengthy 1931 essay for the Journal of American Folklore, describes hoodoo practices in detail and is still considered a definitive text on the subject; another anthropological text, Tell My Horse (1938), recounts voodoo lore from the West Indies; her retelling of the Exodus story in African-American terminology, Moses, Man of the Mountain (1939), casts Moses as a hoodoo doctor. While Mules and Men (1935) was neither her first or last work on hoodoo, it deserves special attention in Hurston studies, for while Hurston up to this time had addressed hoodoo in either the popular genre of the short story or the scholarly genre of academic folklore, Mules and Men was Hurston's first attempt to combine her literary ambitions with an analytic approach to hoodoo.

Hurston considered hoodoo an integral part of African-American culture and realized that public impressions of this practice played a large role in the general impression of her people; thus, she was deeply concerned about the presentation of hoodoo in popular literary format. In Mules and Men, Hurston countered what she considered inauthentic and misleading descriptions of hoodoo with the most detailed accounts of hoodoo lore of her era. Moreover, Hurston's use of detail, setting, dialogue, and other strategic narrative devices not only invigorates her findings but also significantly influences the way those findings are interpreted.

In "The Philosophy of Literary Form," Kenneth Burke described the literary act as a "dancing of an attitude" towards a subject, a metaphor which combines rhetorical and aesthetic overtones to describe the appeal of the text. Burke's terminology seems quite applicable when studying Mules and Men, for it is the rhetorical presentation of Hurston's subject, the performance of her dance, which is ultimately the major

contribution of this text.

Hurston's academic interest in hoodoo began at Barnard College, where she studied folklore under Franz Boas, the prominent anthropologist of his day and past editor of the influential Journal of American Folklore. Boas arranged funds for two separate folklore collection expeditions by Hurston, a brief and frustrating trip through the American southeast in 1927 and a far more successful journey from December 1927 to February 1930 to the same region as well as two brief trips to the Bahamas. After writing a series of scholarly articles based on her findings, including "Dance Songs and Tales from the Bahamas" and "Hoodoo in America" for the Journal of American Folklore, Hurston planned a popular edition of the folktales she had collected during her travels.² She completed the manuscript of this work in early 1932, and it would make the rounds of publishing houses for two years before finally being published almost as an afterthought. After publishing Hurston's first novel, Jonah's Gourd Vine, in May 1934, Bertram Lippincott agreed to publish Hurston's folklore collection so long as the text was made more accessible to a non-academic reading audience; the text also had to be expanded to increase the page count. Hurston added several "between-tales conversations" to her folklore collection in order to give Part I a smooth narrative flow, and revised

² Before the articles for the Journal, Hurston had published two other scholarly articles based in part on her folklore fieldwork. "Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver" and a report on a seventeenth-century African-American settlement outside St. Augustine were published in the Journal of Negro History, edited by Carter Woodson, who had funded Hurston's first folklore collecting trip at Boas' request.

Hurston's article on Cudjo Lewis is, to say the least, controversial. Decades later, research demonstrated that article had been plagiarized from Emma Langdon Roche's Historical Sketches of the Old South. Hemenway characterizes this act as an attempt at academic suicide caused by Hurston's frustration over the first collecting trip (Hurston 96-9).

her "Hoodoo in America" article, designating it as the second half of Mules and Men. The text was finally published in the spring of 1935.

Most initial reviews in the popular press of the work were highly enthusiastic, with special praise given to the folktales of Part I. Based on this text and her first novel, Hurston was proclaimed a rising literary star, who was able in Mules to Men to combine "a social study with [the] gusto of a story" (Chubb 181). This popular reception was in part a product of the age. Interest in African-American art remained great even after the Great Depression had slowed the productivity which had marked the Harlem Renaissance. A writer like Hurston, with an insight into African-American folk culture not found in Joel Chandler Harris' Uncle Remus tales, showed great potential for popular and critical success in this age. Such enthusiasm, however, was generally not elicited in popular reviews by Part II of Mules and Men, with its descriptions of hoodoo initiation rites, ceremonies, and spells. Reviewers approached this section delicately: "I find the second part interesting, but dare not judge it" (Chubb 182).

Scholarly reviews of the era also focused on Part I, yet the academic world was far less enthusiastic for text, and were often quite vehement in their disapproval of Hurston's idiosyncratic approach to folklore scholarship. The autobiographical form of her work was considered particularly inappropriate; a reviewer in Phylon caustically observed that Hurston "colors her findings with her own impressionistic reactions and writes about them much in the manner of an over-enthusiastic tourist" (Gloster 159). Sterling Brown, who also studied and incorporated African-American folk material in his work, claimed Hurston's collection leaves out much material which speaks of the anger and frustration of African-Americans: "Mules and Men should be more bitter; it would be nearer the truth" (quoted in Hemenway, "Soul," xxv-xxvi). Through the 1950s and 1960s, Hurston was remembered primarily

for her folklore work, although the initial criticism of her collecting techniques were often reiterated.

The revival of Hurston's reputation beginning in the late 1960s did not immediately bring revived interest in Hurston's folklore work. Attention during the initial period of rediscovery was focused nearly exclusively on Their Eyes Were Watching God in much the same fashion that Orwell criticism for decades concentrated on Nineteen Eighty-Four. It has only been in recent years that her folklore texts, including Mules and Men, have received serious scholarly attention. Ironically, Hurston's academic idiosyncrasies have now come to be seen as strengths rather than deficiencies. Instead of being seen as a lax scholar, Hurston in recent years has been seen as a revisionist ethnographer, a creative writer attempting to transform ethnographic rhetoric, a rebellious scholar determined to redraw the boundaries of academic discourse, and a dedicated feminist highlighting gender relationships and female empowerment in a discipline historically blind to such issues.³

But perhaps most significantly, critical attention to Mules and Men continues to be restricted almost exclusively to the folk tales of Part I. Since its initial publication, little mention has been made of

³ Rosan Augusta Jordan, "Not into Cold Space: Zora Neale Hurston and J. Frank Dobie as Holistic Folklorists," Southern Folklore 49.2 (1992): 109-31; Sandra Dolby-Stahl, "Literary Objectives: Hurston's Use of Personal Narrative in Mules and Men," Western Folklore 51.1 (1992): 51-63; John Dorst, "Rereading Mules and Men: Toward the Death of the Ethnographer," Cultural Anthropology 305-18; Benigno Sanchez-Eppler, "Telling Anthropology: Zora Neale Hurston and Gilberto Freyre Disciplined in Their Field-Home-Work," American Literary History 4.3 (1992): 464-88; Miriam Camitta, "Gender and Method in Folklore Fieldwork," Southern Folklore 47.1 (1990): 21-31; Mary Katherine Wainwright, "Subversive Female Folk Tellers in Mules and Men," Zora in Florida, ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel (Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991) 62-85; Cheryl A. Wall, "Mules and Men and Women: Zora Neale Hurston's Strategies of Narration and Visions of Female Empowerment," Black American Literature Forum 23.4 (1989): 661-80.

the hoodoo lore in Part II. The fact that much of the material there had already been published in "Hoodoo in America" certainly accounts for the lack of attention paid to the latter half of the text by many critics. Hemenway, Hurston's biographer and one of the more respected critics of her work, claims in the foreword to the 1978 edition of Mules and Men that Part II was taken "with very little revision" from the Journal article ("Soul," xxiv).⁴

There is an even more compelling reason, however, for the lack of attention paid to Part II, and that has to do with the difficulty involved in writing about hoodoo, especially in academic discourse. Simply put, hoodoo does not lend itself readily as a topic for standard scholarly analysis. Every scholarly description of this practice has emphasized its fluid nature; in hoodoo, there are no prescribed rituals, no priestly hierarchy, no founding or guiding texts. Great variations have been noted in hoodoo practices between cults only miles apart. This flexibility allowed hoodoo to survive slavery; wherever slaves were brought, they adapted their religion in accordance with local customs. Thus, when one speaks of hoodoo and/or voodoo, any number of different practices could be referenced. Few definitive statements can be made on this subject; indeed, the orthography of the term has been the subject of some debate. As Hurston says in Mules and Men, "hoodoo" and "voodoo" could refer to, respectively, the black and white terms for the same practice (it should be noted, though, that in a later text Hurston refers to hoodoo as "the American name" for voodoo (Review of Tallant, 436); however, a case can be made that "hoodoo" refers to the magical

⁴ In his introduction to the 1990 edition, Rampersad claims that this section represents "a slightly edited version" of the article (xx); in his article on the text, Dorst proclaims that he "will be concerned exclusively with Part I of this book--the 'Folktales' section. My argument requires that we see how these ten chapters constitute a narrative unit. The section on 'Hoodoo' that concludes the book had been published separately and has a coherence of its own" (317).

practices of "voodoo," a religion in which ritual dances and spiritual possession are prominent (an argument reinforced by the fact that Hurston makes no references to the spiritual component of hoodoo in Mules and Men, while the latter text Tell My Horse focuses on the religion identified as voodoo). Hoodoo allows for very few definitive statements; indeed, it is not inappropriate to refer to hoodoo as an irrational practice, "an alternative mode for perceiving reality, contrasting sharply with what is perceived as the white man's excessive rationality" (Hemenway 119).⁵

While hoodoo's defining irrationality may help explain its survival and popularity in the New World, it also makes a scholarly approach to hoodoo nearly oxymoronic, since hoodoo does not provide the hierarchical structures and steady definitions which scholarship uses as the starting point for its work. When confronted with a text on hoodoo, then, the experience of the scholar is something like the experience Hurston describes of the initiation ceremony she undergoes with a hoodoo

⁵ This defining irrationality must be kept in mind when comparing Hurston's text to other texts on the subject. Although there is reason to view Hurston's descriptions as more authoritative than those provided by others (Hurston's research is far more extensive than others, for one thing), it must be remembered that few statements about hoodoo can be considered authoritative. A brief illustration should demonstrate the problems involved. In 1946, Hurston wrote a review of Robert Tallant's Voodoo in New Orleans, which will be discussed later. In the review, Hurston criticizes Tallant for a number of mistakes, one being his account of Marie Laveau, an infamous self-proclaimed voodoo queen of nineteenth-century New Orleans whose legend became far more important than her biographical data even during her lifetime. While Tallant, in Hurston's estimation, correctly states that a number of women took the name Marie Laveau in the past century, he errs in giving too much attention to these impostors, one of whom he identifies as Marie II. "The length, too, that he dwelt upon the spurious Marie II is both worthless and wasted" (437). However, Tallant gives the birth date for Marie II as February 2, 1827--the exact date given in both "Hoodoo in America" and Part II of Mules and Men as the birthdate of the real Marie Laveau. Whether Hurston forgot that Tallant seems to be discussing the real (in Hurston's estimation) Laveau or whether she intentionally overlooked this fact is not the issue; the lesson here is that few statements about hoodoo can be taken for granted, even when they come from an author as well-versed with the subject as is Hurston.

doctor in "Hoodoo in America:"

We sat there silently facing each other across the candles and incense for those sixty minutes. Then he rose and put the sacred snake skin about his shoulders and stood behind me with his hands upon my head. It seemed a long time to me. I was full of anxiety lest he tell me he had nothing to say to me. After a while I forgot my fears, forgot myself, and things began to happen. Things for which I can find no words, since I had experienced nothing before that would furnish a simile (358, emphasis added).

Like Hurston before the hoodoo doctor, the scholarly critic before a hoodoo text has had little experience with which to begin verbalizing his or her reactions to the text. This situation makes hoodoo an especially difficult subject for academic discourse.

Yet perhaps this difficulty can be overcome by using the critical work done on Part I of the text as an example. Criticism of the folktales section of Mules and Men has argued that the value of the text lies in the description of how the various members of the communities Hurston describes use tales and other folklore elements to establish their position within those communities; in other words, it is not so much the folklore itself but rather the function of that folklore within a community (as illustrated in the "between-tales conversations" added at the publisher's request and which many academic folklorists found objectionable) which is of interest. A similar focus may be appropriate for Part II. It is not so much the facts about hoodoo given by Hurston which should be of interest but rather the manner in which she presents those facts, the way she shows how hoodoo, like the folktales of Part I, functions within its indigenous community.

Part II of Mules and Men can be seen as Hurston's attempt to bridge the gap between hoodoo culture and mainstream Western culture. When given the edict from Lippincott to expand Mules and Men, perhaps Hurston saw a rhetorical opportunity open to her--the chance to present her previously collected hoodoo material in a different fashion, with a different perspective. Rather than dismissing the second half of Mules

and Men as filler, we need to consider the significance of the changes Hurston made to her original work and, more importantly, consider the revised text's impact on the understanding of hoodoo.

"Hoodoo is not drum beating and dancing. There are no moon-worshippers among the Negroes in America," (185) Hurston admonishes near the beginning of the second part of Mules and Men. While her comments here are directed at Broadway and popular fiction, Hurston in her correspondence also lashed out at the work of amateur and professional ethnographers of her era, whose writings on hoodoo she found particularly misinformed. To better understand the cultural atmosphere which in part motivated Hurston's writings on hoodoo, it is perhaps wise to look at some of these works briefly.

There is plenty of drum-beating and moon worship in the works of Robert Tallant and Lyle Saxon, two New Orleans writers from Hurston's era with a great interest in New Orleans and Louisiana folk material, especially voodoo. Although not academic folklorists, their writings on voodoo have a scholarly feel as they rely heavily on interviews, newspaper accounts, citations of voodoo studies conducted in the previous century, and eyewitness accounts. Their texts for the Federal Writers Project, the New Orleans City Guide and Gumbo Ya-Ya, list several voodoo legends, curses, charms and paraphernalia, and Tallant's Voodoo in New Orleans (1946) was for decades considered one of the most important sources of information on this subject.

Tallant and Saxon were both fascinated by what they saw as the savage energy and imagination of voodoo. Tallant's description of a voodoo ceremony, placed strategically near the beginning of Voodoo in New Orleans, is revealing for the imagery it uses.

Deep in a hidden place just outside New Orleans the black people gathered. Fires blazed along the water's edge, and the beat of huge bones on a skin-covered cask was bass and steady. They stripped themselves of all their clothing. . . . On an altar was

the ornamented box containing Vodou, the Zombi, the holy serpent, and one by one the black people approached the bars set into one side of the box, swearing devotion, pledging secrecy, requesting favors. They took oaths to die or to kill, if necessary, for their god (16-17).

A voodoo ceremony described by Saxon in his folklore collection Fabulous New Orleans ends with similar orgiastic fury:

Men and women are like animals now. There are screams and shouts. Men bite. Women scratch. The big negro, quite naked now, catches a thin mulatto girl around the waist and bears her down across the table-cloth, upsetting the candles (321).

Numerous other similarities exist between the two writers' description of voodoo. Both trace the development of voodoo from its origins in the West African worship of the god Voodoo through its development in the West Indies and its importation into Louisiana. Both present the religion as a form of demonology, and give credence to rumors of human sacrifice while acknowledging that no evidence for such activities exists. Both quote the 1782 ban on further importation of slaves from Martinique declared by the governor of Spanish New Orleans, "as these negroes are too much given to voodooism and make the lives of the citizens unsafe."

Both men were also fascinated with the figure of Marie Laveau, the self-proclaimed voodoo queen of nineteenth-century New Orleans. Saxon gives her a full chapter in his Fabulous New Orleans, while Tallant devotes the second of his three sections in Voodoo in New Orleans to her career. Saxon and Tallant give Laveau credit for making the voodoo cult less secretive, for holding public voodoo dances in Congo Square, for integrating elements of Catholicism into voodoo, and for welcoming and encouraging white interest in voodoo. Both men show respect (mixed with a little fear) for Laveau's ability to unite the slave population through voodoo.⁶ No leader of Laveau's abilities followed her after her

⁶ Saxon recites a tale of voodoo's unifying impact (242) which is quoted in full by Tallant (74):

death, however, and voodoo quickly degenerated into exploitive vaudeville, a business exploiting the ignorant and the superstitious. "It's just like any other business," a white drugstore owner who sells voodoo paraphernalia tells Tallant. "When I was in school I didn't think I'd end up in the hoodoo racket, but here I am. There's money in it; I don't mind telling you that. It's a little dangerous, but not half as bad as booking the ponies or anything like bootlegging was'" (Tallant 220). The descent of voodoo from its golden age in the previous century under Laveau is best symbolized by the conclusion to Saxon's description of a voodoo ceremony. After fleeing the orgiastic conclusion, Saxon pauses outside the door.

Horribly sick, I make for the curb and lean against a post. From outside I can hear nothing of the din from the dancers behind the tight-shut battens of that inner courtyard . . . Finally the spasm of nausea passes and I stagger along the dim streets, back toward a sane world which tells me that Voodoo no longer exists--if it ever existed!

The sky, back of the closely shuttered houses toward the east, is beginning to turn gray (322).

Tallant's account of an initiation ceremony ends on a similar note:

It was over, and it was a relief to step out into the brisk winter night. This had been a Voodoo rite and everyone present was now technically a Voodoo. Yet in a few minutes it all seemed unreal and very far away. A huge plane climbed past the stars overhead. This was 1944. This was a period we fancied was modern and fairly free from superstition. A century ago Voodoo might have been a living thing, but the last Marie Laveau had been dead for more than forty years (166).

The influence which the above descriptions of voodoo could have can

A message could be conveyed from one end of the city to another in a single day without one white person's being aware of it. It is said that a negro cook in a kitchen would sing some Creole song while she rattled her pots and pans, a song which sounded innocuous enough to any white listener, but at the end of the verse she would sing a few words intended as a message. Another negro working near-by would listen intently and at the end of the second verse would hear the message repeated. This second servant would then go outside to attend to her duties. She would sing the same song and her voice would be heard by servants in the house next door. In this way, by means of a song, news of a meeting of a voodoo society would be carried from one end of the city to another and upon the appointed night negro men and women would assemble for their ceremonies.

hardly be underestimated. Both writers clearly use their perspectives on voodoo as a criteria for evaluating African-American society as a whole. When Saxon writes that "to understand properly the workings of this black magic, one must understand something of the negro's characteristics. It must be remembered that he is intensely emotional, that he possesses a childlike credulity, that his imagination is easily inflamed," (239) it seems likely that his view of those psychological characteristics is based on his evaluation of voodoo, and not the other way around. Tallant lets his drugstore owner's comments on one of his clients go unchallenged: "'Hell, it doesn't hurt to help these people' he said, when the girl had vanished down the sunny street. 'They are just like kids'" (226). The voodoo texts of Saxon and Tallant suggest that the description of voodoo can have a significant impact on the evaluation of an entire society.

At least one professional anthropologist of this era was aware of the impact which cultural understanding had on the acceptance of a people. In his landmark text The Myth of the Negro Past, which provided exhaustive evidence to counter the theory that no African cultural traditions had been transported to the New World during the era of slavery, Melville Herskovitz attributes a great deal of social significance to anthropology:

In the evaluative processes of this country, then, the past counts more heavily than is realized, from which it follows that the extent to which the past of a people is regarded as praiseworthy, their own self-esteem will be high and the opinion of others will be favorable. The tendency to deny the Negro any such past as all other minority groups of this country own to is thus unfortunate, especially since the truth concerning the nature of Negro aboriginal endowment, and its tenaciousness in contact with other cultures, is not such as to make it suffer under comparison. The recognition by the majority of the population of certain values in Negro song and Negro dance has already heightened Negro self-pride and has affected white attitudes toward the Negro. For the Negro to be similarly proud of his entire past as manifested in his present customs should carry further these tendencies (299).

Herskovitz, like Hurston herself, was a frequent contributor to the

Journal of American Folklore, the primary publication of the American Folklore Society. The Society had been founded partly in response to the popularity of Joel Chandler Harris' "Uncle Remus" stories, which had brought African-American culture to the attention of mainstream America. However, the Journal saw itself as providing a necessary scholarly complement to Uncle Remus. In its inaugural issue, the Journal noted that, while African-American folk tales had certainly become well-known, "[T]he origin of these stories, many of which are common to a great part of the world, has not been determined. In the interest of comparative research, it is desirable that variants be recorded, and that the record should be rendered as complete as possible" ("Work" 5). Arthur Huff Fauset's 1927 article on "Negro Folk Tales from the South" provides a good example of the typical approach used in Journal articles of this era. Fauset carefully delineates his material into nine categories (Animal Stories, Fairy Tales, Riddles, Play Songs, etc.) and accompanies each entry with a footnote describing the region from which the entry came and in some cases the "informant" for the entry:

Informant, Cudjo Lewis. Born in Dahome, West Africa, about 85 years ago. Claims to have landed with a party of slaves in Mobile in 1859. The last of a group of pure blooded Africans who lived in Plateau, Alabama, for many years until their death, and whose pure African blood is to be found in a number of the present inhabitants of that settlement (214).

Articles on voodoo lore appeared frequently in the opening decades of the Journal, most consisting of lists of hoodoo lore, such as the following contribution by Roland Steiner, a medical doctor and Georgian plantation owner at the turn of the century who collected his information from his servants and sharecroppers:

To cunjer a well, throw into the well graveyard dirt, an old pipe of a cunjer doctor, or some devil's snuff.

Devil's snuff, a large species of mushroom, when broken, is full of a powder of a slatish color, and is used in cunjer, singly or in combination with graveyard dirt and other things.

If a person is cunjered by a negro with a blue and a black eye, he will surely die.

If cunjered by a blue-gummed negro, death is certain.

To produce blindness by cunjere, take a toad-frog and dry it, then powder it up, and mix with salt, and sprinkle in the hat of the person to be cunjered, or on the head if possible; when the head sweats, and the sweat runs down the face, blindness takes place (177).

By gathering together a vast amount of information, and by carefully citing the source of each entry, the Journal created a body of cultural artifacts on several folklore subjects. Cross-referencing variants of a tale, diagramming the steps of a dance, setting a song to notes--and, most tellingly, ascribing an origin to these activities--not only created a permanent record of these activities but also created objects to be analyzed, a means to interpret a culture. Until such objects are created for a culture, that culture (or, to be more precise perhaps, the academicized impression of that culture) is effectively invisible to the academic world. Boas and other scholars of his day wanted to end their collective blindness to African-American culture, and from this motivation the collection of artifacts from this culture began.

An important aspect of this process of collecting cultural artifacts was the use of an impersonal rhetoric in reporting the results. The exclusion of autobiographical information, the detailing of the story-teller's background, the codification of stories into types and the referencing those tales to others--these and other textual characteristics gave the impression that the reader was viewing the artifact in the same manner as the writer. The tone of Journal articles attempts to identify the story teller (or dancer, singer, etc.) as the creator of the text presented.

Herskovits took several writers on voodoo to task in The Myth of the Negro Past for the manner in which they presented their material. His analysis of Saxon's eyewitness account of a voodoo ceremony in Fabulous New Orleans, while acknowledging that it provides sufficient data for a comparative analysis of Haitian and Dahomean religious

practices, disparages "the heightened tone of its treatment," and Herskovits argues that serious analysis of such practices is not possible "unless these customs and beliefs are studied in such a manner as to present the life of the people without undue weighting of the sensational and esoteric phases of their life" (246).

Yet for all of its positive contributions to the study of voodoo and other cultural institutions at this time, the scholarly anthropological approach of the era, as typified by Herskovits and the writers of the Journal of American Folklore, had its limitations. By definition, the work of diligently transforming voodoo into a series of cultural artifacts prevents one from examining the function which voodoo provides in everyday life. Tallant and Saxon, for all their disproportionate focus on the sensational aspects of voodoo, at least gave some indication (if incomplete) of the impact the practice can have on a community through their description of Marie Laveau's unifying presence in black New Orleans. Unfortunately, the academic approach to this subject in this era allowed no opportunity for such speculation.

However, at least one anthropological scholar of this era besides Hurston stood out from the crowd. Newbell Niles Puckett's extensive research on African-American folk traditions, gathered for his dissertation at Yale, was eventually published as Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, considered to this day one of the outstanding collections in this field. Puckett, however, was hardly a conventional folklore collector. There is little of the objective rhetoric of the Journal of American Folklore in Folk Beliefs; Puckett's personality is evident on nearly every page. Most notably, Puckett boasts often of his ability to establish a rapport with his informants, thereby gaining information not readily available to white scholars. This ability of his eventually allowed him to masquerade as a hoodoo doctor in his research. "Perhaps such practices are not exactly ethical," Puckett

confesses after describing a meeting with a fellow hoodoo doctor, "but I won my man's respect and obtained information, besides testing out the extreme credulity of even the conjure-doctors themselves" (214).

Puckett, again breaking from the objective rhetoric of the Journal, also speculates a great deal on the sociology and psychology of hoodoo. He claims the practice survived in the Americas largely because blacks were excluded from white justice and medicine, an insight which has been furthered by many writers in this field. Moreover, Puckett claims that belief in hoodoo arises from a natural human concern, and Puckett at times appears to reject the impressions of Saxon and Tallant by seeing hoodoo as a legitimate religious practice: "the difference between superstition and religion is something purely in the mores--the same belief being religion to one fold and superstition to another" (520-1). Yet along with such liberal statements come equally impassioned arguments concerning hoodoo's irrationality and a plea for its elimination. In order to gain information from a hoodoo doctor suffering from a back ache, Puckett prescribes burning earthworms in fresh lard, mixing them with strong perfume and hair from a strong man, and invoking the name of Sampson. "Then I added a few worthwhile items--dress as well as you can, hold your head up, save at least \$2 each week, work hard and earnestly, bathe at least every other day, do a bit of kindness each day, be cheerful even if you have to force yourself to smile, and if you are not bettered, consult a first rate medical doctor and not a hoodoo" (212). For all its folkloric appeal, then, hoodoo is in Puckett's estimation a disease to be eliminated through the scientific medicine, not just training in literacy (which, he argues, encourages hoodooism through the sale of hoodoo texts).

Puckett sees the belief in hoodoo as evidence of a social pathology, rather than of a psychological pathology as theorized by Saxon and Tallant. The image of hoodoo which arises from Puckett's text

is of a mental anachronism: charming, worthy of preserving in the verbal museums such as Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, but ultimately a tradition which must be transcended. In his estimation, hoodoo is a custom which provides little benefit, while causing much detriment, to its practitioners.

"It makes me sick to see how these cheap white folks are grabbing our stuff and ruining it. I am almost sick--my one consolation being that they never do it right and so there is still a chance for us," Hurston writes to Langston Hughes during her research for Mules and Men (quoted in Hemenway, Hurston, 117). At this time, Hurston was dedicated to correcting these false impressions through academic discourse. Another letter to Hughes demonstrates a close parallel to Herskovits' comparative analysis of European and African cultural practices.

I am convinced that Christianity as practiced is an attenuated form of nature worship. Let me explain. The essentials are a belief in the Trinity, baptism, sacrament. Baptism is nothing more than water worship as has been done in one form or the other down thru the ages I find fire worship in Christianity too. What was the original purpose of the altar in all churches? For sacred fire and sacrifices BY FIRE. . . . Symbols my opponents are going to say. But they cannot deny that both water and fires are purely material things and that they symbolize man's tendency to worship those things which benefit him to a great extent. . . . You know of course that the sacrament is a relic of cannibalism when men ate men not so much for food as to gain certain qualities the eaten man had. Sympathetic magic pure and simple. They have a nerve to laugh at conjure (quoted in Hemenway, "Soul," xix-xx).

Hurston's dedication to the academic approach to African-American culture comes out most clearly in her correspondence with Boas during the drafting of "Hoodoo in America," which shows little of the boldness she expresses with Hughes: "'Is it safe for me to say that baptism is an extension of water worship as a part of pantheism just as the sacrament is an extension of cannibalism?'" (quoted in Hemenway, Hurston, 125). When asked by her publisher to have Boas write the foreword to her text, Hurston, as if anticipating the criticisms

academic folklorists would make of her text, apologized for the "unscientific matter that must be there for the sake of the average reader" and implored Boas to write the foreword, which he did (quoted in Hemenway, Hurston, 163-4).

While working on the folk-tales collection which would eventually become the first part of Mules and Men, Hurston wrote two articles for the Journal of American Folklore. The first, "Dance Songs and Tales from the Bahamas," conveys the impersonal tone typical of the Journal from the opening paragraphs:

These songs accompany the exceedingly African folk dance called the fire dance. It was done in the nude formerly, but the British Government has put a penalty on that.

There are two kinds of the dance, the jumping dance, and the ring play, which is merely a more elaborate form of the jumping dance. The dances are purely social.

In either form of this dancing, the players form a ring, with the bonfires to one side. The drummer usually takes his place near the fire. The drum is held over the blaze until the skin tightens to the right tone. There is a flourish signifying that the drummer is all set. The players begin to clap with their hands (294).

The tales presented later in the article come with appropriate documentation for the sake of comparative research: "Told by William Weeks, a wealthy Negro plantation owner about forty. He had had about a seventh grade education, but had traveled extensively" (300). The article is a nearly formulaic piece of folklore scholarship, and its unremarkable prose style has certainly caused Hurston scholars to overlook the work over the years.

A year after the short Bahamian article, Hurston presented "Hoodoo in America," which can be seen as a transition piece between the earlier work and Mules and Men. The article begins by describing the history of hoodoo, from its origins in West African religious practices through its development in the West Indies to its contemporary manifestations in African-American culture. A brief description of similar Bahamian religious practices, referred to as obeah on the islands, is then

provided for comparative purposes. An extensive history of Marie Laveau, the prominent figure in American hoodoo, is then given, along with 30 rituals attributed to her. The collection of conjure rituals which comprises the majority of the text is divided according to the hoodoo practitioner from whom Hurston learned each ritual. A separate collection of conjure stories is then presented, with the location for each tale properly annotated. At the article's end, Hurston provides seven pages of hoodoo paraphernalia and root doctors' prescriptions. "Hoodoo in America" is certainly a treasury of cultural artifacts, and remains (along with Puckett's text) one of the most respected works on its subject.

However, "Hoodoo in America" also includes much of the "unscientific" material which folklorists have objected to over the decades. One of the text's most noticeable passages occurs during Hurston's initial encounter with Samuel Thompson, the first of the nine hoodoo doctors described in the text. Hurston reports that "he received me very reluctantly" at first, and was not convinced of Hurston's sincerity until their fourth meeting. "Not only sincerity," Hurston states cryptically, "but--did I have the soul to see?"

Convinced finally of Hurston's sincerity, Thompson accepts her as an initiate and instructs her to collect materials appropriate for her initiation rite, which is performed nine days later.

At three o'clock, naked as I came into the world, I was stretched face downwards with my navel to the serpent and a pitcher of water at my head that my spirit might not wander in search of it, and began my three day search for the favor of the Great One. Three days I must lie silently, that is, my body would be there. My soul would be standing naked before Spirit to see if he would have me.

I had five psychic experiences during those three days and nights. I shall not detail them here; but I knew that I had been accepted before the sixty-nine hours had passed. Strangely enough, I had no sense of hunger--only exaltation (359).

Hurston could easily have placed all of the above in the impersonal

analytical rhetoric typical of the Journal ("The initiation ceremony performed by Thompson is as follows. The initiate lies naked and face down for three days in front of a snake skin and with a pitcher of water at his or her head"). That Hurston abandons this rhetoric and chooses to place herself and her own reactions to these experiences into her text is significant, as it suggests that the manner in which information is collected influences the nature of the data collected. Hurston's account concentrates more on her experiences--her attempts to gain Thompson's confidence, her physical sensations during the rituals--than on the individual elements of the rituals. This section of the text implies that hoodoo cannot be adequately described through an exhaustive description of rituals; a further element, the relationship of the practitioner to his or her community, must also be considered.

Of course, Puckett also becomes intimate with his environment and uses the first-person approach in his description of hoodoo. Yet he does so primarily in order to deceive the people he is studying, to obtain information not readily offered. Hurston's use of the personal approach demonstrates the importance of hoodoo lies not in its rituals but in its impact on African-American society.

"Hoodoo in America," though, is for the most part a traditional Journal text dedicated to collecting cultural artifacts; Hurston's personal narrative takes up a small percentage of the article. This text should be seen as a transitional work between the derivative "Dance Songs and Tales from the Bahamas" and Part II of Mules and Men, in which Hurston fully develops an innovative approach to the description of hoodoo which had been suggested in her earlier article for the Journal.

As noted earlier, Part II of Mules and Men has routinely been considered "a slightly edited version" of "Hoodoo in America." This judgment seems grotesquely inadequate, for while up to three-quarters of

the text in Part II was indeed imported verbatim from the Journal article (a significant amount of material was also left out), Hurston's additions and alterations hardly constitute a slight revision. Rather, they provide a perspective on the subject matter far different from what emerges in the earlier article.

This difference in perspective becomes apparent from a comparison of the opening paragraphs of each text. "Hoodoo in America" begins with the traditional analytic tone of the Journal:

Veaudeau is the European term for African magic practices and beliefs, but it is unknown to the American Negro. His own name for his practice is hoodoo, both terms being related to the West African term juju. "Conjure" is also freely used by the American Negro for these practices. In the Bahamas as on the West Coast of Africa the term is obeah. "Roots" is the Southern Negro's term for folk-doctoring by herbs and prescriptions, and by extension, and because all hoodoo doctors cure by roots, it may be used as a synonym for hoodoo (317).

Hurston follows this discussion with the an equally analytic description of the history of hoodoo.

In Part II, after a narrative passage which marks the transition between the two sections, Hurston's tone moves rapidly from the analytic to the mythic:

New Orleans is now and has ever been the hoodoo capital of America. Great names in rites that vie with those of Hayti in deeds that keep alive the powers of Africa.

Hoodoo, or Voodoo, as pronounced by the whites, is burning with a flame in America, with all the intensity of a suppressed religion. It has thousands of secret adherents. It adapts itself like Christianity to its locale, reclaiming some of its borrowed characteristics to itself, such as fire-worship as signified in the Christian church by the altar and the candles and the belief in the power of water to sanctify as in baptism.

Belief in magic is older than writing. So nobody knows how it started.

The way we tell it, hoodoo started way back there before everything. Six days of magic spells and mighty words and the world with its elements above and below was made. And now, God is leaning back taking a seventh day rest. When the eighth day comes around, He'll start to making new again (183).

The narrative voice here suggests a thematic link between the two parts of Mules and Men. Having been exposed to the story tellers in Part I,

Hurston now seems comfortable assuming the story-teller's function in her mythical history of hoodoo.

The text continues with the story of Moses, "the first man who ever learned God's power-compelling words." "But Moses never would have stood before the Burning Bush, if he had not married Jethro's daughter. Jethro was a great hoodoo man. Jethro could tell Moses could carry power as soon as he saw him" (184). Hurston follows this description with a retelling of the relationship between Sheba and Solomon.

The Queen of Sheba was an Ethiopian just like Jethro, with power unequal to man. She didn't have to deny herself to give gold to Solomon. She had gold-making words. But she was thirsty, and the country where she lived was dry to her mouth. So she listened to her talking ring and went to see Solomon, and the fountain in his garden quenched her thirst.

So she made Solomon wise and gave him her talking ring. And Solomon built a room with a secret door and everyday he shut himself inside and listened to his ring. So he wrote down the ring-talk in books.

That's what the old ones said in ancient times and we talk it again (185).

The combination of Judeo-Christian and African lore here was certainly inspired by the comparative approach Boas used in his ethnographic studies, yet there is far more to this identification between the two cultural mythologies. It is significant that both Moses and Solomon learn the use of their powers through the tutelage of the Jethro and Sheba. Although this passage conveys much of the same basic historical information found in the beginning of "Hoodoo in America," the effect of translating European legends into hoodoo terminology, rather than describing hoodoo in analytic terms, gives precedence to the African perspective. Later, during the first of her initiation ceremonies, Hurston is made to step into a tub of running water as someone chants, "She has crossed the dangerous stream in search of the spirit" (200)--a ritual with clear connotations to the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean, the "danger water" of the slave trade. Her performance of this ritual can be seen as a symbolic return to the African origins of hoodoo

practice. Hurston's privileging of the African cultural context identifies an aura of foreignness to hoodoo which is not only unique in her era but also, considering the defining irrationality of hoodoo with respect to Western cultural traditions, appropriate and necessary.

Another significant identification occurs in the description of Luke Turner, Samuel Thompson in "Hoodoo," who is given the lengthiest description in both texts and emerges as a powerful figure. It is Turner who recites the story of Marie Laveau, which is told in third-person format in the earlier printed version of Hurston's work. The beginning of his tale places Laveau in the context of the Old Testament figures cited earlier: "Time went around pointing out what God had already made. Moses had seen the Burning Bush. Solomon by magic knowed all wisdom. And Marie Laveau was a woman in New Orleans" (192). Turner also performs two of the Laveau routines which are described in traditional impersonal Journal rhetoric in "Hoodoo." By placing the Laveau story in the mouths of one of her informants, Hurston not only asserts Turner's authority as hoodoo doctor but also, and more significantly, portrays hoodoo as a living component of this community's oral tradition. Through the transformation of this section from historical narrative to folk legend, Hurston further identifies hoodoo as a sustaining cultural institution rather than as a collection of cultural artifacts.

Having established a distinct cultural milieu for hoodoo (while simultaneously displaying its close affinity to Western culture), Hurston then describes her discipleship under seven different hoodoo practitioners, a description which reveals an elaborate alternative system of ethics and justice centered around hoodoo practice. This system, operating outside the bounds of established white Western society, does not emerge in the fractitious "Hoodoo in America," concerned as it is with preserving a body of cultural artifacts, yet

emerges primarily in the additions Hurston made for the second half of Mules and Men.

A principle function of this system is the maintenance of domestic and communal harmony in African-American society. Nearly all of the practitioners profiled in the text acknowledge this duty of their position, and thereby are very cautious in their prescriptions. When Hurston presses Rachel Silas for information on hoodoo (an incident which underscores the sincerity needed for the proper study of hoodoo), she is directed to Eulia Jackson, who "ain't lak some of these hoodoo doctors. She don't do nothin' but good" (187). Soon after accepting Hurston as a student, Jackson is approached by a woman who wants to separate a couple in order to marry the husband, whose wife "got roots buried and he can't git shet of her--do we would of done been married" (188). Jackson performs a ritual which significantly amends a parallel description in section devoted to Jerusha in "Hoodoo in America." The following ritual is described in the Journal article:

To separate husband and wife, go to graveyard and get some dirt off of a fresh grave and put it in the four corners of the bedroom and say while you put it down: "Just fuss and fuss till you go way from here" (394).

This ritual, complete with the chant, is performed by Jackson in Mules and Men, but only after Jackson justifies her act before her client and Hurston: "Course Ah'm uh Christian woman and don't believe in partin' no husband and wife but since she done worked roots on him, to hold him where he don't want to be, it tain't no sin for me to loose him" (188). This is a brief yet critical addition to the text, for it directs attention to Jackson's awareness of her status and responsibility within the community. A similar sensitivity is displayed by Dr. Duke, a roots doctor under whom Hurston studies later in the text, when he is approached by a woman who wishes to be rid of her husband. "'You sure you don't want him no more?' Dr. Duke asked her. 'You know women get

mad and say things they takes back over night'" (226). He does not agree to help her until he is sure of her sincerity. Immediately following the description of Dr. Duke comes stories surrounding Dr. Samuel Jenkins, renowned for his ability to reveal secrets about people at a glance.

A young matron went out with me to Dr. Jenkins's one day just for the sake of the ride. He glanced at her and told her that she was deceiving her husband with a very worthless fellow. That she must stop at once or she would be found out. Her husband was most devoted, but once he mistrusted her he would accept no explanations. This was late in October, and her downfall came in December (227).

Kitty Brown, the last hoodoo doctor described in the text, also questions her client intently when a woman asks to be rid of her unfaithful husband: "Did she still love her John Doe? Perhaps; she didn't know. If he would return to her she would strive to forget, but she was certain he'd not return. How could he?" (240). These hoodoo doctors do not base their decisions under Judeo-Christian moral precepts; they are far more concerned with preserving or enabling healthy male-female relationships than they are with upholding the sanctity of the marriage agreement.

Hoodoo's influence, however, extends to family relationships other than that between husband and wife. Turner, after performing a ritual to keep a husband true, is later approached by a friend of the wife he had aided. So aware is Turner of his status that he has an intuitive sense for the task which will be asked of him. "'I can see you got trouble." He shivered. "It is all in the room. I feel the pain of it; Anger, Malice. Tell me who is this man you so fight with?'" (203). The client, whose brother-in-law is causing problems for her husband and her, asks Turner to perform a ritual to kill him. Like Jackson, Turner places limits on the influence he can exert.

"Oh I can feel the great hate around you," Turner said. "It follow you everywhere, but I kill nobody, I send him away if you want so he never come back. I put guards along the road in the

spirit world, and these he cannot pass, no" (203).

Puckett speaks of hoodoo as an alternative system of justice; Herskovits speaks of the everyday presence of religion in African-American life. With Hurston, such concepts are given graphic description. Turner agrees to perform a ritual to send the troublesome brother-in-law away, just as later Father Watson, perhaps the most flamboyant of the hoodoo doctors encountered by Hurston, aids another woman by dismissing her mother-in-law from the home.

Legal cases are addressed almost as frequently as cases of domestic unrest, and Father Watson, nicknamed the Frizzly Rooster for his resemblance to an animal important to conjure, displays a confident attitude toward such issues. Soon after beginning to study under him, Hurston is approached by a woman whose husband had recently been shot. His attacker has "got good white folks back of him and he's going to be let loose soon as the case is tried." Hurston consults Watson, who claims, "That a low fence."

"Go back and get five dollars from her and tell her to go home and rest easy. That man will be punished. When we get through with him, white folks or no white folks, he'll find a tough jury sitting on his case" (218).

The ability of hoodoo to transcend racial and racist barriers implied by this passage is another important emendation to "Hoodoo." Hurston confidently states that Dr. Duke, a specialist in law cases, "received a fee of one hundred and eighty five dollars from James Beasley, who was in the Parish prison accused of assault with attempt to murder" (223).

The most striking example of hoodoo justice in the text comes in one of four tales related in the sixth chapter of Part II, which tells of a white Georgian planter who kills a young servant girl in a fit of rage. The girl's mother is told to "Call Dave and you all take that sow up off the floor." Dave, who dabbled in hoodoo and was depended upon and feared by the other servants, wets his handkerchief with the girl's

blood as he cleans the planter's dining room floor. The family of the slain girl moves away that evening; "They knew better than to expect any justice." Yet three times over the next several years, the planter sees Dave out the window running away from his home; immediately after each appearance, a member of his family attacks him--first his wife, then his son, finally his daughter. The planter moves further north after each visitation from Dave, yet the family curse follows him. There are several unique features of this tale: it is the only time when hoodoo is shown to be effective against a non-practitioner; it is told from the perspective of the cursed, not from the individual performing the curse (no details of the ritual performed by Dave are given); the effect of the curse is more immediate and powerful than most others described in either "Hoodoo" or Mules and Men. The planter had boasted that "he didn't allow no niggers to sass him" (234); hoodoo in this tale is a means to answer back at white injustice.

Perhaps the strongest testament offered in the text to hoodoo's influence in the African-American community is the frequency with which people ask to be protected or saved from its power. In the first case related in Mules and Men, Jackson intercedes not to change the normal state of affairs but rather to negate a conjure placed by a wife in order to prevent affairs from taking their natural course. Also, "So many people came to Dr. Duke to be uncrossed that he took great pains to teach me that routine" (225). Each of the three other hoodoo tales told in the sixth chapter involve innocent people who discover they have been conjured by a rival and their efforts to break the power of the conjurer.

Initial reviews in the mainstream press noted, often with unease, the menacing air which permeates the second part of Mules and Men. "I am aware that hoodoo plays a great part in the lives of certain negroes, but I have the teasing conviction that it has always been, and always

will be over-emphasized because of those who like its appeal to the romantically macabre" (Chubb 182). Certainly, the macabre elements of the practice--elements sensationalized by Saxon and Tallant, nearly ignored by Herskovitz--are detailed by Hurston: animal sacrifices, rituals performed in the nude, ecstatic dancing, the use of blood and graveyard dirt. The ritual supervised by Father Watson to obtain a black cat bone for Hurston is particularly eerie:

[T]he fire and the pot were made ready. A roomy iron pot with a lid. When the water boiled I was to toss in the terrified, trembling cat.

When he screamed, I was told to curse him. He screamed three times, the last time weak and resigned. The lid was clamped down, the fire kept vigorously alive. At midnight the lid was lifted. Here was the moment! The bones of the cat must be passed through my mouth until one tasted bitter (221).

Saxon and Tallant, of course, describe voodoo ceremonies with much the same energy and detail, yet there is a difference, to borrow a Burkeian term, between the attitude danced toward these ceremonies by Saxon and Tallant and that danced by Hurston. Saxon and Tallant emphasize the brutality and savagery they perceive in voodoo, and they express the terror felt by civilized modern men as they encounter a reminder of mankind's former behavior. Hurston's tale, however, is told from the perspective of a nervous initiate, not a curious outsider. The terror felt by Hurston at this moment over the power of ritual ("Look out! This is liable to kill you. Hold your nerve!") is the reverent fear of the sincere believer. Hurston's description of the incident inspires awe and fear, not morbid curiosity. Saxon, terrified and disgusted by what he sees, runs away; Hurston, while equally terrified, fights the temptation to flee. And in contrast to Saxon and Tallant's lucid denunciations of hoodoo after attending their respective ceremonies (an affirmation of their civilized intellects), the black cat incident leaves Hurston dumbfounded:

Maybe I went off in a trance. Great beast-like creatures thundered up to the circle from all sides. Indescribable noises,

sights, feelings. Death was at hand! Seemed unavoidable! I don't know. Many times I have thought and felt, but I always have to say the same thing. I don't know. I don't know (221).

Hurston's approach conveys a fearful respect for hoodoo's power which is absent from all other texts on the subject in the era.

In his study of hoodoo, Puckett had cited with sniggering indignation the ability of hoodoo doctors to manipulate the fears of their clients. In certain of her profiles, Hurston also suggests that the practice has its manipulative side. Father Watson, routinely dressed in satin purple robes with a golden cord belt, boasts of his power ("He begged to be challenged" 214) and is keenly aware of his vibrant sexuality and uses that knowledge to control his wife.

"Only thing that's holding me here is this." She pointed to a large piece of brain-coral that was forever in a holy spot on the altar. "That's where his power is. If I could get me a piece, I could go start up a business all by myself. If I could only find a piece."

"It's very plentiful down in South Florida," I told her. "But if that piece is so precious, and you're his wife, I'd take it and let him get another piece."

"Oh my God! Naw! That would be my end. He's too powerful. I'm leaving him," she whispered this stealthily. "You get me a piece of that--you know."

The Frizzly Rooster entered and Mary was a different person at once. But every time that she was alone with me it was "that on the altar, you know. When you back in Florida, get me a piece. I'm leaving this man to his women." Then a quick hush and forced laughter at her husband's approach (214-5).

Later, Kitty Brown exploits the fears of Minnie Foster, continually convinced that her husband is about to leave her. Brown performs three rituals, for a fee, for Foster, yet the rituals seem to feed rather than sate Foster's anxiety.

The nefarious components of hoodoo are most clearly represented by Anatol Pierre, the third practitioner profiled in Mules and Men. In contrast to the amiable Jackson and the paternalistic Turner, Pierre is routinely curt and mean-spirited. His personality is displayed powerfully when he performs a spell which, again, is merely described in "Hoodoo."

A man called Muttsy Ivins came running to Pierre soon after my initiation was over. Pierre looked him over with some instinctive antipathy. So he wouldn't help him out by asking questions. He just let Mr. Muttsy tell him the best way he could. So he began by saying, "A lot of hurting things have been done to me, Pierre, and now its done got to de place Ah'm skeered for mah life."

"That's a lie, yes," Pierre snapped.

Muttsy finally admits that hexes have been placed on him because he wants to kill the husband of the woman he wants. Pierre claims he does not like to work for death, but Ivins insists.

"How much money have you got?"

"Two hundred dollars."

"Two fifty is my terms, and I ain't a bit anxious for the job at that" (208-9).

Pierre violates many of the rules of conduct established in the profiles of Jackson and Turner and reinforced in later profiles. Pierre "made little difficulty about taking me after I showed him that I had worked with others" (207); he does not test Hurston's sincerity at any point, whereas Turner earlier required her to visit three times before considering her. Later, Hurston's presence in a ritual dance performed by Brown is challenged by many of Brown's associates, citing her inexperience (241). Pierre, however, seems more interested in Hurston's ability to assist him in his practice than in the sincerity of her belief. Also, while Pierre shares Turner's instinctive awareness of his community's problems, Pierre does not show the sense of responsibility shown by other practitioners. He is more insulted that Ivins would lie to him than concerned for his situation. He does not offer to break the hexes placed on him, a far less costly ritual. His reluctance to perform the service for Muttsy is most likely motivated first by the elaborateness and physical demands of the death ritual (Pierre, for one thing, must sleep in a coffin for ninety days) and second by the possible attention the act may receive, rather than any concern for the justice of the act. Pierre may not like to work for death, yet he is willing to do so, even for a client with questionable motives, once he

is convinced of his client's ability to pay (Ivins admits that he owns a successful trucking business, a fact which the clever Pierre most likely already knew when he offered his price).

Pierre enjoys, and is concerned with maintaining, his position to a far greater extent than the other hoodoo doctors.

Another conjure doctor solicited trade among Pierre's clients and his boasts of power, and his belittling comments of Pierre's powers vexed him. So he said to me one day: "That fellow boasts too much, yes. Maybe if I send him a swelling he won't be out on the banquette bragging so much" (211).

Pierre then conducts a ritual, to produce a swelling, described in "Hoodoo." The portrait of Pierre offers a more sinister perspective on the power and influence of the hoodoo doctor than was presented earlier in Part II, yet he is sinister not because of the rituals he performs but because of his motivations for conducting those rituals. Furthermore, his sinisterness has an important rhetorical effect, for it prevents the moral system surrounding hoodoo from being completely identified with Judeo-Christian morality.

As stated earlier, Hurston's description of hoodoo contended with and was influenced by similar texts from its era. However, what emerges from her descriptions, especially in Part II of Mules and Men, is a perspective on the subject far different from that given by any of those other texts. It is important to point out that Hurston does not completely reject either the sensationalism of Saxon and Tallant or the impersonality of academic rhetoric; Hurston is aware that spectacular details (such as Pierre's death ritual) properly conveys the power of hoodoo, just as she is aware that the scholarly approach alone could provide the context for the proper analysis of such details.

Yet it is also improper to say that Hurston's work is a synthesis of the two approaches. What was missing from all other hoodoo texts of the era was an awareness of hoodoo's role as a powerful shaping force

among African-American communities in New Orleans and elsewhere. By concentrating on the practitioners and clients rather than their rituals, by showing the influence of the hoodoo doctor within a community's life--and, most significantly, by giving precedence to hoodoo terminology, by naming hoodoo as a discovery of spiritual mysteries--Hurston demonstrates that hoodoo is hardly a cultural curiosity but rather a defining cultural influence.

In recent years, hoodoo has captured the attention of a small section of academic criticism, much of this interest arising from the work of Ishmael Reed.⁷ This body of criticism has mostly been devoted to the study of the influence of hoodoo in shaping African-American culture. This influence surely has been great; the public performances of hoodoo dances held by Marie Laveau in Congo Square, for example, have been cited as an origin point for African-American music. As the academic study of hoodoo progresses, Hurston's writings on the subject

⁷ General academic studies of voodoo can be found in Joan Dayan, "Vodoun, or the Voice of the Gods," Raritan 10.3 (1991): 32-57; Jessie Gaston Mulira, "The Case of Voodoo in New Orleans," Africanisms in American Culture, ed. Joseph Holloway (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1990) 34-68; and Laennec Hurbon, "Vodou: A Faith for Individual, Family, and Community from Dieu dans le vaudou haitien," Callaloo 15.3 (1992): 787-96. The attention paid to Hurston's hoodoo texts have largely concentrated on tracing hoodoo imagery throughout her work and by describing the influence of her hoodoo writings on other authors, especially Ishmael Reed. See Ellease Southerland, "The Influence of Voodoo on the Fiction of Zora Neale Hurston," Sturdy Black Bridges: Visions of Black Women in Literature, ed. Roseann P. Bell, Bettye J. Parker and Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: Anchor Books, 1979) 172-183; Barbara Spiesman, "Voodoo as Symbol in Jonah's Gourd Vine," Zora in Florida, ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel (Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991) 86-93; and James R. Lindroth, "Generating the Vocabulary of Hoodoo: Zora Neale Hurston and Ishmael Reed," The Zora Neale Hurston Forum 2.1 (1987): 27-34. Undoubtedly the majority of scholarly work done on hoodoo has focused on Ishmael Reed's writings; his "Neo-Hoodoo Manifesto" is an important text in the study of hoodoo and literature. Helen Lock's "'A Man's Story Is His Gris-Gris': Ishmael Reed's Neo-Hoodoo Aesthetic and the African-American Tradition," South Central Review 10.1 (1993): 67-77 and Robert Elliot Fox's "Blackening the Zero: Toward a Semiotics of Neo-Hoodoo," Black American Literature Forum 18.3 (1984): 95-99 provide further insight into the hoodoo presence in Reed's aesthetic.

should receive a great deal of attention.

One final way to demonstrate Hurston's perspective on hoodoo is to examine a passage from The Big Sea, in which Langston Hughes and Hurston consult a Georgia conjurer on their way back to New York. Hurston asks the conjurer to protect her from a cousin in Brooklyn, who had conjured Hurston to prevent her from coming north. He conducts an elaborate ritual before them, and they quickly leave.

Miss Hurston, who had visited a great many conjur-men, said that he was a poor one without power, using tricks like the burning sulphur-stones to amaze and confound people. We did not understand why he had such a reputation in that part of Georgia, where even some of the medical doctors were complaining about his having taken their patients away from them. Yet I guess if you really believe in a burning sulphur-stone dripping a cross, it might perhaps be good for what ails you (298).

Hughes seems so amused by this meeting that he does not explore Hurston's disappointment with the conjurer. Her reaction can perhaps be explained by comparing the conjurer's methods with those of the doctors described in Mules and Men. First of all, the conjurer apparently consults with them without any prior knowledge of their background, in sharp contrast to the New Orleans hoodoo doctors, who have intimate and intuitive knowledge of all their clients. Moreover, this conjurer performs his ceremony, complete with whistles and bells, in front of his clients, whereas the clients of the New Orleans hoodoo doctors are frequently told to "go home with faith" (210). These facts indicate that the Georgia conjurer is more interested in showmanship than in mediating disputes within a community, and Hurston's texts on the matter downplay the role of showmanship in hoodoo. The conjurer's motives for practicing hoodoo seem incompatible with Hurston's own, and thus it is not surprising to see that he is not mentioned at all, despite his success, in Hurston's work.

CHAPTER 4

VOICES AND FACES: WRIGHT AND THE PICTORIAL TEXTS OF THE 1930S

This text, while purporting to render a broad picture of the processes of Negro life in the United States, intentionally does not include in its considerations those areas of Negro life which comprise the so-called 'talented tenth,' or the isolated islands of mulatto leadership which are still to be found in many parts of the South, or the growing and influential middle-class professional and business men of the North who have, for the past thirty years or more, formed a sort of liaison corps between the whites and the blacks (xix).

Richard Wright's deliberate exclusion of a significant portion of African-American society--those successful people who "are but fleeting exceptions to that vast, tragic school that swims below in the depths, against the current, silently and heavily"--in his African-American folk history Twelve Million Black Voices has drawn sharp criticism throughout the years. In a contemporary review, Alain Locke challenges the "totalitarian rectitude" of Wright's decision, arguing that his exclusion represents a deliberate attack on prominent African-Americans (such, no doubt, as Locke himself). A half-century later, Locke's objections are echoed by critics such as Nicholas Natanson, who claims that Wright's implicit suggestion that African-American leaders of his era had little interaction with or influence on the masses "flew in the face not only of scholarly studies but of common sense" (246).

Wright's well-documented distrust of leaders such as Locke, however, may ultimately have had little to do with his decision to exclude the "talented tenth." Wright's text was written in collaboration with photographs taken from the archives of the Farm Security Administration (FSA), a New Deal program aimed at improving the

standard of living of the poverty-stricken farming class of the nation; the 152 pages of text in Twelve Million Black Voices contain 147 photographs.¹ Since the purpose of the FSA photography project was to depict the living and working conditions of the agricultural poor, there was little material in the project's archives dealing with the more established classes, black or white; given the nature of the project, then, Wright would have been hard-pressed to encompass the "talented tenth" in his text had he chosen to do so.

Yet this practical consideration may not have been the strongest influence on Wright's choice of subject matter. Neither perhaps was his membership in the Chicago branch of the John Reed Club, a national writer's group affiliated with the American Communist Party (although this membership certainly motivated Wright's frequent use of Marxist rhetoric in the text). What may have been the strongest motivating force behind Wright's choice of subject matter in Twelve Million Black Voices was the national obsession with the impoverished of all races. As will be seen in the following pages, "that vast, tragic school that swims below in the depths, against the current, silently and heavily" was a key term not only for communist ideologues but also for all American intellectuals in the 1930s, especially African-American intellectuals.

¹ As early as his presidential campaign in 1932, Roosevelt had made rural agricultural poverty one of the primary concerns of his administration. In 1936, Roosevelt established by executive order the Resettlement Administration (RA), an agency devoted to curing such poverty. The Administration was directed by Rexford Tugwell, an economics professor at Columbia with a special interest in agricultural policy who had become a close advisor to Roosevelt during the 1932 presidential campaign. The RA quickly became one of the favorite targets of Roosevelt's political enemies; the Agency was threatened with the ax during each annual budget debate. In 1937, the RA was radically transformed, and its title was changed to the Farm Security Administration; Tugwell was pressured into resigning. The FSA was able to survive until 1942, when it finally lost its funding. For convenience sake, the term FSA will be used to refer to both the RA and FSA in this discussion.

The concentration on poverty in the 1930s was responsible for a number of arts projects in the decade, including the FSA photographic project. In the mid to late 1930s, a number of texts similar to Wright's--books combining text and photography on the subject of the impoverished--appeared. Yet none of these texts can be reduced to a handful of cultural influences. In their own ways, each of these texts responds to those shaping forces, in turn shaping them. Twelve Million Black Voices, like the other texts in its genre, challenges its times as much as it reflects them--yet does so in a much more significant fashion than those other texts.

The photographs used in Wright's text were the direct product of perhaps the New Deal's most ambitious program, the Farm Security Administration. The first director of the FSA, Rexford Tugwell, had anticipated heavy political resistance to many of the ideas he hoped to implement through the agency (such as low-interest loans for tenants to purchase their own land, grants for emergency financial aid, and experimental communal farms for temporary residence), ideas which would be especially unpopular among southern landowners who were key Democratic Party constituents. Tugwell thus established an Information Division for the FSA--in effect, a propaganda organization for the agency. One branch of the Information Division, the Historical Section, was concerned with establishing a photographic record of FSA activities; Tugwell, who had experimented with incorporating visual media in his seminars and his textbooks while at Columbia, hired one of his graduate assistants, Roy Stryker, to direct the Historical Section.

Stryker is an important and controversial figure in the history of FSA photography. Though he had some experience as a graphical editor, Stryker was not by any means a serious photographer (none of the FSA photographs would be taken by him), and several contemporaries and

subsequent critics have expressed dismay over his administrative judgment (Stryker would often "kill" a shot which did not meet his approval by mutilating the negative with a key punch). Stryker was clearly a bureaucrat working for a government propaganda division, and the political pressure placed on the FSA certainly justified much of the heavy-handedness with which he ran the Historical Section. Some critics have credited Stryker with protecting his staff from the political wars in Washington over the survival of the project, encouraging them to pursue their artistic visions while working within the section's parameters; others, meanwhile, have given the credit for the FSA's success to the photographers, for overcoming Stryker's insistence on bureaucratic orthodoxy. Whether Stryker was a help or hindrance, however, is ultimately not important. What is important is the universal prestige which his photographic project has accumulated over the decades.

Even before the FSA was dissolved in 1942, the photographs of the Historical Section were praised in many corners for their artistic merit, and it is now widely accepted that the FSA photographers (whose number included some of the most recognizable names in American photography--Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, Arthur Rothstein, Carl Lee, Marion Post) transcended the propagandistic orientation of the FSA and produced images of lasting artistic merit. Historians of FSA photography have identified the turnaround in orientation early in the history of the project, specifically when Stryker hired Walker Evans as chief photographer and enlisted Ben Shahn as an advisor. The following statement, credited to Shahn in discussing a picture of eroded soil with Stryker, illustrates the change in perspective which came over the Historical Section:

Look, Roy. You're not going to move anybody with this eroded soil--but the effect this eroded soil has on a kid who looks starved, this is going to move people. You just can't move anybody with this kind of photograph (Hurley 50).

Either Stryker took Shahn's advice and changed the direction of the project, or Shahn and the other staff photographers ignored Stryker's propagandistic directives; whatever the case may be, this conversation marks an important shift in focus of the Historical Section away from documenting FSA projects to documenting the milieu in which the FSA operated.

Tugwell intended the Historical Section to distribute its photographs to news services throughout the country. Stryker augmented this activity with traveling photographic exhibits depicting the work of the FSA--exhibits which drew not only political but artistic commentary. Stryker's aggressive promotion of FSA photographs made his project nationally recognized by 1936, a year in which the project played a small but significant role in the presidential campaign.² And, at the same time as Stryker was gaining wide recognition for the Historical Section and, by association, for photography in general, other forces were combining to create a new outlet for the FSA photographs.

An important innovation had recently taken place in the field of photographic development, making the reproduction of photographs on plain paper easier and, more importantly, economically feasible. A number of magazines, most notably Life, had capitalized on this

² In 1936, Arthur Rothstein took a series of photographs of a bleached cattle skull on a cracked alkali flat in the South Dakota Bad Lands; one picture in this series was printed in newspapers throughout the country. A newspaper publisher of that region suspected that Rothstein had moved the skull in order to get the image shown in that particular photograph. On the day that Roosevelt arrived in the region on the campaign trail, the newspaper printed its allegations, claiming not only of the photograph but also of the entire Historical Section of the FSA, "It's A Fake!"

The incident quickly grew into a national scandal. Rothstein admitted that he had, indeed, moved the skull he had found on the flat in order to experiment with different sunlight angles. While the controversy did not devastate the FSA or Roosevelt's campaign, the credibility of FSA photography was hurt momentarily. Whether the exposure, even under negative circumstances, gained by the FSA through this incident ironically aided the agency in the end is the subject of another debate.

innovation and had met with commercial success. The convenience and profitability of photographic reproduction thus made the concept of photographic books, which up to this time had not been that successful, attractive to book publishers.

This potential avenue would be explored soon after the FSA had gained momentum.

You Have Seen Their Faces, the first commercially successful book to combine words and photographs, was one of the most widely read and discussed books of 1937. With text by Tobacco Road author Erskine Caldwell and photographs from the equally famous Margaret Bourke-White, You Have Seen Their Faces described the living and working conditions of southern tenant farmers. Although the text was in no way affiliated with the FSA, its success created immediate new opportunities for the Historical Section. Soon after the text's release, Archibald MacLeish contacted Stryker about the possibility of using FSA photographs in a poem he envisaged about not just tenant farmers but the working class in general; as he did for anyone sincerely interested in using the file, Stryker made the file accessible to MacLeish for free. MacLeish's text, Land of the Free, received the critical if not commercial success of You Have Seen Their Faces, and other writers would soon take advantage of the FSA file. In 1938, H.C. Nixon, a professor of agricultural economics, included several FSA photographs in Forty Acres and Steel Mules, a text which, to a far greater degree than had You Have Seen Their Faces, analyzed the causes and cures of southern agrarian poverty. A year later, another academic interested in agricultural poverty, Paul Taylor, collaborated with his future wife Dorothea Lange, at one time on the FSA staff, on An American Exodus, on much the same subject as Nixon's text. At the same time, the Alliance Press launched the "Face of America" series, dedicated solely to pictorial books and relying heavily on the FSA file. In addition to the travel guides Washington:

Nerve Center and San Francisco, Alliance published in 1940 both Sherwood Anderson's Home Town, which examined on rural American town life, and As Long as the Grass Shall Grow, whose subject was Native American life on the reservations; photographs from special FSA projects were used in these two texts. And in the following year, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, written by James Agee with photographs from onetime FSA staff photographer Walker Evans, would go virtually unnoticed at its publication; in later years, however, the text would become recognized as a classic, one of the most well-known texts of its era.

Thus, by 1941 a series of pictorial books had been published, and a new literary genre had been established. Several other factors would lead to Wright's contribution to that genre. First, while the FSA file contained a great number of negatives featuring African-American subjects, these shots had not been extensively used in the picture books up to this date; some texts contained no photographs of African-Americans at all, understandably in some cases (As Long as the Grass Shall Grow) but not so much in others (Home Town). Second, there was the popularity of Wright's Native Son, which not only made Wright a household name but also drew considerable attention to the conditions Wright had portrayed so graphically in his novel. Partly in response to the novel's popularity, and also in recognition that the problems of urban ghettos, where many tenant families traveled to escape southern agricultural poverty, were key issues in their project, Stryker commissioned a team of FSA photographers to document living and working conditions in Chicago. One of the photographers on the Chicago project was Edwin Rosskam, who had been the photographic editor of the short-lived "Face of America" series for Alliance. As he gathered photographs in Chicago, he contacted Viking Press and Wright about a book focusing on African-Americans, with text by Wright and pictures from the FSA file. Wright obtained permission from his publishers at Harper to write

the text, and by early 1941 Wright and Roskam were corresponding frequently to discuss photographs, text and research material. Twelve Million Black Voices was published in December of that year.

Wright's history of African-American life is divided into four sections. "Our Strange Birth" traces the history of slavery from the origins and development of the slave trade through the end of the Civil War. "Inheritors of Slavery" describes the post-war lifestyle of southern African-American farm laborers, while the third section, "Death on the City Pavements," follows the African-America migration from the decaying south to the urban north, where dreams of prosperity were routinely frustrated. The last section, "Men in the Making," assesses the future of African-American society in respect to current developments in American society as a whole. Nearly every page of the text contains a photograph; several pages are full-length photographs only. Many of the photographs are accompanied by captions, most coming directly from Wright's text.

Were it not for the picture book category which had already been established, Twelve Million Black Voices would not fit easily into any one literary genre. The text combines history, Marxist social analysis, economic statistics, children's songs, psychological insight, impressionistic lyrical passages, and invective. The narrative tone ranges from compassionate to angry. The narrative voice often changes its tone, subject and source material within the same paragraph:

Most of the flogging and lynchings occur at harvest time, when fruit hangs heavy and ripe, when the leaves are red and gold, when nuts fall from the trees, when the earth offers its best. The thought of harvest steals upon us with a sense of inescapable judgment. It is time now to settle accounts with the Lords of the Land, to divide the crops and pay old debts, and we are afraid. We have never grown used to confronting the Lords of the Land when the last of the cotton is ginned and baled, for we know beforehand that we have lost yet another race with time, that we are deeper in debt. When word reaches us that the Lords of the Land are bent over the big books at the plantation commissary, we lower our eyes, shake our heads, and mutter:

A naught's a naught,
Five's a figger;

All for the white man,
None for the nigger (41-2)

A number of discourses and styles can be recognized in the above passage: black preacherly oratory, pastoral lyricism, psychological insight, Marxist rhetoric, children's verse. As if to underscore these changes in tone, the passage is immediately followed by one of the text's most striking photographs: a lynched corpse, surrounded by a leering white mob (one of the few non-FSA photographs in the text).

The above passage also highlights one of the most distinctive and controversial features of Wright's text, the use of "we" in the narrative voice. Numerous critics have argued that Wright's deliberate exclusion of the "talented tenth" from his text invalidates his use of this personal pronoun. It is an argument not without merit; however, to once again speculate on the motivations for this decision, it may be that Wright thought of "we" as a literary device rather than as a political statement against African-American leadership, for the use of the personal pronoun makes Wright's description of the African-American experience seem more like autobiography than history.

Like Native Son, Twelve Million Black Voices does not shy away from unpleasant details; rather, again like Wright's novel, such details are at the heart of the text's message. From the horrors of the slave trade to the tyranny of the plantation to the hopelessness of the sharecropping system to the shattered dreams of the migration north to the appeal of fascism to discouraged blacks--Wright portrays African-American history as a series of tragedies. Yet he also attempts to demonstrate how the collective spirit of African-Americans has survived and flourished, despite such obstacles. Twelve Million Black Voices develops along the theme of the struggle between oppressive conditions and indomitable collective spirit.

As mentioned earlier, the text has met with a "curious critical

reception," in Jack Moore's words, since its publication. A sincere yet superficial approach to praising the text's virtues, especially its lyricism, has been common practice among the text's proponents.³ The failure of the text's admirers to articulate their appreciation, beyond their immediate reaction to the text's poetry, has meant that the text's detractors--who have not only been more numerous, but also generally more vociferous and insightful--have been allowed to dominate critical analysis of the text. Twelve Million Black Voices has at various times been accused of being irrational, unoriginal, self-contradicting, and muckraking: "exaggerated and emotionalized . . . [Wright's] whole effort is to shock, touch, enrage his audience, as he was enraged, and he used any means to this end" (Stott 234-5); "the author's fondness for sweeping generalizations produced serious flaws. . . . 12 Million Black Voices raged and roared, at a cost in sensitivity" (Natanson 246, 247).

It is important to consider the source for the two critical excerpts above. William Stott and Nicholas Natanson are known primarily not as literary scholars but as historians and critics of photography. They have produced the loudest objections to the text, both dismissing it as histrionic.⁴ The source of their criticism seems to rest

³ The work of John Reilly, especially his observations on Wright's evocation of the African-American oral tradition in, are a pleasant exception to the critical work done on Twelve Million Black Voices. See "The Reconstruction of Genre as Entry Into Conscious History." 3-6 and "Richard Wright Preaches the Nation: 12 Million Black Voices," Black American Literature Forum 16.3 (1982): 116-8.

⁴ In his dismissal of Wright's text, Stott claims that "Saunders Redding said he agreed with practically nothing in the book" (235), attributing the statement to a personal conversation between himself and Redding. Stott provides no context for Redding's comment, apparently believing that the statement from this established African-American critic needs no explanation and moreover justifies Stott's dismissal of Twelve Million Black Voices. Redding, however, had earlier given a far different estimation of Wright's text than is given in his conversation with Stott:

[African-Americans] did not want to believe that they were as helpless, as outraged, as despairing, as violent, and as hate-ridden as Wright depicted them. But they were. They did not want

primarily in their objections to the use of the FSA photographs, for which both Stott and Natanson have high regard, in Wright's text. Stott and Natanson are primarily concerned with the manner in which text and captions may influence interpretations of a photograph, and they find severe fault in Twelve Million Black Voices on this count. Natanson's analysis of two photographs, captioned with a line from Wright's text, exemplifies his disgust over the way he felt the photographs were used.

Images respectful of profoundly private thoughts were yoked to melodramatic Wright laments: hence, [Jack] Delano's portrait of a young Greene County farmwoman pausing, meditatively, in the open doorway of her cabin (the image playing on the idea of physical interiors opened, mental interiors closed), and [Russell] Lee's shot of a Missouri sharecropper's son lying reflectively on his bed, "became" illustrations for the generalization, "There are times when we doubt our songs." Whose doubts? And whose songs? (250).

Natanson's criticism above rests on the assumption that the images have inherent formal properties--both he claims, respect the interior thoughts of their subjects and offer a clever juxtaposition of open and closed interiors--which are violated by the caption.

There is no doubt that the caption directs the interpretation of the two photographs; even were they not directly captioned, their placement in the text itself would privilege certain readings over others. Yet Natanson's objection to Wright and Roskam's use of the FSA photographs is excessive, as it is based on the belief that a rhetorical use of the photographic image violates the inherent formal qualities of that image. Natanson obviously considers certain contexts inappropriate for the presentation of the photographs; what contexts, then, are

to believe that the America that they loved had bred these pollutions of oppression into their blood and bone. But it had. "Is this us? And is this our America?" It was (53).

It is hard to reconcile the two critical evaluations quoted above. Perhaps Redding had changed his opinion of the text over the years. Perhaps there was more to his statement to Stott than is immediately apparent. Whatever the case may be, it does appear that Redding's estimation of Twelve Million Black Voices is far more complex than Stott's casual quotation would suggest.

appropriate? Armed with even a moderately cynical perspective, one could no doubt claim that all contexts are inappropriate, that the act of presenting any photograph by its nature immediately restricts the interpretive possibilities of that photograph. Text and photographs have potentialities, not inherent meanings. Natanson may not approve of some of the potentialities utilized in the composition of Twelve Million Black Voices; his objections, however, should not be the basis for a complete dismissal of the work.

Stott and Natanson are guilty of the exact opposite fault committed by literary critics of the text. Whereas literary critics have routinely ignored the photographs, seeing them as illustrations added to the text after it was composed (when in fact Wright and Rosskam had collaborated closely on the project), visual arts critics have paid superficial attention to the text. A new approach to these texts is needed, one which considers the rhetorical power which comes from the combination of words and photographs in the text. Interestingly, such an approach is suggested by Rosskam himself in an afterword to Washington: Nerve Center, part of the short-lived "Face of America" series:

The technique of this book-series is based on the clean cut definition of the role of two media--the word and the image. We have been accustomed to think of the photograph as an illustration to a text, or as a subject explained by a caption. Both methods are used in these books, where clarity demands them. In general, word and picture are intended to supplement each other. The ideal is that they should never overlap, but, running parallel, should add up by saying what is to be said in the most direct way (7).

Page composition--not photographic composition, not textual composition, but the arrangement of the two media on the same page for complementary purposes--is for Rosskam the overriding concern. Having worked with Rosskam extensively in the planning stages of Twelve Million Black Voices, Wright no doubt was exposed to this philosophy, which dictates that word and picture achieve their effects not separately but in

tandem. It would seem to be the most appropriate way to evaluate texts in this distinctly 1930s genre.

The place to begin discussion of this genre is with Erskine Caldwell's and Margaret Bourke-White's You Have Seen Their Faces, the popularity of which helped motivate the genre. The adjective which most clearly defines the feel of this text is "grotesque." Most photographs are presented full-page, with sharp lighting and a guiding eye which highlights the physical deformities of the subjects. Crooked and missing teeth, open facial sores, sunken unshaved cheeks, deformed limbs, faces distorted in shouts--and, among the inanimate objects, run-down machinery, disheveled shacks, broken fences and farm instruments--Bourke-White provides few comforting images. Similarly, Caldwell's words describe a rural Southern farming industry brought to ruin through decades of mismanagement, and, even worse, a people whose fate mirrors that of the land.

Major themes in the work are introduced through character sketches. One nameless white sharecropper "began life with hope and confidence and the will to work and succeed. He was strong physically and mentally alert. He had been raised on a farm and had grown to feel a closeness to nature from which no vision beyond the horizon could alienate him" (28). He marries and leaves home, hoping to save enough money while renting farmland to buy his own farm. A poor crop one year sends him deep into debt, and he is forced into sharecropping. A few children are born, he and his wife and family work harder than ever, yet some obstacle always arises--a bad crop, a drop in price for cotton, school clothes for the children--to prevent the sharecropper from earning enough to erase his debt and escape sharecropping. He bitterly resents his well-clothed landlord and the Negro sharecroppers who, it seems to him, work less hard than he and whose cheap labor, he feels,

makes improving his lot impossible. After twenty years of farming, the sharecropper's life devolves into the verbal equivalent of a Bourke-White photograph: his face becomes drawn and tight, the house becomes dirty and disheveled, disease runs through the family, and all lose interest in life. The sharecropper's story follows a pattern to be found in other character sketches in the text--innocence betrayed by worldly forces, producing a broken individual. It is a tale of the American dream turned nightmare.

One of the more telling aspects of this text's approach is their decision on captioning the photographs. "The legends under the pictures," explains a note at the front of the text, "are intended to express the authors' own conceptions of the sentiments of the individuals portrayed; they do not pretend to reproduce the actual sentiments of these persons." While this decision was certainly motivated by concern over reprisals to the photographs' subjects, this decision also leaves us with the authors', and not the subjects', words. And the captions used largely emphasize the misery or ignorance of the subjects, as in the caption to the last photograph: "It ain't hardly worth the trouble to go on living." By not allowing the subjects to speak for themselves, Caldwell and Bourke-White quite effectively prevent evidence which might complicate their streamlined argument from entering the text.⁵

⁵ Caldwell's discussion of southern religion perhaps best illustrates the degree to which the text distorts its subject in order to reinforce its own argument. The church--which, in Caldwell's definition, stands for all organized religion--has been, in the author's estimation, a major contributor to the sharecropper's misery. Living in fear of the landlord, the church concentrates on the promise of the afterlife rather than on promoting the concept of the equality of man. This emphasis, Caldwell argues, produces the charismatic rituals of the Holy Rollers, who celebrate the promise of heaven in order to forget their present misery. Bourke-White's accompanying photographs of highly charismatic services in both black and white churches, with accompanying captions ("Hurry, folks, hurry! Getting religion is like putting money in the bank!"), complements Caldwell's text at this point. Yet their

Stott complains that the highly charged rhetoric of this and other passages "diminished--brutalized--the sharecropper" (219). Indeed, in the years following the enthusiastic initial reception of the text, a number of literary and visual critics have objected to the text's sensationalism; Stott dismisses the work as yellow journalism. Caldwell and Bourke-White certainly provide a powerful, perhaps overwhelming, perspective on their subject.

Yet perhaps there is something to be said for their approach. The grotesque depiction of the subject makes the matter not an economic or social issue but a spiritual issue. By allowing these conditions to arise, America has been guilty of the sin of wasting human lives. Salvation can only be achieved through rehabilitation of the region, through agricultural management and unionization of farm labor. Though critical of organized religion, You Have Seen Their Faces makes an essentially religious argument, as can be seen in the imagery in Caldwell's concluding paragraph:

The youth of the South can succeed where their mothers and fathers failed if they will refuse to raise another man's cotton while hungry and in rags. With hope and a dream before them, they can change a hell into a living paradise. When fear has been banished, and self-respect restored, America will wake up to find that it has a new region to take pride in (48, emphasis added).

Those who dismiss the text's sensationalism also make the mistake of underestimating the influence You Have Seen Their Faces had on the other photographic books of the decade; indeed, one could argue that the "sharecropper as divine" theme for which Agee is so highly praised was originated by Caldwell.

Land of the Free, while certainly inspired by the Caldwell/Bourke-White text and sharing with it the depiction of an innocent folk

description is highly distorting; the southern church, especially the southern African-American Christian community, played a key role in organizing civil rights and labor movements of the time. Apparently, Caldwell and Bourke-White were too mesmerized by the more spectacular elements of southern religion to notice the broader picture.

betrayed by their society, nevertheless takes a significantly different approach to its subject. Like Twelve Million Black Voices three years later, the story in Land of the Free is related in the first person plural; it is folk history told in the form of autobiography. The "we" of MacLeish's text begin with a naive belief in their own liberty, a belief which linked freedom with property ownership. This belief is remembered fondly in retrospect:

We wonder whether the proposition was self-evident
 Because of a quarter section of free land
 And the room as they used to say on the grass in Nebraska
 To look any goddam sonofabitch in the eye
 And tell him to head for hell at the next turn-off (32)

The land, however, has become eroded and polluted through mismanagement (as illustrated by the FSA pictures vividly describing such devastation), and the loss of their land leaves the once boastful "we" speechless. Numerous pictures of grim-faced individuals are captioned with a simple caption: "We can't say." Forced off the land, "we" take to the road:

We've got the road to go by where it takes us
 We've got the narrow acre of the road
 To go by when the land's gone
 We can stand there
 Keep our damn-mouths shut and we can stand there
 We can stand till sundown with our mouths shut (74)

Appropriately, most of the photographs are of individuals, and those photographs with more than one subject do not show any discussions taking place.

The concluding pages of the text, however, provide a dramatic turnaround. A picture of a grim-faced farmer looking off to the right with two children behind him--"We can't say/ We aren't sure"--is immediately followed by three pictures of mass demonstrations (union signs and American flags clearly in view) with more aggressive diction:

Or if there's something different men can dream
 Or if there's something different men can mean by
 Liberty. . . .
 Or if there's liberty a man can men that's

Men: not land

This is followed by a picture of three men, the middle man thrusting his chin at the camera, hands firmly poised on his hips, with the caption:

We wonder
We don't know
We're asking (85-88).

In some respects, it is a fitting conclusion to the text, with the narrative "we," after a long period of silence, regaining not only its voice but also the swagger it had shown when it could "look any goddam sonofabitch in the eye/And tell him to head for hell at the next turn-off" (a thought easy to attribute to the man glaring at the camera in the last photograph). Yet MacLeish's conclusion also brings up some disturbing issues. It seems that his "we" are grasping at an answer just as simplistic as the one they had clung to before ("Men: not land"), and while this answer may provide more immediate security through the sheer mass of people shown in the photographs, there seems no guarantee that this alliance will last as long as the land had. Furthermore, there is no discussion of how MacLeish's "we" came across this new definition of liberty. Did "we" originate the idea, or did "they?" And if some "they" helped "us," can "they" be trusted in the future? And would "we" be so eager and quick to dedicate ourselves to this new definition, considering the disillusionment caused by the failures of recent past?

The fact that MacLeish provides no answers to these important questions raises doubts about his portrayal of the American working-class psyche. To his credit, MacLeish examines a singular emotion (the feeling of displacement) rather than attempting to depict the entire emotional life of his subjects, as had Caldwell; this focus provides a less spectacular yet ultimately more convincing perspective on the subject matter. However, the "men: not land" solution offered at the

end of the text as a deus ex machina seems more like MacLeish's own impression of the future of the working-class movement rather than a solution arrived at by the narrative "we."

The two texts which followed MacLeish's, H.C. Nixon's Forty Acres and Steel Mules and the Dorothea Lange-Paul Taylor collaboration An American Exodus, were more in response to You Have Seen Their Faces than to Land of the Free. Like Caldwell, both Nixon (an economics professor) and Taylor (an administrator in the California state government) were interested in determining the causes of agricultural poverty and in formulating economic policy for its relief. Unlike Caldwell, however, neither author had literary aspirations. Indeed, were it not for the photographs included in these texts, they would have little interest for anyone not studying the history of American agricultural policy.

Forty Acres and Steel Mules provides an exhaustive study of the agricultural and economic forces leading to southern tenant poverty. Nixon takes a direct approach, filling his text with "because" and "shoulds," and offers little space for literary turns. Even Nixon's rare metaphorical discussions of his subject are saturated with the concepts of politics, social control and government planning: "It would seem foolish to think of dethroning King Cotton, though he should be stripped of absolutism and made a constitutional monarch with a diversified kingdom and a social bill of rights in favor of farmer-labor subjects" (90). Nixon relates anecdotes about farmers he has known, quoting some of them indirectly, yet he mentions none of them by name (again, most likely to protect their anonymity). He does, however, name and discuss at length several Washington bureaucrats closely connected to farm policy, such as Tugwell and W.W. Alexander. These people seem more real than the farmers in the text. Forty Acres demonstrates the way the FSA photographs could be used for effective propaganda (the FSA photographs used in the text show mostly smiling, healthy individuals--a

graphic illustration, perhaps, of the government policies which Nixon champions in his text). It also demonstrates, however, that the subject of those photographs do not necessarily control the nature of the propaganda.

In many ways, An American Exodus is much like the preceding texts of this genre: the primary concern of the author (in this case, Paul Taylor) is concerned with identifying the causes of and offering solutions for poverty among agricultural laborers. And, like Nixon before him, Taylor asserts that these people have a healthy cultural life, yet gives no supporting evidence. What makes this text stand out from those which preceded it, however, is the use made of Dorothea Lange's photographs. For the first time, actual quotations from the subjects in the photographs are used. Moreover, the layout of the photographs--each chapter begins with a series of photographs, each captioned by a quotation from the photograph's subject, from Taylor or a government official--directs attention on the people being written about and photographed. "Many whom we met in the field vaguely regarded conversation with us as an opportunity to tell what they are up against to their government and to their countrymen at large. So far as possible we have let them speak to you face to face" (6).

Certainly one of the most memorable moments of the text comes at the end of the original 1939 published version, in the two-page section devoted to Ma Burnham. The portrait of Burnham, sitting on the porch of her Arkansas home with a tired yet proud expression, faces a page of direct quotation. She tells a simple family history:

In 19 and 20 the land was sold and the money divided. Now none of the children own their land. It's all done gone, but it raised a family. I've done my duty--I feel like I have. I've raised 12 children--6 dead, 6 alive, and 2 orphans . . .

. . . .
Folks from this part has left for California in just the last year or so. My two grandsons--they were renters here and no more--went to California to hunt work. Those who have gone from here . . .

If you see my grandsons in California tell 'em you met up

with Ma Burnham of Conroy, Arkansas (150).

Taylor provides no commentary here; Burnham is allowed to tell her own story. Numerous direct quotations are included in the text; the inside front and back covers of the 1939 edition contain a series of such statements, arranged in no particular order, some speaking of Caldwellian despair ("Yessir, we're starved stalled and stranded"), others providing a more optimistic outlook ("This life is simplicity boiled down"). If the term "documentary" is taken to refer to an accurate representation of a personal narrative, then An American Exodus is certainly closer to the documentary ideal than any of the texts discussed so far.

However, despite such moments as those mentioned above, it would be inaccurate to say that subjects of this text are allowed to speak for themselves. The photographs and captions are arranged around the themes which Taylor chooses to discuss in his following text chapters. In other words, although the subjects tell their own stories to a great degree, they are in the end only allowed to speak in order to verify Taylor's argument.

Home Town and As Long as the Grass Shall Grow appeared the year after An American Exodus. The FSA photographs for both of these texts were selected and captioned by Roskam, who would soon contact Wright about the work which would become Twelve Million Black Voices. Home Town is written by Sherwood Anderson, the foremost fiction writer of his day on the subject of American small town life. The text begins with a hypothetical letter received by Anderson from a young man who expresses disgust with Anderson's praise of small town life. Anderson's response is simple: "What's the matter with Oak Hill?" (6). The narrator then guides the reader through a tour of his mythical Oak Hill, a tour which encompasses all four seasons and provides sketches of stock small-town

characters.

Although Oak Hill is occasionally visited with vexing problems (such as a strike at the textile mill, which is quickly put to an end when the mill foreman is chased away with workers carrying knitting needles), most of the town's concerns center around seasonal demands: "Can a man make the old overcoat last through another year, can he get new shoes for the kids, will the town factory run full-handed this year, what about the price of coal, can the wife make the old cookstove stand up through another winter?" (59). The photographs selected by Rosskam and captioned almost exclusively with quotes from Anderson's text are exclusively of smiling, healthy, white subjects (graphically, this text is the diametric opposite of You Have Seen Their Faces); the photographs reinforce the impression of a happy community undisturbed by modern concerns. Home Town certainly seems to be a sincere effort on Anderson's part; his adoration for the drama of small-town life is evident on every page. Yet Oak Hill is clearly more a product of Anderson's sentiments than of actual small-town life. Anderson is set to prove to his young correspondent that small-town life is valid, and he does not allow any possible contradictory evidence to enter his proof. The information provided is too selectively chosen to produce a convincing perspective on the subject.

The second Rosskam text of 1940, As Long as the Grass Shall Grow, is written by Oliver LaFarge, at one time an administrator in the American Association on Indian Affairs, a private organization which provided legal and financial assistance to Native Americans. Given the author's background, the primary focus of the text--an extensive analysis of the American government's handling of its Native American population--is hardly surprising. Several passages of the text read like a government report. Yet LaFarge does at several points offer a more personal approach, based on his experiences among various Indian

tribes. In the following passage, LaFarge shifts from second to first person, a progression which attempts to make the indignities suffered by the subject more personal:

There was no reason to leave the warm house and the sheet iron stove, even if within it there was neither hope nor enough food. New sicknesses were spreading, better to stay quiet and spit on the floor. There really is nothing else to do, unless someone has a little liquor.

When our children are six, the Government will take them away. If it didn't we could not feed them. We have no country of our own left now; the last land we were given, its lines, too, have been broken, . . . (34-5).

The photographs selected by Roskam heighten the effect of LaFarge's text. Until the text's final pages, the photographs which show Native Americans in traditional tribal dress present confident, smiling figures, while photographs of the subjects in jeans and dresses for the most part show despondent figures, often looking gloomily past the camera. The message is clear: a once-proud people has been brought to ruin through the presence of the white man and the modern world.

The text, however, concludes optimistically. Citing numerous tribes who have worked successfully in conjunction with various new agencies (such as the American Association on Indian Affairs), LaFarge argues that Native Americans can regain their lost pride. The last seven pages of the text contain full-page photographs of clean-cut, modern-dressed Indians, with accompanying captions:

We shall learn all these devices the white man has, we shall
 handle his tools for ourselves
 We shall master his machinery
 His inventions
 His skills
 His medicine
 His planning
 And . . . still . . . be . . . Indians (134-40)

The final page shows a modern-dressed young man with a broad grin, staring past the camera into the sun.

LaFarge presents an emotional narrative--perhaps too emotional. The text seems more concerned with expressing the awe, guilt, despair

and hope felt by LaFarge than it does with conveying the story of its subjects. There is, in the end, too little information provided about this subject to make the text's perspective on the subject seem trustworthy.

The last text of this small but significant genre, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, doubtlessly deserves the most attention of any of the texts discussed so far if for no other reason than for the fame the text has acquired over the years. Largely ignored at its publication in August 1941, barely remembered at Agee's death in 1955, the text suddenly became an important text when national attention once again turned to southern rural poverty during the 1960s. Agee's text was revered by thousands of fighters in that generation's war against poverty. While the political and social concerns which motivated the text's revival have become less urgent in the national agenda, the text remains a classic among literary scholars.

About 50 pictures from Walker Evans, who traveled with Agee through the south to research the text, are printed at the front of the text. Evans' pictures stand out from those included in the other texts of the picture-book genre in two ways: none of the pictures are captioned, and there is no hint of sensationalism in any of the images Evans includes. His human subjects--a bit dirty and disheveled, yet not pathetic--mostly stare straight at the camera, without expression, in a manner reminiscent of "American Gothic." The landscape and building portraits, while providing ample evidence of poor economic status, attest to simplicity rather than degradation. If "grotesque" is the most appropriate adjective for Bourke-White's photographic style in You Have Seen Their Faces, "stark" certainly stands as the appropriate description of Evans' style in Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. The subtlety of his approach allows the viewer to recognize the dignity which exists in his subjects despite the conditions under which they

live.

Agee's description of the Gudgers and two other tenant families of the south is certainly the most exhaustive work done in the era on this subject; regardless of its literary merit, the text will survive over the years as a sociological artifact of its era, providing invaluable information about the living and working conditions of people of this region during this era. Yet the text's fame is not based on its historical worth, nor primarily on the quality of Evans' photographs. Rather, it is the manner in which Agee presents his data that has established the text's lofty position in the 1930s literary canon. In an era of self-righteous proclamations about improving the lot of the sharecropper, Agee's earnest self-deprecation, his avowed dismay at exposing the shattered lives of his defenseless subjects, is refreshing. But even more so than his moral earnestness, the quality of Agee's prose has attracted the attention of literary scholars. One of the best illustrations of Agee's descriptive technique comes at his description of the outside of the Gudger house. Agee proceeds with a series of descriptions, each written at different times, with different emphases, apparently written independent of the other. Parts of his description are purely technical, yet in most places Agee cannot help but interject his interpretations.

On symmetry: the house is rudimentary as a child's drawing, and of a bareness, cleanness, and sobriety which only Doric architecture, so far as I know, can hope to approach: this exact symmetry is sprung slightly and subtly, here and there, one corner of the house a little off vertical, a course of weather-boarding failing the horizontal between parallels, a window frame not quite square, by lack of skill and by weight and weakness of timber and time; and these slight failures, their tensions sprung against centers and opposals of such rigid and earnest exactitude, set up intensities far more powerful than full symmetry, or studied dissymmetry, or use of relief or ornament, can ever be: indeed, the power is of another world and order than theirs, and there is, as I mentioned, a particular quality of a thing hand-made, which by comparison I can best suggest thus: by the grandeur that comes of the effort of one man to hold together upon one instrument, as if he were breaking a wild monster to bridle and riding, one of the larger fugues of Bach, on an organ, as against the slick collaborations and effortless climaxes of the same piece in the

manipulations of an orchestra (144).

It is a large distance between a ramshackle southern home and a Bach fugue, which creates much potential for overstatement, yet Agee manages to hold his metaphor together, making it illustrative rather than mawkish. In addition to Agee's technical mastery, what is noteworthy here is the tension between subject and reader implied in this passage. Throughout Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, Agee describes the lives and worlds of his subjects in language familiar to a far different type of people--highly educated, cultured, urbane, catholic. When Agee compares the Gudger's breakfast preparations to the Mass he served as an altar boy; when Agee describes the fireplace of the Gudger home, decorated with souvenirs and family mementos, as an altar, and the front bedroom covered with bedbugs as a tragic poem; when Agee describes the frustrations of Emma, who leaves the Gudger home to marry a man she has never met, almost entirely in respect to his own sexual desire for her; when Agee's overall metaphorical strategy is considered, one sees a constant attempt to describe the Gudgers' lives in terms familiar to an audience the Gudgers would find foreign.

There is much to be said for this approach, which simultaneously raises the status of the subject while degrading, offending, the status traditionally given to the more established cultural institutions (no doubt Agee had this in mind when making such comparisons). Yet the approach has had an ironic consequence. The Gudgers are very rarely mentioned in criticism of the text; rather, the focus is almost entirely on Agee. Critical commentary on the text has nearly transformed it into Let Us Now Praise James Agee. Ironically, Agee warns against such canonization in his Preface, where he muses that even if he were successful in producing a truly dangerous book, his readers would eventually absorb, capture and dishonor it until it was safe. "The

deadliest blow the enemy of the human soul can strike is to do fury honor" (15).

The critical reception of the text would seem to confirm Agee's apprehensions. Contemporary readers see themselves as sharers of Agee's fury rather than as targets for it. One could easily blame Agee's readers for their "safe" reading of his text, but one could also argue that the text lends itself readily to this type of reading. Agee's approach--to describe his subject in the terminology of his reading audience--encourages his readers to assimilate the text, rather than see it as an affront. Whereas Orwell in The Road to Wigan Pier attempts to establish the distance between subject and reader, Agee attempts to bridge that distance. The bridge Agee builds provides his readers with a safe passage to the world of his subject.

The placement of Evans' photographs at the front of the text may contribute to this reaction. While the arrangement forces attention to the images, it also unfortunately makes the photographs seem like a preface to the prose--a preface easy to forget in the course of Agee's 500-page text. Had the photographs been spread throughout the text (as was the arrangement in all other texts of this genre), perhaps much of Agee's self-reflections would seem less distracting, and the Gudgers would play a more prominent role in criticism of the text.

Agee does quote his subjects at length on several occasions--his description of the local dialect and diction provides yet another valuable sociological tool. It is interesting to note, however, that in many of these quotations, the subjects provide a perspective on their lives far different than that offered by Agee. Where Agee sees a temple, an altar, a sanctuary, the Gudgers see an embarrassingly dirty shack. It may well be that Agee included such comments in order to reinforce his own self-deprecating comments on the accuracy of his descriptions; if that was his ironic intent, that certainly has not been

recognized by the text's critics.

Let Us Now Praise Famous Men is certainly an excellent text, not only for its historical information but also, and primarily, for the quality of Agee's description, for Agee's lyrical prose. However, such characteristics should not preclude critical evaluation of the text. Upon close examination, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men shows a characteristic common to all the texts of the genre discussed to this point--an effective silencing of its subjects' perspective. And for a genre committed to seeing the faces, hearing the voices, praising the virtues of disadvantaged individuals, such a pervasive characteristic is disturbing.

Each day when you see us black folk upon the dusty land of the farms or upon the hard pavement of the city streets, you usually take us for granted and think you know us, but our history is far stranger than you suspect, and we are not what we seem (10).

These opening lines of Twelve Million Black Voices are accompanied by a series of photographs, mostly of individual unposed black subjects, representing a wide range of occupations--urban and rural manual laborers, waiters, performers. It is an undramatic beginning both verbally and graphically, and the effects of this opening are thus easy to overlook. However, these first few pages nevertheless portray a black America which is socially disadvantaged (the jobs represented are either low-paying or service oriented) yet not downtrodden--there are no smiles in the photographs, yet neither are there any torn clothing, physical deformities, or any other distinguishing features characteristic of the more sensational side of this genre. Indeed, the subjects in the photographs appear strong in body and spirit, if not so strong socially.

The text itself, meanwhile, suggests a complex psychology for the subjects of the photographs. Wright's "black folk" have a strong

awareness of their history, feel misunderstood by society at large, and display both a strong feeling of paranoia ("you usually take us for granted and think you know us") and defensiveness ("we are not what we seem"). In this one sentence, Wright is able to suggest a number of components, both positive and negative, to the persona of his collective narrator; each of these components of black folk identity will be developed at length in the text.

Wright's controversial use of "we" in this text deserves exploration at the outset. Perhaps the best way to understand this central feature of the text is to see it as an example of what Burke had called a myth of collectivity in his speech to the American Writer's Congress several years earlier. Perhaps Wright's decision to use this pronoun ultimately had more to do with a desire to provide a symbol around which to unite a select group of people than with the motivations expressed in Wright's foreword. Perhaps the explanation in this foreword should be seen not as a formal argument on the prominence of working-class experience in African-American life but rather as an attempt, in Chaim Perelman's words, "to strengthen a consensus around certain values which one wants to see prevail and which should orient action in the future" (20).

The same collective pronoun, of course, had been used earlier in MacLeish's Land of the Free, yet what distinguishes Wright's text from MacLeish's is the prominence of a second pronoun. "Each day when you see us"; Wright's text is as much about white readers as it is about the black subjects. From the outset, Wright ties the history of black America to that of white America. Wright refuses to segregate this portion of American society, to analyze its pathologies apart from that of the larger culture. It is a perspective sorely lacking in other texts of this genre.

Following this opening line are six pages of text describing the

history of the slave trade. No photographs or illustrations accompany this section, the longest prose-only passage in the text. Evidently, and not surprisingly, Wright and Rosskam found nothing in the FSA file to illustrate the slave trade. Not having any photographs upon which to structure its thoughts, this section is remarkably uneven, as Stott has caustically observed: "Wright's Negroes are both piteously weak and improbably heroic. They are thrown, bound, into the sea (Wright repeats the incident to be sure the reader catches its full pathos), and 'whenever' they can, they throw themselves into the sea" (235). In his dismissal of Wright's text, Stott analyzes only this two-page section; the problems of this one section are made to represent, without further analysis, the detriments of the entire work--an argument which will not stand close scrutiny.

Yet even with its many faults, the passage nevertheless plays a key role in Wright's text. It is important to consider Wright's explanation for the causes of the slave trade. Slavery is seen as the ironic result of the new-found energy of the Enlightenment Era.

Escaping from the fetid medieval dens, angrily doffing the burial sheets of feudal religion, and flushed with a new and noble concept of life, of its inherent dignity, of its unlimited possibilities, of its natural worth, these men leaped upon the road of progress; and their leap was the windfall of our tragedy (12).

The enthusiasm for improving life was perverted, channeled into the institution of slavery. And, from the perspective of the master, slavery had its benefits:

Against the feudal background of denials of love and happiness, the trade in our bodies bred god-like men who exalted honor, enthroned impulse, glorified aspiration, celebrated individuality, and fortified the human heart to strive against the tyrannical forms of nature and to bend obstreperous materials closer to a mold that would slake human desire (16).

Wright attributes accomplishments in industry and the arts to the success of the slave trade.

Yet the slave trade had a devastating effect on blacks. "The trauma of leaving our African home, the suffering of the long middle passage, the thirst, the hunger, the horrors of the slave ship--all these hollowed us out, numbed us, stripped us, and left only physiological urges, the feelings of fear and fatigue" (15). This is not the place to weigh the relative merits of Wright's views on the survival of African cultural patterns in the New World against the views expressed by Melville Herskovits and Zora Neale Hurston. What is important here is the finesse with which Wright crafts his view. In this first section of his African-American history, Wright concentrates on the actions of whites--what they were thinking, what they accomplished. The "we" of the text are largely silent; black folk can only watch and observe the actions of whites. Wright cleverly arranges his text to reinforce his argument that African cultural traditions were obliterated in the slave trade.

It is interesting to note when the photographs appear again in the text: at the emergence of the "paternalistic code" which has controlled white attitudes towards blacks since slavery; "it was a code of casual cruelty, of brutal kindness, of genial despotism" (18). Whites agreed to take care of blacks so long as blacks were aware of their place as second-class citizens. With the social relationship between blacks and whites in America established--a relationship which gives blacks, whose personalities have been wiped clean by captivity, an identity in the New World--pictures of blacks now begin to appear in Wright's text. This passage establishes a key identification between black American identity and black America's relationship to the white world.

Wright next tells of the technological innovations which began to transform America from an agrarian to a mechanical society. In this transformation, a struggle between two allegorical forces, the Lords of the Land (southern plantation owners) and the Bosses of the Buildings

(northern industrialists) arose. In order to delay the inevitable transformation, the Lords of the Land declare independence, precipitating the Civil War, fought for land and expanded cotton markets by the Lords and to ensure the transformation to an industrial society by the Bosses. As history, this passage is surely lacking; yet it is more important to consider the perspective from which this passage arises. Black folk, blasted by slavery, can at this point only perceive the struggle in these rudimentary terms.

The final photograph of Section I, however, introduces a theme not seen to this point. Whereas none of the subjects in the preceding photographs look directly into the camera, this shot shows a boy leaning over a plow with an intent gaze into the eyes of the reader. The image suggests that, while the collective narrative voice may have disappeared into the background of the text, that voice will soon re-emerge forcefully.

The beginning of Section II, "Inheritors of Slavery," is as significant as the opening lines of the previous section:

The word "Negro," the term by which, orally or in print, we black folk in the United States are usually designated, is not really a name at all nor a description, but a psychological island whose objective form is the most unanimous fiat in all American history; a fiat buttressed by popular and national tradition, and written down in many state and city statutes; a fiat which artificially and arbitrarily defines, regulates, and limits in scope of meaning the vital contours of our lives, and the lives of our children and our children's children (30).

Other than in the Foreword, this is the first use of the word "Negro" in Wright's text. The two photographs accompanying these lines are extremely telling, the first being a white man leaning against a car bumper in the foreground with a group of African-Americans sitting on porch steps behind him. This is the first photograph showing a white subject facing the camera, and the poses of the respective subjects suggests a social relationship which powerfully complements Wright's

text at this point. The second photograph depicts black farm workers walking away from the camera and suggests the faceless mass of manual laborers mandated by the establishment of the word Negro. The word appears at the description of a key moment in African-American history--the first years of emancipation, when the old code of conduct governing black-white relations needed to be modified to adjust to the new law of the land.

Freed from the plantation, blacks turn to their own land, and immediately establish a bond with it. A long passage on the four seasons cited by Walker in her praise of the lyrical qualities of Twelve Million Black Voices is accompanied by a panoramic shot of a black farmer plowing a field; text and photograph combine to provide an imagistic backdrop to the awakening African-American relationship to its land. The suggestion made here is that black America could find the basis for reshaping their blasted personalities in the land.

Yet economic realities--and the desire of whites to maintain their control over their source of cheap labor--forced blacks into being sharecroppers, a social role which requires dependence. Riding bosses are sent to watch over the work of the sharecroppers; black-white relations are much the same as they were during slavery. A series of photographs featuring manual laborers again follows, yet there is a qualitative difference in these images: for the first time, haggard faces and torn clothing are evident (a close-up of rough-hewn kneepads on two laborers is particularly striking). Another series of photographs graphically demonstrates the nature of inter-racial relations: a black sharecropper looks up deferentially at a disdainful white man; a black woman anxiously addresses an indifferent white judge; a lynched corpse is surrounded by his murderers. The strength and effect of oppression begin to appear at this point.

Yet the collective narrative voice is not the passive victim of

Section I anymore. In response to its new-yet-old situation, black America develops a secret life and language.

We stole words from the grudging lips of the Lords of the Land, who did not want us to know too many of them or their meaning. And we charged this meager horde of stolen sounds with all the emotions and longings we had; we proceeded to build our language in inflections of voice, through tonal variety, by hurried speech, in honeyed drawls, by rolling our eyes, by flourishing our hands, by assigning to common, simple words new meanings, meanings which enabled us to speak of revolt in the actual presence of the Lords of the Land without their being aware! Our secret language extended our understanding of what slavery meant and gave us the freedom to speak to our brothers in captivity; we polished our new words, caressed them, gave them new shape and color, a new order and tempo, until, though they were the words of the Lords of the Land, they became our words, our language (40).

Further evidence of black America's growing consciousness is provided through the doggerel verses. While these rhymes do not provide overpowering insight, they nonetheless show an awareness appropriate for a people made childlike through the trauma of slavery.

But perhaps the greatest evidence of this growing consciousness comes in the description of the southern church service, which Wright identifies as a crucial cultural institution, one of the key bonds holding together the black community. An extended italicized passage, illustrated with numerous photos of churchgoers (some ecstatic, some quiet and contemplative--a diversity of religious expressions is depicted), recounts the legend of Satan's revolt against God. In Heaven, the preacherly voice proclaims, "there arises one whose soul is athirst to feel things for himself and break away from the holy hand of joy and he organized revolt in Heaven." After being banished from Heaven by God, "this rebel this Satan this Lucifer persuades one-third of all the many hosts of angels in Heaven to follow him and build a new Heaven" (69-70). This passage is important not only for its recreation of the dynamics of southern black sermonizing, but also for the way in which the creation of slavery is once again told in the text of the sermon. A subtle identification is made here, as the ambition of Satan

harkens back to the ambition of the Enlightenment era. The fact that the collective narrator can make this identification not only suggests that it has come to realize what has been done to it, but also demonstrates that it has found an effective means to communicate that knowledge.

The sermon, with its suggestive retelling of black history, represents an important development in African-American culture. Christianity, Wright had explained earlier, had been "given" to black America as an attempt at appeasement. Yet black Americans have molded that gift, shaped it into something far different. They have made it not a vehicle for their appeasement, as originally intended, but a focus for their vision of life. For black America, Christianity is a source for self-worth, a means to build a quiet yet strong defiant pose to their oppressor; the sermon is a vehicle for lifting the communal spirit, for "conveying to us a heightening of consciousness that the Lords of the Land would rather keep from us" (73).

Yet as sharecroppers, blacks are subject to the laws of Queen Cotton. They realize what is ahead. "Cotton crops have sapped the soil of its fertility; twenty or thirty years of good cotton farming are enough to drain the land and leave it a hard, yellow mat, a mockery to the sky and a curse to us" (78). Machines also come; their presence makes much of the labor provided by blacks useless. Here the photographs become grim: eroded soil, slunching laborers, cramped and filthy living quarters. Hearing of jobs in northern factory cities, they travel north, abandoning the dying southern cotton fields. In this respect, they are wiser than their white overseers, who vainly try to maintain their crumbling economic dynasties.

It is interesting to note the change in assertiveness within Section II. At various times, Wright presents some typical conversations between black and white individuals. At the first

conversation (the first recorded in the text), the black man, having taken the southern code of interracial relationships to heart, is very deferential:

If a white man stopped a black on a southern road and asked: "Say, there, boy! It's one o'clock, isn't it?" the black man would answer: "Yessuh."
If the white man asked: "Say, it's not one o'clock, is it, boy?" the black man would answer: "Yessuh" (41).

It is a long time before the collective narrator, faced with overwhelming adversity and made wise through black folk wisdom, is able to talk more aggressively.

When we grumble about our hard life, the Lords of the Land cry: "Listen, I've borrowed money on my plantation and I'm risking my land with you folks!" And we, hungry and barefoot, cry: "And we're risking our lives with you!" (56-7)

Still, the black man is not ready yet to confront and challenge the white man openly. After a lengthy discussion of the black family and black religion--a reminder of the things most important to black America--and with one final look at the desperate economic situation of the South, the collective narrator is finally ready to make its break.

It is like this: suddenly, while we are chopping at the clods of clay with a heavy hoe, the riding boss gallops up and says: "Hurry up there, nigger!" Perhaps for the first time in our lives we straighten our backs, drop the hoe, give a fleeting glance at the white man's face, and walk off.
"Hey, where the hell you going, nigger?"
"I'm shaking the dust of the South off my feet, white man."
"You'll starve up north, nigger."
"I don't care. I'm going to die some day anyhow" (87).

Section III, "Death on the City Pavements," begins on an ecstatic note. "Lord in Heaven! Good God Almighty! Great Day in the Morning! It's here! Our time has come! We are leaving!" (92). An accompanying photograph shows a charismatic religious service; the energy and enthusiasm nurtured by their religion is evident here. Yet they are unprepared for what lies ahead. Indeed, they find the rules are different up north. "In the South life was different; men spoke to you,

cursed you, yelled at you, or killed you. The world moved by signs we knew. But here in the North cold forces hit you and push you. It is a world of things" (100). Appropriately, the photographs of this section depict factories, signs (including a photograph taken by Wright himself of an advertisement for an apartment building newly opened to colored tenants), buildings falling into disrepair, and abandoned lots strewn with garbage. In the symbolic shift of overseers, from the Lords of the Land to the Bosses of the Building, over the course of Section III, the religious ecstasy of the South will be obliterated in this strange new world.

Yet the collective narrative voice still attempts to speak of its experience in its own terms when it first arrives in the city. The first topic discussed is housing--how restrictive covenants, zoning laws, and lack of economic opportunity force African-Americans into kitchenettes. In describing life in the kitchenette, the collective voice consciously imitates the rhythms of southern black preacherly oratory:

The kitchenette is the author of the glad tidings that new suckers are in town, ready to be cheated, plundered, and put in their places.

The kitchenette is our prison, our death sentence without a trial, the new form of mob violence that assaults not only the lone individual, but all of us, in its ceaseless attacks.

The kitchenette, with its filth and foul air, with its one toilet for thirty or more tenants, kills our black babies so fast that in many cities twice as many of them die as white babies (105-6).

The concentration on children shown above will run throughout the rest of the kitchenette sermon. The primary victims of this life are the children, who suffer from disease, violence, parental neglect and desertion, blighted personalities, and sexual violation. Some of the more graphic photographs of the text appear in this section--crumbling interior walls, broken furniture and fixtures, families with tired expressions and ill-fitting clothing, children sleeping in groups on

wooden floors. From this point on, children and the battle between the generations will take on a special interest in the text.

The sermon ends with a shift in attention to the perpetrators of this crime against the collective narrative voice:

The kitchenette piles up mountains of profits for the Bosses of the Buildings and makes them ever more determined to keep things as they are.

The kitchenette reaches out with fingers full of golden bribes to the officials of the city, persuading them to allow old firetraps to remain standing and occupied long after they should have been torn down.

The kitchenette is the funnel through which our pulverized lives flow to ruin and death on the city pavements, at a profit. . . . (111).

The next several pages examine the internal motivations and mechanizations of black America's various oppressors: the Bosses of the Buildings, real estate agents, gangster-politicians, lack of city services, labor unions, middle-class whites who flee neighborhoods once blacks move in. The focus here is not on how black America has reacted to its conditions, but to how those conditions are made; black folk nearly disappear in this section, concerned as it is with exposing the treachery of the Bosses of the Building and gangster-politicians. There are few pictures in this section, as was the case in the passage on slavery; again, it seems hardly coincidental that lack of photographs accompanies relatively weak prose.

However, as was also the case in the slavery passage, it can be argued that the shift in attention here is appropriate. The north is a world of things, after all, a depersonalized world; it is somehow fitting, then, that the collective voice become depersonalized, concerned with political manipulations, with the "things" of urban life. The tone becomes shriller now that the collective narrative voice cannot address its oppressor directly (as it had learned to do in the previous section). Of the few photographs in this section, the most notable are two showing blacks interacting with white police officers--the first

showing a couple being escorted away, the other showing a man struggling with his arresters.

The text then describes the institutions which survive, in modified form, in the city--the juke joint and the church. "Our going to church of a Sunday is like placing one's ear to another's chest to hear the unquenchable murmur of the human heart" (131). Yet even these institutions cannot sustain black America.

Many of our children scorn us; they say that we still wear the red bandanna about our heads, that we are still Uncle Toms. We lean upon our God and scold our children and try to drag them to church with us, but just as we once, years ago, left the plantation to roam the South, so now they leave us for the city pavements (135).

As did Section II, Section III ends with a journey--not so much a physical journey this time as a spiritual one, one away from the folk ways nurtured in the South and toward the harsh realities of the city.

Section IV, "Men in the Making," begins with an announcement that the shift in generations is official; the old has given way to the new: "We are the children of the black sharecroppers, the first-born of the city tenements" (142). The initial photograph offers an image not seen to this point: a group of sign-carrying African-Americans petitioning for anti-lynching laws. The image disrupts the previous identifications made by earlier images--passivity, victimization, abuse, defeat--and offers a new, assertive identity for its subject. This image demonstrates that the collective narrator has emerged from its history with the strength to confront American society with its demands.

This moment in the text is only somewhat similar to the ending of Land of the Free, when MacLeish's collective narrator arrives at the answer to its situation ("Men: not land") and displays an assertive tone, complemented with pictures of mass demonstrations. The penultimate moment of the earlier text comes largely as a surprise; little in the text prepares for this revelation. In Twelve Million

Black Voices, meanwhile, Wright's narrator has experienced numerous changes in its relation to the white world. The image of African-American protesters is thus less of a surprise than it is the latest stage in an evolving relationship.

This section looks to the future, to the ways in which the new consciousness of black America may be directed in the coming years. The alternatives open, though, are not all positive. Various forms of black nationalism are discussed--the creation of a forty-ninth state, the back-to-Africa movement, the appeal to Japan as leader of the world's "darker races." Economically, the majority of blacks are still deprived; some have made it to the professional classes, but the majority still work as sharecroppers in the south and in heavy industry in the north.

One significant change has occurred: Blacks find solidarity with working-class whites. Wright has several times before in the text pointed to the unrealized potential for such solidarity, showing time and again how the Lords of the Land and the Bosses of the Buildings have manipulated the two groups of workers from joining forces, thereby preventing a force powerful enough to challenge their respective hegemonies from forming. The hardships of the depression, however, forced poor whites to realize they could not challenge their bosses successfully without black help.

These men differed from those whom we had known on the plantation; they were not "po' white trash." We invited them into our homes and broke our scanty bread with them, and this was our supreme gesture of trust. In this way we encountered for the first time in our lives the full effect of those forces that tended to reshape our folk consciousness, and a few of us stepped forth and accepted within the confines of our personalities the death of our old folk lives, an acceptance of a death that enabled us to cross class and racial lines, a death that made us free (144).

This conclusion may come at the end of a logical progression, yet the reductiveness of Wright's Marxist argument diminishes the power of his

folk history.⁶ It reads like a forced interpretation upon the experiences of Wright's collective narrator. Fortunately, though, the text does not end here, but rather concludes on a less didactic note:

We are with the new tide. We stand at the crossroads. We watch each new procession. The hot wires carry urgent appeals. Print compels us. Voices are speaking. Men are moving! And we shall be with them (147)

Accompanying these final words is the image of man standing on the front porch of his home, staring into the sun. There are certainly Marxist overtones to this conclusion, yet unlike the earlier section this passage allows for alternative interpretations--the "voices" and "men" mentioned could represent the collective narrator, workers, or the American public in general. Whatever interpretation is placed on this last image, it is clear that the collective narrator has emerged from its experiences with cautious hope for the future.

In his 1936 essay "Blueprint for Negro Writing," Wright had argued that black writers owed the black public a responsibility: "By his ability to fuse and make articulate the experiences of men, because his writing possesses the potential cunning to steal into the inmost recesses of the human heart, because he can create the myths and symbols that inspire a faith in life, he may expect either to be consigned to oblivion, or to be recognized for the valued agent he is" (399).

⁶ The heightened Marxist rhetoric of this text was in part the product of a debate between different generations of African-American intellectuals of the era. As outlined in James O. Young's Black Writers of the Thirties, older intellectuals of the time, most notably W.E.B. Du Bois, argued that the hope for black America rested on directing attention on civil rights, political equality, economic independence, racial pride, and other issues directly related to race in American society. This view, however, was challenged by a number of younger non-communist Marxist academics, many from Howard University, who argued that justice for African-Americans, who came mostly from the working classes, could only be achieved by winning justice for workers of all racial backgrounds. Where the older generation promoted racial unity, the younger generation argued for that interracial working-class cooperation.

Wright's challenge here should be kept in mind when analyzing Twelve Million Black Voices, for the text can be read as an attempt to articulate the experiences of black America over a three hundred year period.

Wright's goal was certainly ambitious; several critics have found the resulting text pretentious. Orwell, with his cynical view on the relationship between the literary world and less socially advanced classes, might have disapproved of the project (Wright, however, shared from the background of the people he was attempting to describe, an advantage, at least in regard to this type of project, which Orwell did not have when writing The Road to Wigan Pier). However, the desire to articulate the experiences of the underprivileged ran throughout the picture book genre of the 1930s, and Wright's text succeeds more than others in realizing that ambition. Twelve Million Black Voices displays a unique awareness of and sensitivity to the culture of its subject. By blending together a number of different discourses, and by granting his collective narrator a multi-faceted personality, Wright offers a vision which suggests that his subject is far too diverse for any one perspective to encapsulate.

CHAPTER 5

THREE GUINEAS: WOOLF'S BOMBSHELL

I have this moment, while having my bath, conceived an entire new book--a sequel to a Room of Ones Own--about the sexual life of women: to be called Professions for Women perhaps--Lord how exciting! This sprang out of my paper to be read on Wednesday to Pipa's society. Now for The Waves. Thank God--but I'm very much excited (III: 6).

Although two other Virginia Woolf texts (the novel The Years and the unpublished novel-essay The Pargiters) can also be traced back to the above moment of inspiration, it is the 1938 book-length essay Three Guineas which has the clearest link to this diary entry on January 20, 1931. Woolf's speech the following evening to Pipa Strachey's London Society for Women's Service advances an argument which will be at the heart of the later text: women, due to their economic and social disenfranchisement with society, have a far different perspective on established cultural institutions than do men. War and its accompanying values (patriotism, courage, aggression) are not addressed in the speech, yet it is not difficult to see the connection between Woolf's disdain for patriarchal professions in 1931 and her disdain for patriarchal militarism in 1938.

Attending Woolf's speech to the Society was Vera Brittain, herself a writer of some renown. The writer of the weekly column "A Woman's Notebook" in The Nation and Athenaeum, Brittain was one of few writers in the mainstream press who regularly addressed women's issues. Her Nation column the week before addressing the destitute conditions of women's colleges had cited Woolf's A Room of One's Own as "the classic expression of [the] need" for improved lodgings and lecture halls.

Woolf certainly had read this column, for her speech to the Society included a direct reference to Brittain's observations. Whether Woolf was returning Brittain's compliment is uncertain, yet Brittain was certainly impressed. "I am delighted to record, from the internal evidence of a quotation in her speech, that Mrs. Woolf is a reader of this Notebook" (31 January 1931: 571).¹

The careers of these two writers rarely intersected so conveniently (indeed, this exchange of citations may represent the closest exchange the two ever had), Brittain working primarily in the field of journalism, which Woolf avoided after the early stages of her career. However, their intersection at this point in time, at the origin of Three Guineas, is certainly appropriate. Two years after the speech, Brittain's Testament of Youth appeared and quickly became one of the most popular texts in the inter-war period. In the course of tracing her career as student, volunteer nurse in France during the Great War, and writer in the following years, Brittain's autobiography highlights the development and integration of her feminist and pacifist beliefs. By stressing the connection between these two ideas, Brittain foreshadows a principle issue in Three Guineas, certainly one of the most renowned attempts to link the two concepts.

The fact that these two writers, each prominent in their respective fields, each addressed this topic provides a further test of the propositions concerning non-fiction criticism proposed in the opening chapter of this dissertation. As mentioned in that opening chapter, Woolf's text is the only one of this study's four core texts which can be said to be argumentative in the traditional sense of the

¹ Credit must go to Jane Marcus' "Art and Anger" and Mitchell A. Leaska's edition of The Pargiters for bringing these citations of Brittain's columns by Woolf to attention. Leaska also points out that Woolf used the same Brittain article in the eighteenth note to the first chapter of Three Guineas.

term--it makes an appeal to a specific action, whereas the other core texts are best read as appeals to attitude. And while it is certainly worthwhile to broaden the definition of argumentation to include both types of appeal, it is perhaps a strategic mistake to ignore argumentation in the traditional sense of the term when discussing a general theory of non-fiction studies.

Woolf's Three Guineas and Brittain's related work (which is indebted to the work of several writers before her), however, provide two distinct argumentative viewpoints. The point of analyzing their respective arguments is not so much to choose between them, to determine who is right or wrong, but rather to evaluate the effectiveness of their argument. As mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation, each work of non-fiction establishes a perspective on its subject, and in the course of an argumentative text this perspective can have a potentially tremendous impact, either positive or negative, on the effectiveness of the argument. It is the relationship between argument and artistry which should be the primary concern in evaluating Woolf's Three Guineas.

Woolf's diary entries from the early 1930s show that "the sequel" was directed at exploring how women could gain financial self-sufficiency through the professions, a concept which shows the direct influence of A Room of One's Own. In this earlier text, Woolf had argued that women would not be able to establish their own literary tradition until they had the material means necessary ("five hundred a year and a room with a lock on the door") for the production of quality writing. Woolf had given her sequel tentative titles such as Tap on the Door and A Knock on the Door by early 1932.

In the coming months, Woolf began collecting material for her text; she would eventually collect four notebook volumes of photographs, newspaper clippings, essays, and notes in preparation for Three Guineas.

An aggressive tone also becomes present at this time in her discussions of the sequel; titles such as Men are Like That and On Being Despised appear. "And I'm quivering & itching to write my--whats it to be called?--'Men are like that?'--no thats to patently feminist: the sequel then, for which I have collected enough powder to blow up St Pauls" (III: 77).

The cautionary note ("no thats to patently feminist") in the midst of Woolf's aggressive rhetoric suggests an ambivalence about the project--Woolf seems anxious "to blow up St Pauls," yet concerned whether she can present her explosive arguments effectively. In fact, by this time Woolf had contemplated putting the sequel in a different format, one which would perhaps blunt the forcefulness of her content. Always interested in experimenting with literary form, Woolf in 1932 considers creating a novel-essay, The Pargiters, which combines a family history of the fictional Pargiters with a series of essays on British family life. By 1935, however, Woolf had abandoned this project, choosing instead to turn the fictional portion of her novel-essay into the text that eventually was published as The Years in 1937.

The essay portion of The Pargiters developed along far different lines, and is linked with other non-fictional works Woolf proposed in her journal. At about the same time she abandoned the novel-essay experiment in 1935, Woolf considered writing an anti-fascist pamphlet. Work on this proposed anti-fascist pamphlet never progressed far, however, primarily due to her disgust with politics and political discourse, in particular the fact that women's issues were being ignored in conventional political debate. A turning point in the development of Three Guineas occurred at a Labour Party convention in October 1935:

The women delegates were very thin voiced & insubstantial. On Monday one said, It is time we gave up washing up. A thin frail protest, but genuine. A little reed piping, but what chance against all this weight of roast beef & beer--which she must cook? All very vivid & interesting; but over lapping: too much rhetoric, & what a partial view: altering the structure of society: yes, but

when its altered? (III: 345).

The conference, however, turned out to be an inspiration for Woolf. Two weeks later she writes with renewed energy about her essay, now given an entirely different title.

Three days I got into wild excitement over *The Next War*. Did I say the result of the L.P. at Brighton was the breaking of that dam between me & the new book, so that I couldn't resist dashing off a chapter: stopped myself; but have all ready to develop--the form found I think--as soon as I get time? (III: 346).

Much of the following two years was devoted to this text, given its final title of Three Guineas in January 1937, which was published in June 1938 by Virginia and Leonard Woolf's Hogarth Press, and by Harcourt Brace (with whom the Woolfs had had a long-standing publishing relationship) in America a few months later.

While Three Guineas can easily be read as a topical critique of international war preparations in the late 1930s, it is ultimately concerned with more timeless issues. The text is written as a response to the leader of a British anti-fascist group, who had written the text's narrator asking for funds, for membership, and an opinion: "How in your opinion are we to prevent war?" (3). There are two components to the narrator's answer to her correspondent, the first being an extensive analysis of English patriarchal society, with special attention paid to men's dealings with women both publicly and privately. The narrator offers a wealth of evidence, taken largely from Woolf's notebooks, in the text itself and in the end notes (which comprise nearly one-fourth of the total text length), on the position of women in England. After quoting several newspaper letters from men arguing that women should be prevented from entering the professions, the narrator concludes that tyranny is present at home as well as abroad:

There, in those quotations, is the egg of the very same worm that we know under other names in other countries. There we have in embryo the creature, Dictator as we call him when he is Italian or German, who believes that he has the right, whether given by God, Nature, sex or race is immaterial, to dictate to other human

beings how they shall live; what they shall do. . . . And is not the woman who has to breathe that poison and to fight that insect, secretly and without arms, in her office, fighting the Fascist or the Nazi as surely as those who fight him with arms in the limelight of publicity? And must not that fight wear down her strength and exhaust her spirit? Should we not help her to crush him in our own country before we ask her to help us to crush him abroad? (53).

In the course of her reply to her correspondent, the narrator refers to two other requests for funds she has received, one for the rebuilding of a woman's college, another for the advancement of women in the professions. The narrator donates a guinea each to these two causes as well as the correspondent's, explaining that "the three guineas, you will observe, though given to three different treasurers are all given to the same cause, for the causes are the same and inseparable" (144). However, the narrator refuses the last request of her original correspondent; she will not join his organization, she says, because women must form their own anti-militarist society, one that can work in cooperation with male peace organizations but which cannot be identical with them. Naming this organization the Outsider's Society, Woolf's narrator explains that since, in her view, the primary concerns of men and women are in the end different,

it seems both wrong for us rationally and impossible for us emotionally to fill up your form and join your society. For by so doing we should merge our identity in yours; follow and repeat and score still deeper the old worn ruts in which society, like a gramophone whose needle has stuck, is grinding out with intolerable unanimity "Three hundred millions spent upon arms." We should not give effect to a view which our own experience of "society" should have helped us to envisage. Thus, Sir, while we respect you as a private person and prove it by giving you a guinea to spend as you choose, we believe that we can help you most effectively by refusing to join your society; by working for our common ends--justice and equality and liberty for all men and women--outside your society, not within (105-6).

More so than any other passage in the text, this closing argument to Three Guineas makes it seem a far different text than A Room of One's Own, where Woolf's narrator describes a visit to the fictional university of Oxbridge, during which she is instructed not to not stray

from designated walking paths and is denied entrance to the library. This narrator speaks of frustration and dismay, but not so much of anger. Later in the text, she provides one of the text's most memorable images, that of a couple entering a cab together, which she proposes as an allegory for cooperation between the sexes. There is no such spirit of cooperation in Three Guineas; indeed, one could say that the correspondent offers to share a cab with the narrator, only to be told that the narrator will hail a cab of her own.

Woolf anticipated the reviews in the mainstream press with even greater pessimism than she had with other works, yet was pleasantly surprised to see the overall enthusiastic reaction to Three Guineas: "it pleased me that the Lit Sup says I'm the most brilliant pamphleteer in England" (IV: 148). Woolf was routinely compared to Lysistrata and Antigone and was praised for the clarity of her prose, although most reviewers combined high praise for Woolf's literary style with deep reservations for the conclusions of those arguments. Critics were quick to see that, in Bosanquet's words, Three Guineas was "a revolutionary bomb of a book" (788), and while Woolf most certainly would have approved of this sentiment ("I have collected enough powder to blow up St Pauls"), Woolf's radicalism did not please many of her reviewers. However, most critics claimed that the text succeeded despite what they saw as the unreasonableness of its arguments. The best example of the critical ambivalence caused by Three Guineas can be seen in Katherine Wood's review in The New York Times:

One follows the two streams of women's independence and the prevention of war. Sometimes they touch and mingle. Sometimes they seem entirely separate. But precisely because they lead to so broad a conclusion--to the broadest conclusion that can engage our troubled attention today--their course is not always easy to follow, in spite of the fascinating brilliance and exquisite clarity of Virginia Woolf's prose style. None the less, when one looks full at that conclusion, its vision is strong and clear before one's opened eyes (Woods 5).

One critic, however, had little good to say in regard to Three Guineas. "Irresponsible," "incoherent," "hypertrophied," "self-indulgent," "tiresome and worthless"--Q.D. Leavis' review in Scrutiny left little to subtlety:

Out of these babblings the noble and dignified utterances of Josephine Butler, the vigorous good sense with which Sophia Jex-Blake pursued her reasonable demands, the humility of Anne Clough, appeal to Heaven against the context in which they find themselves. I think such women would rather not have had the claims of their sex advocated by Mrs. Woolf's methods (209).

Leavis admires the women cited above because they choose to work within traditional cultural institutions, even when such institutions attempted to turn them away. Woolf, on the other hand, advocates setting up an alternative to those institutions, a Society of Outsiders. Three Guineas is an anti-establishment piece, and Woolf's attitude toward the status quo best explains her atypical indifference to negative reviews of the text. "I foretell a great many letters on Tuesday night: some anonymous & abusive. But I have already gained my point: I'm taken seriously, not dismissed as a charming prattler as I feared" (IV: 148-9).

Literary criticism is notoriously sensitive to the views of renowned critics of the past. Therefore, despite the overall positive initial reception of the text, and despite Woolf's indifference to Leavis' comments ("I dont think it gave me an entire single thrill of horror" (IV: 165)), the Scrutiny review (combined with E.M. Forster's obituary lecture on Woolf, in which he called "the cantankerous Three Guineas" one of her worst works) would set the tone for criticism of the text for several decades. Several critics cited the text's angry tone as its greatest weakness; such comments on Three Guineas were often made by comparing the text to Woolf's earlier book-length essay, A Room of One's Own, which generally received far kinder treatment from the

detractors of Three Guineas.² Woolf's first biographer, her nephew Quentin Bell, provides a biographical explanation for the failure of Three Guineas, which in his estimation "is the product of a very odd mind, and, I think, of a very odd state of mind" (204). He argues that Woolf wrote the text in reaction to two events: her failed attempt to gain membership to the Committee of the London Library (and Forster's condescending attitude towards her application) and the death of Julian. Other critics have picked up on Bell's subtle suggestion of insanity, and have used it to dismiss Three Guineas.³

Another major critical tendency of the first four decades of the text's reception history was the use of the text solely to explore themes found in The Years. Although she rejects such direct linkage between the two texts, Pamela Caughie has noted the comfortable symmetry to the argument that the novel The Years and the essay Three Guineas

² "There is no question that by contrast with A Room of One's Own (in which lightness of touch is never quite lost) Three Guineas is a shrill and angry work" (Batchelor 1); "The good-humored satire of the earlier book is gone, and there is a note of sharpness, of antagonism" (McIntyre 178); "But alas! it was Virginia Woolf's mind which in the end, and in Three Guineas especially, found itself overwhelmed with the sense of grievance (not for herself, but for all women) which makes pure artistic expression impossible" (Blackstone 145); "Most of Virginia Woolf's discussions of the position of her sex are good-humored though serious. It comes therefore as a surprise to find in what is the most political of all her books a note almost of savagery in her attack on male domination and its effects on civilization" (Daiches 147). Such anger is supposedly so uncharacteristic of Woolf that one critic says it must not be taken entirely at face value: "Its exaggerated attribution of wickedness to one half of the human race is, in part, a device that permits Woolf to develop the moral antidote with force and clarity, an enterprise in which she emphatically succeeds" (Rosenthal 243).

³ As Woolf's reaction to Leavis' review indicates, Woolf would most certainly not have been upset by Bell's accusation of irrationality. The charge that she somehow not in her right mind at the time of writing the text, however, (an accusation implied in many earlier commentaries and made outright by Bell) is another matter, one which has subsequently been dismissed by Stephen Trombly: "the Virginia Woolf of Three Guineas was perfectly sane; and, what is more, her comments in that work may be seen, in retrospect, to have been startlingly clear and informed, particularly where the so-called 'objectivity' of science--especially medical science--is concerned" (2).

were produced when Woolf abandoned the experimental novel-essay The Pargiters (114). Compellingly strong support for this argument a journal entry in which Woolf speaks of the two texts as one work.⁴

There is more than enough evidence to justify the critical attitude that "an understanding of the thesis in Three Guineas does help explain the fictional theme in The Years" (Poresky 215), and considering the way non-fiction is routinely evaluated in literary studies, it should hardly be surprising that most of these studies exploring the links between the texts have used Three Guineas as a way of exploring themes in The Years.

Additionally, several critics have used Three Guineas as an opportunity to comment on what they see as Woolf's lack of native ability in argumentation and persuasion. Noting that Woolf called Three Guineas her "mildest childbirth" in her diaries, Gorsky argues that the ease arose "because the book is a kind of stepchild," (124), an example of good tract writing yet not an example of the type of art she could produce. Ralph Samuelson, writing at a time when Three Guineas was all but forgotten by Woolf scholars, provides an analysis which offers significant insight into the literary academy's attitude toward non-fiction:

[The] essays and treatises, rich with a leisured education behind them, fascinate by their very nakedness. They allow us to see the mind of a writer--a writer at her best powerful and original--at work with materials in which her own really alarming ambivalence concerning class and sex, her strong tensions and contradictions, are not yet resolved and remade into the substance of her art. In a curious backside kind of tapestry, we see in these writings a mind grinding away at material that should be grist only for the toughest logician, but yet being prepared, all the same, for an ultimate shaping into something of great beauty by that other Virginia Woolf: the intuitive novelist who found for the experiences she came to know within her luminous halo a flexible poetical prose inside a loose novelistic framework, executed more than once with astonishing success (256).

⁴ "Anyhow, thats the end of six years floundering, striving, much agony, some ecstasy: lumping The Years & 3 Gs together as one book--as indeed they are" (IV: 148).

In short, with non-fiction we have immediate access to the raw material of fiction, the ideas which will be molded in the work of fiction into literature. Most Woolf scholars between 1941 and the mid 1970s, however, were not interested even in the potential worth that Samuelson saw in Woolf's non-fiction. Despite the positive reviews and good sale of the text, Three Guineas was largely ignored for four decades after its publication.

Sustained critical interest in the text would not emerge until the arrival of feminist scholarship as a significant force in literary criticism in the late few decades. It should hardly be surprising that feminist scholars have championed the text, seeing as how feminism is the only cultural institution which emerges with any sort of dignity in the text (despite Woolf's dismissal of the term "feminism," a key passage in the text which will be addressed shortly). Anyone approaching the text from a different approach--pacifist, literary, liberal humanist, religious--must first account for Woolf's dismissive comments on that approach. This is not to say that the text only has worth to feminists; only feminists, however, can approach the text without self-consciousness. That they have done so has resulted in a great deal more attention to the work over the last several years.

However, as Woolf herself would probably say, care must be taken when using terms such as "feminism" and "feminist criticism." Due to its intentionally controversial nature, feminism has been associated with a number of shorthand evaluations and prejudices, not the least of which is the view that feminist literary critics belong to a homogenous community. Rather than representing a monolithic entity, the term more accurately acts as an umbrella term covering a number of approaches to literature. Indeed, a review of the feminist criticism of Three Guineas reveals a variety of approaches to the text.

One approach has been to examine what Three Guineas reveals about

not only Woolf's own feminism but about feminism in general. The exact nature of Woolf's personal ideology, of course, has always been a highly contentious issue, and Three Guineas contains some of the most noteworthy remarks on feminism in all of Woolf's work. Of special interest, of course, is Woolf's destruction of the term itself ("Let us write that word in large black letters on a sheet of foolscap; then solemnly apply a match to the paper. Look, how it burns!" (101)), a comment which has generated a number of interpretations, ranging from Black's opinion that the apparent dismissal of feminism is actually "a distinction among its varieties, opting in favor of the one with the most radical ambitions and the largest goals" (181) to Zwerdling's belief that "Woolf's particular contribution to the women's movement was to restore a sense of the complexity of the issues after the radical simplification that had seemed necessary for political action" (217) to Carroll's view that Woolf's philosophy represents "a program which combined limited support for conventional political or reform action with a strong focus on alternative modes of political struggle: truth-telling, 'living differently,' and commitment to the duties of an Outsider" (125). This issue is necessary and important in certain contexts, but in a study such as this, which concentrates not so much on the content of non-fiction but rather on its rhetoric, the manner of its presentation, questions such as this are not essential. For present purposes, this passage is interesting not so much for what it can reveal about Woolf's political views but rather for the function it serves within the text's argument.

Another distinctly feminist approach to the text is, in an ironic reversal of much earlier criticism of Three Guineas, to celebrate the angry tone of the text, to interpret Woolf's anger not as neurotic but rather as righteous and self-fulfilling. This anger is seen as a radical and necessary change from her past diffidence, a necessary step

in the intellectual liberation of Woolf and of all women. Marcus has been the most noteworthy critic of this school, and in fact derives inspiration from the anger she identifies in Woolf's work: "Anger is not anathema in art; it is a primary source of creative energy. Rage and savage indignation sear the hearts of female poets and female critics. . . . Out with it" ("Art and Anger," 94).

Whatever the value of Woolf's anger may be, this method of analysis has led to little literary insight. The angry tone (which cannot be overlooked) is enthusiastically praised by the above critics merely for its existence; the rhetorical function of this tone, so uncharacteristic of Woolf's writing (which also cannot be overlooked), is not considered. Unfortunately, both of the approaches sketched above have focused exclusively on Woolf's arguments. These approaches are to a large extent merely a variation of the earlier approach to the text in which Three Guineas was analyzed solely to provide insight into The Years or some other fictional work of Woolf's; in both cases, Woolf's ideas, not the presentation of the ideas, is the sole focus. As Marcus says, "what Three Guineas says is why we read it" ("Horses'" 273).

However, in making the above observations about Marcus, it is important not to indulge in another common shorthand evaluation of feminist criticism--namely, that such criticism is concerned primarily if not exclusively with gender politics and therefore restricts its analysis to the relevant issues raised in the text. If we review the feminist critical reception of Three Guineas with anything approaching an attitude of impartiality, we will note that there have been a good number of overtly feminist studies which have paid as much attention to the formal components of the text as they have to Woolf's specific arguments. From Gattens' observation on the significant way that the resources used by the narrator ("history books, biographies, common encyclopedias, and newspapers, in other words texts that are readily

available to everyone who can read their own language") indicate the social position of intellectual women of Woolf's time, to Middleton's observation on the significance of the narrator's final decision ("Her refusal to inscribe her name on the rolls of an organization dramatizes her calculated insistence throughout Three Guineas on the power of language--to establish boundaries, to appropriate knowledge, to dominate, and to conceal truth"), to Caughie's observations on how the narrator "changes the rules and the roles of this game by advocating a change in our responses to patriarchy, capitalism, and tyranny, so that the dominant power (whether father, dictator, or property owner) can no longer control by its established means of control," to Smith's argument that Three Guineas "is phenomenological narrative presenting a model of the subject being talked about, the fearless asymmetry of the mind of an outsider" (226)--we can see in all of these the approach to non-fiction criticism proposed in the first chapter of this dissertation, which postulated that the primary work of non-fiction criticism should be to consider the relationship between form and content in determining the perspective generated by the text.

One immediate advantage of this approach is that it provides an explanation for the initial reception of Woolf's text. As noted earlier, Three Guineas was uniformly praised, with some reservations, in the popular press at its publication, and while much of that enthusiasm can be attributed to Woolf's reputation in the literary world at the time (as an infamous cartoon in Time and Tide suggested), there seems to be a genuine desire to balance praise with concern.⁵ And, as Leavis'

⁵ The cartoon from 25 June 1938 shows a pensive Woolf surrounded by several men in suits doffing their hats and bowing in her direction while simultaneously stepping on copies of Three Guineas. The caption reads, "The struggle . . . to combine respect and loathing." Leavis states the implied message outright: "The reviewers have indeed all blessed the book, but any man who objected would lay himself open to the obvious charge of (a) being no gentleman and (b) expressing a resentment

review of Three Guineas indicates, Woolf's work was hardly immune to negative reviews. Moreover, one sees in these reviews a determined effort to look beyond the content of Woolf's arguments. Katherine Woods says that "the whole of Virginia Woolf's argument is seen to be greater than the sum of its apparent parts" (5), a statement which suggests that the text has affected her in a way which conventional arguments would not.

If, indeed, there is a unique quality to Woolf's rhetoric, a quality which made it appealing to reviewers despite their uneasiness to the content of her arguments, then it is important to examine the exact nature of that rhetoric.

Vera Brittain's Testament of Youth, which touches on many of the issues raised in Three Guineas, had appeared five years before Woolf's work. Brittain's combination of feminism and anti-militarism was influenced a great deal by a number of writers before her, and it is therefore worthwhile to trace the development of this philosophy from its origins at the turn of the century up through its expression in the works of Brittain.⁶

easily explicable in psychological terms, while any woman who refused to vote solid would of course be a traitress to the cause" (204).

⁶ "Anti-militarism" is certainly an awkward term, yet it must be used in place of the nearly synonymous (and much less cumbersome) term "pacifism." Anti-militarism has connotations which are not included in the latter term, which is defined by Webster's as an "opposition to war or agitation as a means of settling disputes." Anti-militarism reacts not only to active or potential acts of aggression (one must be a pacifist in order to be an anti-militarist), but also aims to remove military values within a society. Moreover, pacifism is usually a personal creed which, when pacifists act in concert, can lead to a political movement; anti-militarism is more concerned with cultural analysis, and is less often organized politically. Given this distinction, it would seem that all the writers discussed in this chapter--Schreiner, Ogden and Florence, Brittain, and Woolf--would more accurately be described as anti-militarists rather than pacifists. Martin Ceadel's Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945 (1980) provides other key distinctions among movements traditionally labeled under the umbrella term pacifism.

It is important at the outset to note the distinctions between the three terms feminism, anti-militarism, and feminist anti-militarism. Merely working within both movements does not necessarily make one a feminist anti-militarist. For example, Crystal Eastman, an American journalist from the early decades of this century, was a member of both movements, yet only rarely did she incorporate both concerns in her published works, and she made no attempt to show a theoretical connection between the two. It is precisely the linking of these two concepts--specifically, the belief that the social advancement of women either depends on, or would bring about, the abolishment of the militarist aspects of society--which distinguishes feminist anti-militarism from its two component parts.

From its inception, this movement not only stressed women's difference (usually biologically determined) from men and the failure to appreciate that difference on the part of men, but has also maintained that women have a unique response to war: "on this one point, and on this point almost alone, the knowledge of woman, simply as woman, is superior to that of man; she knows the history of human flesh; she knows its cost; he does not" (Schreiner 179). The movement also stressed that women bear an unrecognized heavy burden not only during wartime but in times of peace: "War, and the fear of war, has kept woman in perpetual subjection, making it her chief duty to exhaust all her faculties in the ceaseless production of children that nations might have the warriors needed for aggression or defence" (Ogden and Florence 57). Finally, the movement argued not only that war could only be abolished when women attained full partnership with men in determining the course of their society, but that women would immediately abolish war once given such partnership: "Woman suffrage and permanent peace will go together. When the women of a country are eagerly asking for the vote and a country is of a mind to grant the vote to its women, it is a sign that

the country is ripe for permanent peace" (Jacobs, quoted in Eastman 240).

The movement in England to link women's issues with peace issues originated at the turn of the century with the work of Emily Hobhouse, who reported extensively on the Boer War in South Africa. This war had introduced two of the more ghastly modern wartime practices--guerrilla warfare and concentration camps, the latter made necessary when British troops began burning homes which housed actual or perceived guerrillas. Hobhouse spoke out against the conditions in these camps, where four times as many adults died than on the battlefields, along with thousands of children. Her work was the first to examine war and its impact "from the standpoint of the women and children," as she stated in the introduction to her The Brunt of War and Where It Fell (1902). While Hobhouse did not attempt to link her opposition to military practices with an overt feminist philosophy, she was the first writer to encourage English women to consider the direct impact which war had on their sex.

Her work had a significant effect on Olive Schreiner, a British South African who had worked closely with Hobhouse while the latter researched The Brunt of War and Where It Fell. Schreiner would produce her era's boldest proclamation of feminist anti-militarist philosophy in Woman and Labour (1911), a book which gained much notoriety when first published. When discussing labor, Schreiner makes an uncompromising argument for what would be called today equal rights feminism. Schreiner advocates replacing legislated discrimination with social Darwinism: "Throw the puppy into the water: if it swims, well; if it sinks, well; but do not tie a rope round its throat and weight it with a brick, and then assert its incapacity to keep afloat" (171).

However, on the issue of war Schreiner abruptly shifts her perspective, arguing now for the unique perspective, biologically determined, which women have on martial concerns. She expands

Hobhouse's observations by claiming that women do not have to be directly involved in conflict in order to be harmed by war. The different biological roles men and women play in child bearing, Schreiner argues, gives women a superior attitude towards the effect of war:

The physical creation of human life, which, in as far as the male is concerned, consists in a few moments of physical pleasure, to the female must always signify months of pressure and physical endurance, crowned with danger to life. To the male, the giving of life is a laugh; to the female, blood, anguish, and sometimes death. Here we touch one of the few yet important differences between man and woman as such.

The twenty thousand men prematurely slain on a field of battle, mean, to the women of their race, twenty thousand human creatures to be borne within them for months, given birth to in anguish, fed from their breasts and reared with toil, if the numbers of the tribe and the strength of the nation are to be maintained. In nations continually at war, incessant and unbroken child-bearing is by war imposed on all women if the state is to survive; and whenever war occurs, if numbers are to be maintained, there must be an increased child-bearing and rearing. This throws upon woman as woman a war tax, compared with which all that the male expends in military preparations is comparatively light (179-80).

On the level of ideas alone, there is much that could be said both in support and in objection to Schreiner's arguments.⁷ However, for present purposes it is her rhetoric, the manner in which she presents her arguments, which is the central consideration. Schreiner argues with a procession of absolute statements; qualifying modifiers are absent from her text. Such absolutism is present not only in her denunciations of patriarchal society, but also in her predictions about the effect that women would have on that society once they had full partnership: "On that day when the woman takes her place beside the man in the governance and arrangement of external affairs of her race will also be that day that heralds the death of war as a means of arranging

⁷ Feminist philosophers have long been uncomfortable with anti-militarist philosophy; a good summary of the uneasy association between the two movements can be found in Berenice Carroll's "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections" in Women and Peace, ed. Ruth Roach Pierson (1987).

human differences" (176). The significance of this approach will be considered later.

Woman and Labour was a popular text, especially among suffrage workers, who often repeated Schreiner's proclamation that war would be abolished once women had full partnership in society's governance, in the years before the Great War. Schreiner's arguments on women and war are further developed in the next significant contribution in this genre, Militarism versus Feminism: An Enquiry and a Policy Demonstrating that Militarism Involves the Subjection of Women, published anonymously in 1915 by Mary Sargent Florence and male feminist C. K. Ogden. Militarism versus Feminism expands Schreiner's thesis by arguing that it is not war itself but the presence of military values, whether in peace or wartime, that is the true enemy of women. Through a selective historical overview of several societies, the text argues that women are granted the most freedom in those cultures (such as the Burmese) which lacked a warrior tradition, whereas openly militaristic societies (such as Napoleonic France, with its motto "Glory abroad, efficiency at home") have been the most hostile to organized women's movements. "To the authority of man inside the home is added the external authority of the Man's House as such--that house which women may not enter, since war and preparations for war which still determine its action in so many ways are the concern of man alone" (114). England had not embraced women's concerns, the text argues, because the country had never completely abandoned militarism. The effect of militarism is detected in several aspects of English society: industry (competitive values overtake cooperative values), religion (used to justify wars and, in the Napoleonic Code, to train women to serve the warrior state), and education (in which the names and dates of battles and military heroes are indoctrinated; also, women "must not have any real education -- for the warrior alone required knowledge and independence" (57)).

Militarism invaded all these institutions, thus making England a warrior nation while still at peace, and in this warrior nation, the fight for gender equality was doomed.

Militarism versus Feminism also reinforces Schreiner's argument that women have a biologically determined attitude toward war, an attitude markedly different from that of men. "[Burma's] tenets and beliefs are women's tenets," a British officer is quoted as saying; "they come easily to women's hearts, who believe by nature in the milder virtues;" (67). The quotation is taken at face value, as proof of the text's theory that the advancement of women in a society and the elimination of military values in that society are mutually dependent.

Militarism versus Feminism urges English women to challenge their patriarchal militarist society, to impose their biologically-determined pacifist values on the country's agenda. In one of the text's few direct departures from Schreiner's thought, Militarism versus Feminism claims that women's instinctive antagonism to violence is not a sufficient starting point for the abolition of militarism, "for war itself constitutes the main obstacle to that equal share in the control and governance of national life which is to inaugurate the era of peace and reasonableness. . . . we must realise the value of organization and propaganda as the necessity of modern times. We must keep a definite end in view:" (132). The text concludes with an exhortation to international gender solidarity ("Women of the world unite!"; that should be the new cry -- not 'Woman has no country!' but 'Woman must have every country!'" (139)) which, while certainly the logical end to the text's argument, is not accompanied with a practical idea for its implementation. Militarism versus Feminism reads more like an intellectual exercise than a program, a fact which shows the influence of Ogden's background. Ogden was an active member of Cambridge debating societies, and had made a name for himself as a proponent of various

anti-establishment causes. It should not be surprising, then, that the text reads like an intellectual debate.

Militarism versus Feminism did not sell well, and a number of organizational problems prevented the nascent feminist anti-militarist movement from gaining widespread membership in the years leading up to the Great War.⁸ Yet the most damaging blow to feminist anti-militarism came in the years following the war, when Schreiner's prediction that war would end once women gained the vote appeared to be discredited. Ten years after English women had won suffrage, England began to prepare for another European war. English feminists were active members of the numerous anti-militarist movements during the 1930s, yet few would make the arguments that Schreiner had made about the essential link between the two philosophies.

One person who did continue Schreiner's argument was Brittain, a volunteer nurse's aide during the Great War and an active campaigner for feminist causes in the 1920s. Working for several mainstream English periodicals, Brittain was certainly the most well-known advocate of women's issues in England during the inter-war period. While making a name for herself as a feminist writer, Brittain was also active in the League of Nations Union, a leading pacifist organization closely linked with the League of Nations. Her anti-militarism was based on the memory of the lives that had been lost in the Great War, and the conviction that England must never suffer such a loss again. Brittain had experienced that loss personally--her fiancée, brother, and several close male companions had been killed in France--and had witnessed great

⁸ Critical histories of the feminist anti-militarist movement at the turn of the century include Jill Liddington's The Long Road to Greenham: Feminism and Anti-Militarism in Britain since 1820 (1989), Margaret Kamester and Jo Vellacott's Militarism versus Feminism: Writings on Women and War (1987), and Catherine Foster's Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1989).

suffering as a volunteer nurse. Brittain believed that the rise in pro-war sentiment in the 1930s was in part caused by the collective loss of memory of the sufferings experienced during the Great War. "How to preserve the memory of our suffering in such a way that our successors may understand it and refrain from the temptations offered by glamour and glory--that is the problem which we, the war generation, have still to solve before the darkness covers us" (210).

Brittain addressed this problem in the 1933 autobiography Testament of Youth, an instant best-seller and today one of the more fondly remembered works of 1930s Britain. In the course of her autobiography, Brittain parallels her personal development with international events surrounding the Great War, making her text deeply introspective without being solipsistic. Her descriptions of domestic apprehension over the war, of her development from a youthful patriotic supporter of the English war effort to a committed member of the post-war international movement to abolish nationalism and war, and of conditions in the French military hospitals where she volunteered are perhaps the most graphic of her day. While Testament of Youth is remembered primarily for these first-hand accounts, the text also traces the development of Brittain's feminism from her school days up to the present, making special note of Schreiner's Woman and Labour, "that 'Bible of the Woman's Movement'" (41), as a key influence on her beliefs.

While there are few overt connections made between feminism and anti-militarism in Testament of Youth, writing the autobiography apparently caused Brittain to reexamine her beliefs. Immediately after the publication of Testament, there is a noticeable change in her published writings on the two movements. On visiting a war memorial in France, Brittain abandons her earlier belief that such memorials were a necessary reminder of the lives wasted in war:

They are all a cheating and a camouflage, these noble memorials, with their mown, scented lawns, these peaceful cemeteries filled with red roses and purple pansies, these harvest fields which help to create the illusion that war is a glorious thing because so much of its aftermath can be rendered lovely and dignified ("Illusion on the Somme" 214-5).

Brittain at this time also began to link her feminist and anti-militarist ideas directly, the first serious attempt in England at such linkage since Militarism versus Feminism. In a 1934 article, "Can the Women of the World Stop War?" Brittain wonders why women have not responded to international events, despite the clear evidence that men's "civilized ideals are still at the mercy of their primitive impulses." Since the obsession with rearmament meant that many programs which could aid women, such as a national maternity service, were ignored, Brittain despairs that "a terrible, inert mass of lethargic womanhood still does nothing, and apparently cares nothing," despite the political gains they had made in the last twenty years. She quotes Schreiner's bold proclamation that women would end war once given the chance, claiming that women simply have to claim the power that has been given them in order to eliminate war. Brittain offered several practical suggestions for how English women can use their newly-gained political influence to aid the anti-war effort:

Amongst its organizers would be several advertising experts who have studied the psychology of human response to every kind of appeal, and who would know how to invent slogans to arrest popular attention. Every type of device from banners to sky-writing would be employed to circulate these slogans. Methods would be adopted for calling processions into being at very short notice, to protest actively whenever rumours of war threatened to destroy peace, or to celebrate whenever a measure of disarmament was passed, or some event of importance occurred in Geneva ("Why Not a Real Peace Crusade?" 222).

While Brittain's hopes for a successful peace crusade would be dashed by the second world war, she nonetheless continued to integrate her feminist and anti-militarist ideas in her writing throughout her life.

For a number of reasons, feminist anti-militarism between the two

world wars in England never gained significant momentum, producing only a handful of texts and a number of small organizations, and thus represents a minor movement in this era. Its membership, however, would inspire a far more significant anti-militarist movement among British women in the decades after World War II. Moreover, the contributions of this movement provide a good point of comparison for Woolf's Three Guineas.

Woolf was certainly aware of what little feminist anti-war sentiment existed in England in the 1930s, as a note in Three Guineas lists several pacifist organizations run by Englishwomen (159). And, as her use of Brittain's "A Woman's Notebook" in her 1931 speech to the London Society for Women's service (and later in another note for Three Guineas) indicates, Woolf was also quite familiar with the work of the leading British feminist anti-militarist writer of the era. Woolf's diary registers an extremely mixed response to Brittain based on a reading of Testament of Youth--Brittain's descriptive qualities filled Woolf "with extreme greed," even though she figured Brittain to be a person with "a stringy metallic mind, with I suppose, the sort of taste I should dislike in real life."

A very good book of its sort. The new sort, the hard anguished sort, that the young write; that I could never write. Nor has anyone written that kind of book before. Why now? What urgency is there on them to stand bare in public? She feels that these facts must be made known, in order to help--what? herself partly I suppose. And she has the social conscience (III: 177).

Evidence from Woolf's diary suggests that, in the early stages of its development, Three Guineas was designed to be "the hard anguished sort" of book which Woolf thought she could not write. On 11 February 1932 she records an indignant reaction to Wells on Woman, with its charge that women had done little to advance society in the ten years since winning the franchise, an accusation which sets her mind running on her

text; a week later, she boasts of her ability to blow up St. Paul's.

It is interesting to compare Woolf's aggressive tone here to the peroration of A Room of One's Own, in which Woolf encourages her audience not to concentrate on their lack of opportunity any longer.

[M]ay I remind you that there have been at least two colleges for women in existence in England since the year 1866; that after the year 1880 a married woman was allowed by law to possess her own property; and that in 1919--which is whole nine years ago--she was given a vote? May I also remind you that the most of the professions have been open to you for close on ten years now? When you reflect upon these immense privileges and the length of time during which they have been enjoyed, and the fact that there must be at this moment some two thousand women capable of earning over five hundred a year in one way or another, you will agree that the excuse of lack of opportunity, training, encouragement, leisure and money no longer holds good (116-7).

One must not miss Woolf's irony here, of course, yet neither can one miss the direction in which she is attempting to channel her audience's energies. A Room of One's Own responds to the lack of advancement in the past decade with irony and exhortation; the sequel, titled Men Are Like That at the time of the reaction to Wells, seems poised to respond with invective.

And certainly a great deal of anger, expressed most often with caustic sarcasm, made its way into the final form of Three Guineas: "English women were much criticized for using force in the battle for the franchise. . . . These remarks did not apply apparently to the force in the European War" (148). And, as Marcus and others have observed, the expression of Woolf's pent-up anger is in part therapeutic and liberating. But yet, while the anger in the text cannot be ignored, neither can the manner in which that anger is channeled, blunted to an extent, in order to achieve effects not obtainable by the sheer expression of outrage.

The epistolary format itself of Three Guineas puts several rhetorical effects into play, and the significance of these effects is highlighted when the text is compared to the structure of A Room of

One's Own. The narrator in the earlier work addresses an exclusively female audience, and recognizes in a playful aside--"Are there no men present? Do you promise me that behind that red curtain over there the figure of Sir Charles Biron is not concealed? We are all women, you assure me?" (85)--that the composition of her audience allows her a larger degree of freedom in expression than she would have with a mixed audience. It should be noted that the essay portion of The Pargiters, which can be seen as a preliminary draft of Three Guineas, has much the same narrative format: "When your Secretary asked me to come here tonight to give you some account of my professional experiences" (5).

Three Guineas, meanwhile, is addressed to a single male correspondent, who, it appears, wrote the narrator a form letter asking for her contribution to his cause. Woolf thus presents her narrator with a far more difficult task; she cannot appeal to the background she shares with her audience, but rather must present her case to an audience whose interests and motives are ultimately different, if not at odds, with the narrator's own. The narrator responds to this situation by drafting a very personal response, one not in the spirit of the correspondent's impersonal appeal. She provides a biographical profile for her correspondent, and addresses him directly throughout the text. Although the narrator directs some subtle sarcastic remarks toward her correspondent--"without wishing to flatter you, your prosperity--wife, children, house--has been deserved" (3)--she provides him with a human face, keeping her tone towards him always polite, and despite the claims she will make about the essential psychological differences between men and women, the narrator never wavers in her determination to show her correspondent that she is his ally, not his adversary; as she says on the very last page of the text, "our aims are the same as yours" (144). The rhetorical situation here does not allow for playfulness, and

certainly invites the caustic tone which has become one of the text's most distinguishing features over the years. The narrator, however, directs her anger not so much at her correspondent (only occasionally making subtly sarcastic comments about his background and education) but at men in general, or more precisely, male psychology. The rhetorical demand on the narrator is exceptional: to present her case against patriarchy without reservation (as she would do with ease in front of the audience to whom A Room of One's Own was addressed) without losing the cooperation of her patriarchal audience.

Another major feature of the text, the notes, also needs to be considered when discussing the narrator's rhetorical situation and the tone she adopts in response. Of course, the notes fulfill a crucial function in regard to the text's overall flow; to incorporate all the citations and comments provided in the notes within the main body of the text would have interrupted the narrator's personal reply to her correspondent. Yet the notes have a tone all their own. The notes are framed as commentary on the text, and therefore are only indirectly addressed to the correspondent. In the notes, the narrator expresses thoughts which she is reluctant to state in the main body of the text. For example, upon considering the request to sign the correspondent's manifesto to protect culture and intellectual liberty, the narrator attaches a lengthy note in which she observes the popularity of such manifestos in the past few years: "Private people of no political training were invited to sign appeals asking their own and foreign governments to change their policy; artists were asked to fill up forms stating the proper relations of the artist to the State, to religion, to morality; pledges were required that the writer should use English grammatically and avoid vulgar expressions; and dreamers were invited to analyse their dreams" (172).

Yet despite the skepticism displayed in this note, the narrator

eventually signs the correspondent's manifesto. This is but one example of the alternative discourse the notes provide for the main body of the text. Although the narrator does quote sources at length in the text, it is the notes which provides the text with "the sheer crushing weight" (Schlack) of its arguments. Furthermore, as Gattens has observed, the range of citations, all taken from public documents and periodicals, used in the notes provides a practical demonstration of how women in the narrator's position can provide effective cultural criticism.

The photographs included in Three Guineas do not perform as dramatic a function as do the notes, nor do any of those five photographs have nearly the impact of the majority of photographs in Wright's Twelve Million Black Voices, yet they nonetheless deserve a brief mention. The first three pictures (a general, three heralds, and a procession of university officials) come as a series and appear during Woolf's initial discussion of male ornamental dress, which "serves to advertise the social, professional, or intellectual standing of the wearer" (20). A photograph of a wigged judge appears during Woolf's address to the chairperson concerned with advancing the position of women in the professions ("Think--one of these days, you may wear a judge's wig on your head" 61); the final photograph of an archbishop comes in the third chapter's discussion of "that profession which, since it is the highest of all, may be taken as the type of all, the profession of religion" (121). The photographs not only reinforce the narrator's description of the sartorial elaborateness of male institutions but also, and more importantly, establish a subtle argument for the interrelation between the military, education, law and religion in English society. This argument in turn is key to Woolf's own argument that her separate contributions to women's education, women's professional advancement and the peace movement "are all given to the same cause, for the causes are the same and inseparable" (144).

While the notes and photographs both make important contributions to Woolf's argument, it is the structure of the main body of the text which provides the most compelling contribution. By responding to two other treasurers in the course of responding to her original correspondent, the narrator creates several effects. First, she provides a convenient progression to her argument; as Smith has observed, the first section of Three Guineas uncovers the contradictions of being female in a male world, the second considers the possibility of creating an alternative community of women, while the third reveals the means to this new world which will be hidden, though scattered, in the current one (228). Also, by including her responses to the two other treasurers the narrator finds a convenient way to broaden the discussion, to incorporate concerns which might not be readily apparent within the correspondent's peace movement. On a more subtle level, the communication itself suggests that the male correspondent is aware of the growing influence of women in English society. The narrator addresses the issue of influence explicitly when she discusses the social impact of women entering the professions in 1919. This event was, in the narrator's estimate, more important than the concurrent granting of women's suffrage, for it allowed women the right to earn their own livings and lead independent lives. With this independence, Woolf argues, comes a new way of dealing with male society.

The word "influence" then has changed. The educated man's daughter has now at her disposal an influence which is different from any influence that she has possessed before. It is not the influence which the great lady, the Siren, possesses; nor is it the influence which the educated man's daughter possessed when she had no vote; nor is it the influence which she possessed when she had a vote but was debarred from the right to earn her living. It differs, because it is an influence from which the charm element has been removed; it is an influence from which the money element has been removed. She need no longer use her charm to procure money from her father or brother. Since it is beyond the power of her family to punish her financially she can express her own opinions. In place of the admirations and antipathies which were often unconsciously dictated by the need of money she can declare her genuine likes and dislikes. In short, she need not acquiesce; she can criticize. At last she is in possession of an

influence that is disinterested (16-7).

Schreiner had argued that, upon having won suffrage, English women would immediately abolish war. Brittain, writing ten years after the suffrage victory, echoed Schreiner's argument while adding that the influence necessary to abolish war included far more than the vote. In Three Guineas, Woolf defines the nature of influence even further, grounding the concept firmly upon the principle of financial independence. Here we begin to see Woolf changing the very nature of the debate.

Evidence of the change in the word influence is seen in the composition of her letters. Although the fact is routinely overlooked by critical studies of Three Guineas, the narrator does not simply respond to the two treasurers but drafts at least two responses to each. These initial drafts can be seen as preliminary steps in the dancing of an attitude; in each case, however, the drafts are discarded and a new attitude is danced in a revised letter to each of the treasurers. Moreover, after responding to the treasurers the narrator makes an open address to professional women writers on behalf of the correspondent, asking them to do their part in the fight against war; while this address is not a response to any treasurer or organization and does not cause the narrator to contribute a fourth guinea, this passage (also overlooked in criticism of Three Guineas) provides very important insight into the nature of the Outsider's community. What emerges from a close examination of the addresses to the two treasurers, professional women writers, and finally the correspondent himself is a discussion of feminist anti-militarism which is distinct, in form and content, from any similar discussion which preceded it.

The narrator's response to the treasurer of the women's college rebuilding fund is motivated by her observation that education has been the institution where women, urged by their love of education for its

own sake, have gained the most influence. Education, she notes, can obviously have a powerful influence on the young, yet this influence apparently has not been as yet used to discourage the young from glorifying or at least accepting war. The narrator's first reaction to her disappointment at this lost opportunity to prevent war is to make a series of demands of the treasurer, all intended to make the college a place where pacifist values are nurtured.

"[The women's college] is young and poor; let it therefore take advantage of those qualities and be founded on poverty and youth. Obviously, then, it must be an experimental college, an adventurous college. Let it be built on lines of its own. . . . The poor college must teach only the arts that can be taught cheaply and practised by poor people; such as medicine, mathematics, music, painting and literature. It should teach the arts of human intercourse; the art of understanding other people's lives and minds, and the little arts of talk, of dress, of cookery that are allied with them. The aim of the new college, the cheap college, should be not to segregate and specialize, but to combine" (33-34).

"It should explore . . ." The narrator continues with "musts" and "shoulds" for another paragraph and a half, outlining a curriculum and campus which would be radical by today's standards. She then attempts to conclude her letter to the treasurer:

"Let us then found this new college; this poor college; in which learning is sought for itself; where advertisement is abolished; and there are no degrees; and lectures are not given, and sermons are not preached, and the old poisoned vanities and parades which breed competition and jealousy . . ." (35)

The ellipses immediately above are Woolf's. Perhaps no other writer in English uses ellipses as dramatically as Woolf. In Three Guineas, this punctuation, when not used to indicate a gap in quotation, always indicates that the narrator is about to comment significantly on what has come immediately before. Her first such use of ellipses comes early in the text, when she hypothesizes on the similarities between the correspondent and herself:

We both come of what, in this hybrid age when, though birth is mixed, classes still remain fixed, it is convenient to call the educated class. When we meet in the flesh we speak with the same accent; use knives and forks in the same way; expect maids to cook

dinner and wash up after dinner; and can talk during dinner without much difficulty about politics and people; war and peace; barbarism and civilization--all the questions indeed suggested by your letter. Moreover, we both earn our livings. But . . . those three dots mark a precipice, a gulf so deeply cut between us that for three years and more I have been sitting on my side of it wondering whether it is any use to try to speak across it (4).

That gap, of course, is the result of their different experiences of society, one as an insider, the other as outsider. This difference in experience negates all the likenesses between them; the narrator and her correspondent, for all their similarities, are essentially different.

With regard to the college treasurer, the ellipses mark an abrupt end to the narrator's letter and a return to addressing the correspondent. She has just had a vision, she explains, a vision of the treasurer reading her letter and saying, "'Dream your dreams, . . . fire off your rhetoric, but we have to face realities'" (35). Those realities, the narrator explains, include obtaining appointments for graduates; a college which cannot offer practical degrees would never gain the favor of potential employers, thereby hindering students' chances of earning independent incomes. And if women were to lose this opportunity, their chances for preventing war would be diminished:

We have said that the only influence which the daughters of educated men can at present exert against war is the disinterested influence that they possess through earning their livings. If there were no means of training them to earn their livings, there would be an end of that influence. They could not obtain appointments. If they could not obtain appointments they would again be dependent on their fathers and brothers; and if they were again dependent upon their fathers and brothers they would again be consciously and unconsciously in favour of war. History would seem to put that beyond doubt. Therefore we must send a guinea to the honorary treasurer of the college rebuilding fund, and let her do what she can with it. It is useless as things are to attach conditions as to the way in which that guinea is to be spent (36).

This shift from "the college should" to "It is useless as things are" is perhaps the most significant moment in Three Guineas. The emphatic rhetoric found in the draft letter to the college treasurer is familiar; it is the voice of the activist, the person seeking to change social

institutions, the voice used by Brittain and other feminist anti-militarist writers in their essays. Yet before it has its full say this voice is silenced and replaced with a more cautious voice, one which seems fixated on possible negative consequences ("they would again be dependent on their fathers and brothers; and if they were again dependent upon their fathers and brothers they would again . . ."). This voice looks at the difficulties to overcome in changing education, and pronounces the attempt to change "useless."

Having finished with the college treasurer, the narrator then turns her attention to the area where educated women are destined--the professions. Woolf is confident that, once they hear the correspondent's request, professional women will eagerly help his cause. "But . . ." The hesitation here is caused by the presence of a letter from a society of professional women asking Woolf to aid in their efforts to earn their livings. Woolf at first expresses disbelief over this request, and drafts a letter to the treasurer of the society in which Woolf questions the economic status of professional women. In this letter, Woolf cites two prominent male anti-war writers, C. E. M. Joad and H. G. Wells, who have accused professional women of not actively fighting against war:

"Rich, idle, greedy and lethargic as you are, how have you the effrontery to ask me to subscribe to a society which helps the daughters of educated men to make their livings in the professions? For as these gentlemen prove in spite of the vote and the wealth which that vote must have brought with it, you have not ended war; in spite of the vote and the power which that vote must have brought with it, you have not resisted the practical obliteration of your freedom by Fascists or Nazis. What other conclusion then can one come to but that the whole of what was called 'the woman's movement' has proved itself a failure; and the guinea which I am sending you herewith is to be devoted not to paying your rent but to burning your building. And when that is burnt, retire once more to the kitchen, Madam, and learn, if you can, to cook the dinner which you may not share . . ." (43-4)

However, as Woolf raises the accusations of Joad and Wells in her draft letter she attaches notes which dismiss their claims abruptly:

2. . . .Since the number of societies run directly or indirectly by Englishwomen in the cause of peace is too long to quote (see The Story of the Disarmament Declaration, p. 15, for a list of the peace activities of professional, business and working-class women) it is unnecessary to take Mr. Joad's criticism seriously, however illuminating psychologically.

3. . . .The men's "movement to resist the practical obliteration of their freedom by Nazis or Fascists" may have been more perceptible. But that it has been more successful is doubtful. "Nazis now control the whole of Austria." (Daily paper, March 12th, 1938.)
(159)

Based on the tone of these notes, one would expect the narrator to be equally dismissive of Joad and Wells after the ellipses which conclude the draft letter to the treasurer. And while she does cite a series of facts which prove that women are as poor as the treasurer claims, the narrator makes little mention of Joad and Wells, as if she no longer considers their charges important. (Here again the narrator recognizes that she must adopt a different tone in her text than she can use in the notes.) What does seem important to her is helping women overcome their poverty and attain equality with men in the professions.

For to help women to earn their livings in the professions is to help them to possess that weapon of independent opinion which is still their most powerful weapon. It is to help them to have a mind of their own and a will of their own with which to help you to prevent war. But . . .--here again, in those dots, doubts and hesitations assert themselves. Can we, considering the facts given above, send her our guinea without laying down very stringent terms as to how the guinea shall be spent?

For the facts which we have discovered in checking her statement as to her financial position have raised questions which make us wonder whether we are wise to encourage people to enter the professions if we wish to prevent war (58).

The questions raised by the narrator's investigation are caused by the efforts of men to prevent women from entering the professions.

Professional life, she concludes, encourages possessiveness and greed, qualities which too closely resemble militarism to be encouraged. In a new letter to the treasurer, she discusses the dilemma faced by professional women.

"We, daughters of educated men, are between the devil and the deep sea. Behind us lies the patriarchal system; the private house, with its nullity, its immorality, its hypocrisy, its servility.

Before us lies the public world, the professional system, with its possessiveness, its jealousy, its pugnacity, its greed. The one shuts us up like slaves in a harem; the other forces us to circle, like caterpillars head to tail, round and round the mulberry tree, the sacred tree, of property. It is a choice of evils. Each is bad" (74).

The narrator's advice to the treasurer, and to all professional women, is to recognize that the values forced upon them in the past must be maintained in order for them to retain their dignity in the professions: "'If you refuse to be separated from the four great teachers of the daughters of educated men--poverty, chastity, derision and freedom from unreal loyalties--but combine them with some wealth, some knowledge, and some service to real loyalties then you can enter the professions and escape the risks that make them undesirable'" (79-80).

The narrator sends a guinea to the professional society with her conditions, and then turns to the correspondent's letter, which contained three specific requests: "that we should sign a manifesto, pledging ourselves 'to protect culture and intellectual liberty;' that we should join a certain society, devoted to certain measures whose aim is to preserve peace; and, finally, that we should subscribe to that society" (85). Woolf decides to present the manifesto to others like her, professional women writers:

Our appeal then might begin: "Oh, daughters of educated men, this gentlemen, whom we all respect, says that war is imminent; by protecting culture and intellectual liberty he says that we can help him to prevent war. We entreat you, therefore, who earn your livings by reading and writing . . ." But here the words falter on our lips, and the prayer peters out into three separate dots because of facts again--because of facts in books, facts in biographies, facts which make it difficult, perhaps impossible, to go on (91).

This time, the facts indicate that women writers, if they are to earn their livings, must often write what is demanded of them, regardless of whether they wish to write--a violation of "intellectual liberty." As with her proposed curricular reforms, Woolf considers discarding her initial thought for its impracticality; however, urged by the conviction

that the only immediately effective way to prevent war is to tell the truth about its horrors, she addresses women writers again and asks that they be willing to sacrifice part of their potential in order to maintain the purity of their intellects. Woolf then acknowledges the difficulty women writers might face in following her advice:

"But," she may say, "'the public'? How can that be reached without putting my own mind through the mincing machine and turning it into sausage?" "'The public,' Madam," we may assure her, "is very like ourselves; it lives in rooms; it walks in streets, and is said moreover to be tired of sausage. Fling leaflets down basements; expose them on stalls; trundle them along streets on barrows to be sold for a penny or given away. Find out new ways of approaching 'the public'; single it into separate people instead of massing it into one monster, gross in body, feeble in mind" (98).

Here is where the Society of Outsiders begins to come into view, and where the connection between rhetorical and political strategy becomes explicit. Unlike Brittain, who urged the peace movement to utilize all conventional media available to them for informing and persuading the public, the narrator maintains that women must work outside conventions, must find their own methods of reaching the public.

Having presented the manifesto to professional women writers, the narrator then considers the correspondent's request for funds. Woolf enthusiastically agrees to the request, granting her guinea free of any conditions, and then reflects on the word "free." It is at this point where Woolf makes her infamous proposal to burn the word "feminism," made useless by the fact that women now have the freedom to earn their own livings. Jane Marcus has claimed that Woolf "was rather premature and optimistic" in declaring women's financial independence (268); indeed, considering the evidence on women's salaries presented in the discussion of the professions, at face value the assertion does seem positively naive. The only way to make sense of the statement is to examine it in a rhetorical light. Whatever the word may have meant to Woolf personally, as a social critic she saw that "feminism" for many

symbolized a movement which asked for women to have an equal share in society's responsibilities and privileges with men, an agenda which the existing social order could not accept; in other words, feminism had been identified with a political agenda whose viability was questionable at best. Woolf saw that any movement identifying itself as feminist would meet with hostile opposition (as it is still the case today), and she seemed to believe that views coming from subordinate members of society could not survive hostile opposition from the dominant members. Her response, then, is to pursue an agenda which will pursue the same goals as feminism without eliciting antagonism from prevailing social institutions. In her view, women could work more effectively as Outsiders flinging leaflets down basements than as open rivals of the existing social order. And since the word "feminism" had such symbolic power, was taken as representative of a combative social program, Woolf had to distance herself from the term, at least in this text. As for the significance of the burning of the word to Woolf's personal views on feminism, it is interesting to note that the narrator of Three Guineas had earlier proposed setting a match to the women's college (36) and the offices of the society for women's professional advancement (41)--only to reject those fiery notions immediately. It is perhaps wise, then, to read Woolf's action here as a rhetorical rather than political act, one undertaken in response to the identifications made with the term feminism.

Having given the correspondent her guinea, the narrator then turns to the final request made of her--to join the correspondent's pacifist society. In the course of rejecting this request--the only request to be rejected in the entire work--Woolf crafts some of the more memorable passages of Three Guineas: the declaration of the Outsider's Society, made with the statement that "as a woman, I have no country" (109); a long diatribe against the male infantile complex, a psychological

phenomenon responsible for the behavior mocked and derided throughout the text; and one final verbal image:

It is the figure of a man; some say, others deny, that he is Man himself, the quintessence of virility, the perfect type of which all the others are imperfect and adumbrations. He is a man certainly. His eyes are glazed; his eyes glare. His body, which is braced in an unnatural position, is tightly cased in a uniform. Upon the breast of that uniform are sewn several medals and other mystic symbols. His hand is upon a sword. He is called in German and Italian Fuhrer or Duce; in our own language Tyrant or Dictator (142).

Woolf's identification of Fascism with male psychology here, appearing as it did at the height the Nazi regime, is a charge designed to arouse controversy. Nothing in the earlier writings of Schreiner or Brittain compares to the accusatory tone of the final section of Three Guineas.

Significantly, the correspondent is rarely addressed in the lengthy discussion of the male infantile complex, an analysis crucial to the narrator's identification of fascism as an inherently male characteristic. The only other times when the correspondent disappears from the text for so long is during the composition of the letters to the two other honorary chairpeople. At most other times the narrator makes frequent, often playful tangential remarks to her correspondent in order to maintain the conversational tone of the text. The fact that the narrator infrequently addresses the correspondent during the most vitriolic section of the text suggests the narrator's concern for maintaining the cooperation of the correspondent--by depersonalizing this section, Woolf crafts it more as an analysis than an accusation.

The linking of male psychology to fascism is one of a number of key identifications in Three Guineas; the linking of men's ceremonial dress to political power and the association of the clerical, military and judicial systems also perform key functions in the course of Woolf's argument. The presence of these identifications itself would make Woolf's text of interest to rhetoricians. However, what may be of

greater significance is the manner in which Woolf makes these identifications; to use Burkean terminology, it is the performance of Woolf's dance, not so much the attitude being danced, which accounts for the success of Three Guineas. And in evaluating this textual performance, no other feature is as important as the epistolary structure of the text.⁹ Woolf had been working on her sequel to A Room of One's Own for nearly five years before hitting upon this format:

I had an idea--I wish they'd sleep--while dressing--how to make my war book--to pretend its all the articles editors have asked me to write during the past few years--on all sorts of subjects. Shd. women smoke. Short skirts. War--&c. This wd give me the right to wander: also put me in the position of the one asked. And excuse the method: while giving continuity. And there might be a preface saying this. to give the right tone. I think thats got it. (III: 361).

The idea of responding to editorial requests soon gave way to the concept of responding to letters, and the title Answers to correspondents appears in Woolf's diary shortly after the above entry. While the epistolary format may have been originally devised by Woolf in order to "excuse the method: while giving continuity," the structure accomplished far more for her text. Indeed, the text's format could be said to be the most effective piece of evidence for Three Guineas' argument, for it provides subtle proof that the Outsider's Society already exists, a fact alluded to early in the text. With the rhetorical question "since when before has an educated man asked a woman how in her opinion war can be prevented?" (3), the narrator proclaims her dialogue with the correspondent to be a historic moment in the relationship between the sexes in England. And in the course of her response to the correspondent, Woolf's narrator displays the significance of this moment.

⁹ As Hummel has observed, Woolf had been intrigued by the form of epistolary writing, seeing it as a forerunner of the modern psychological novel (152-3).

The extent of Woolf's awareness of Schreiner and Brittain's writings on war and women's issues is uncertain, yet Three Guineas, coincidentally or not, certainly provides an alternative to the rhetoric provided by these earlier writers. The earnestness and urgency of Woman and Labour ("On that day when the woman takes her place beside the man in the governance and arrangement of external affairs of her race will also be that day that heralds the death of war as a means of arranging human differences") and "A Woman's Notebook" ("a terrible, inert mass of lethargic womanhood still does nothing, and apparently cares nothing") is replaced in Woolf's text with a unique blend of resignation ("It is useless as things are to attach conditions as to the way in which that guinea is to be spent") and radical ambition reaching far beyond anything proposed by Schreiner or Brittain and best represented by the Outsider's Society.

Woolf's argument may be disorienting at times, yet it may very well be that her approach to the subject is ultimately more appropriate and effective. Woolf's rejection of the initial letters to the first two treasurers is based on a sophisticated analysis of the relationship between political rhetoric and political action. In both instances, Woolf at first advocates positions which would obviously require major social changes--abolishing lectures and letter grades in the colleges, among other curricular reforms, and assuring gender equity in the professions would radically transform both institutions beyond even today's recognition. Given society's reluctance to accept rapid transformation, such attempts at overt social change would certainly be futile. However, Woolf's narrator does not capitulate in response, but rather searches for covert means of social transformation; significantly, these means include not only alternative political organization (the Outsider's Society) but also alternative means of

linguistic expression ("Fling leaflets down basements; expose them on stalls; trundle them along streets on barrows to be sold for a penny or given away").

To a far greater degree than does Brittain, Woolf discusses the consequences of rhetoric in her text. By first providing the traditional arguments and rhetoric of social change, then completely dismissing this approach as "useless," then presenting an alternative argument in a rhetoric perfectly suited to that argument's subtlety, Woolf asks her readers to consider the efficacy of the traditional rhetoric of social change. Making her points implicitly, as any wise member of the community of outsiders would do, Woolf points to the dangers inherent in traditional rhetoric and, more importantly, provides not only an alternative rhetoric but a practical demonstration of its effectiveness.

Literary scholars have traditionally paid close attention to writers' expressed desire to experiment with fiction--this is especially true in Woolf studies. However, considerably less critical enthusiasm has been shown over a similar desire to experiment with non-fiction. Woolf's commitment to the sequel to A Room of One's Own was tremendous; she would work on Professions for Women, as it was first titled in 1931, over the course of seven years, two novels, an abandoned experiment in a novel-essay, and numerous small projects. Of course, Woolf's passion for the ideas expressed in the finished text had much to do with her patience, and much of the reason it holds interest to this day is for the quality and depth of Woolf's analysis. Yet Woolf also saw this text as an opportunity to experiment with this method of expression, and this desire should not be overlooked. Three Guineas deserves to be examined as a bold experiment in rhetoric and the art of non-fiction.

CHAPTER 6

THE HOPEFUL FUTURE OF NON-FICTION STUDIES

I began this project with the unspectacular observation that non-fiction texts receive inadequate attention from literary critics and a determination to change that state of affairs. Three objectives were established from this starting point: first, to determine the causes for this inattention to non-fiction; second, to provide a model for examining non-fiction works as primary rather than secondary texts; and third, to apply this model to selected works of non-fiction. The opening chapter addressed the first two goals by examining the historic connection between non-fiction and rhetoric and the precarious position of rhetoric in literary studies to the present day, followed with a close look at modern rhetorical theory and its potential impact on literary studies, particularly the study of non-fiction. The model for studying non-fiction which emerged was then applied in subsequent chapters to George Orwell's The Road to Wigan Pier, Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men, Richard Wright's Twelve Million Black Voices and Virginia Woolf's Three Guineas.

To conclude, I would like to consider the possible implications of this study not only on the future analysis of the four core texts but also on the study of non-fiction in general.

My study has touched upon a number of themes in the core texts which have received various levels of attention from literary scholars. The theme of economic self-sufficiency in Three Guineas, for example,

has been well-traveled (that is, on those infrequent occasions when the text has received serious critical attention), as have, to a lesser extent, poverty in The Road to Wigan Pier and religion in Twelve Million Black Voices; meanwhile, the hoodoo theme in Mules and Men has only just recently begun to receive attention. These themes are central to their respective texts, and one goal of this study has been to forward the exploration of these themes. However, the approach used in my study has implications which reach far beyond the thematic concerns of the texts. By approaching these texts with a primary interest in a general theory of non-fiction studies, I have also touched on issues of rhetorical strategy which can be just as productive in the interpretation of the texts.

Orwell's quotient of satire, for example, has been occasionally noted by his interpreters, most notably Crick, who in his authoritative biography hails Orwell as one of the better English writers in this mode since Swift. It is ironic in itself, however, that Orwell's irony has been lost on many of his interpreters. This fact may be no more apparent than in the 1983 exchange in Harper's between Norman Podhoretz and Christopher Hitchens over Orwell's political ideology (an exchange motivated largely by Orwell's decision to title his last novel Nineteen Eighty-Four). Both critics see the infamous "crank" section of The Road to Wigan Pier as highly significant, with Podhoretz reading it as an indictment of British left affectations and Hitchens seeing it as an example of those less admirable qualities of Orwell which can only be appreciated by those who do not properly understand his work. Yet my analysis of The Road to Wigan Pier suggests that this section of Orwell's text may ultimately have been less an expression of his personal ideology than a result of a narrative strategy aimed at challenging the beliefs of his primary audience. Future analysis of this text should continue to explore its satiric element; it should read

his diatribe against socialist cranks not so much as insight into the British left but as a rhetorical device intended to engage that part of his readership. It is astonishing, considering Orwell's life-long membership in the British left, that such an approach has been so little explored in Orwell studies. I suspect that only a general approach to non-fiction, such as the one proposed in this study, can explore this interpretative avenue adequately.

Meanwhile, the situation in Hurston studies is slightly better at the moment, as a few critics (most notably Dorst, Sanchez-Eppler and Rosan Augusta Jordan) have begun to explore the rhetorical element of her non-fiction. These studies have focused on Hurston's relationship with the discipline of folklore scholarship, and have determined that Hurston's prose, while within the conventions of her chosen discipline, provides an alternative to traditional academic discourse. I have taken much the same route in my study of Hurston, yet by concentrating on the hoodoo section of Mules and Men (which none of the critics mentioned above have), I have touched on the relationship of Hurston's prose to popular as well as academic discourse. Critics have yet to explore the relationship between the second half of Mules and Men to texts such as Robert Tallant's Voodoo in New Orleans, just as they have done little more than compare Hurston's use of southern African-American folk tales to other such uses, most notably by Joel Chandler Harris in his Uncle Remus work. Hurston is noteworthy for her attempt to combine academic rigor with popular appeal, and future study of Mules and Men should explore this ambitious project.

My analysis of Twelve Million Black Voices focused on the interplay of words and photographs in the text, another approach which has been surprisingly underutilized by critics. By recognizing the importance of the photographs to the text, my study touches on an issue which will be crucial to the study of many other works of non-fiction,

for other types of media (graphics, charts, tables) appear in these works far more frequently than they do in fiction. Photographs also appear in Three Guineas, and the text is supplemented with notes offering a multitude of sociological data; a number of ink illustrations by Miguel Covarrubias are used throughout Mules and Men; The Road to Wigan Pier includes several tables outlining the wages and living costs of Lancashire coal miners. Not only should future analysis of Twelve Million Black Voices pay closer attention to the text's photographs, the future study of non-fiction in general should seriously consider the importance of other media where it appears in these works, rather than taking such media for granted, as has been standard practice.

Finally, I have approached Three Guineas in much the same manner as I had The Road to Wigan Pier, taking the political content of the text not so much as an expression of the author's ideology but rather as a narrative strategy on the author's part. Woolf's interest in the essay and other forms of non-fictive discourse has been touched on by literary scholars, as evidenced by Hummel's notation of the author's interest in the work of Thomas deQuincy, yet again this interest has in no way been explored in depth. It cannot be doubted that Three Guineas offers a direct political program, and there is of course much that can be gained by exploring the text from that perspective. However, there is also something to be said for examining the work as an experiment in rhetoric and non-fiction. Moreover, the two approaches should in no way be considered mutually exclusive; indeed, perhaps the best approach to Woolf's non-fiction, and non-fiction in general, is to consider the interplay of form and content in the creation of the text's message. Too often in the past, content has been the exclusive concern in the analyses of non-fiction texts; in calling for a revised approach to such study, it is important not to err in the other direction.

While my study may have a significant impact on the study of the core texts, I am far more concerned with the impact my study could have on the analysis of non-fiction in general. I feel compelled to direct my comments towards this issue at the conclusion.

There have been a number of key terms relating to non-fiction criticism used in the course of this study--rhetoric, form and identification come immediately to mind. Of these terms, however, two stand out as particularly significant, persuasion and creativity. It is important now to deal with each of these terms individually.

As mentioned in the opening chapter, the notion of persuasion to attitude, not persuasion to action, is perhaps the key to understanding the impact of non-fiction. Most everyone is familiar with the latter type of persuasion, and moreover this definition of the ends of rhetoric seems to operate in the minds of many literary critics; Lentricchia's work on Burke is but one example. The continued equation of persuasion with action creates severe problems for the study of non-fiction, as it makes non-fiction seem entirely concerned with the world of action, with politics, with the real world. Of course, many literary scholars have argued that literature by any definition does not exist in a realm separate from reality, yet this argument has evidently had little effect on the perception that non-fiction is a more utilitarian and therefore less literary form of expression than is fiction. Non-fiction scholars need to expand the understanding of persuasion. We need to explore this concept even further than did Burke. We must completely distinguish action from attitude, and define the latter type of persuasion so exactly that there can be no confusion between the two terms. A proper understanding of the term is essential to the advancement of non-fiction studies.

The other key term, creativity, presents similar problems. Ever since its transformation from a pejorative to approbatory term in the

late eighteenth century, creativity has been associated with the imagination. Yet imagination is not considered a value in non-fictional discourse; indeed, a common dismissive comment of non-fiction is "it's just a work of imagination." By extension, then, non-fiction is expected to be uncreative, it is expected to convey just the facts, it is expected to be distanced from the author's creative faculty. Yet with creativity being one of our culture's more valued components, the possibility of non-fiction finding a distinguished place within that culture becomes problematic indeed.

What is needed, then, is as thorough a re-evaluation of the term creativity as is needed for persuasion. We need to establish that non-fiction itself is a creative mode of communication. One might argue that non-fiction does indeed utilize the imagination; one might also argue that non-fiction appeals to a different faculty, the intellect, yet in a creative fashion. Again, the two approaches need not be mutually exclusive. What is important, however, is that the creative component of non-fiction finally be recognized. It is not difficult to recognize the creative components in the four core texts, from Orwell's approach to social exploration to Hurston's presentation of hoodoo culture to the arrangement and emphases of Wright's folk history to the development of Woolf's argument. And when seen in the context of other similar works of their era, the creativity of these core texts comes out most clearly.

Persuasion and creativity, then, must be understood in a proper manner in order for non-fiction to be understood fully. And when our understanding of these terms is revised properly, then the time will come when non-fiction will finally be considered worthy of that elusive yet still highly valued term in Western culture: literature.

WORKS CITED

- Agee, James and Walker Evans. Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. 1941.
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988.
- Allen, Agnes. "Still a Man's World." Review of Three Guineas, by
Virginia Woolf. Saturday Review of Literature 27 August 1938: 6.
- Anderson, Sherwood. Home Town. New York: Alliance, 1940.
- Aristotle. Poetics. Trans. Ingram Bywater. New York: Modern Library,
1954.
- . Rhetoric. Trans. W. Rhys Roberts. New York: Modern Library,
1954.
- Atkins, John. George Orwell: A Literary and Biographical Study.
London: John Calder Ltd., 1954.
- . J.B. Priestley, the Last of the Sages. London: John Calder Ltd.,
1981.
- . "Mass-Observation 1937-1949." Essays on the History of British
Sociological Research. Ed. Martin Bulmer. Cambridge: University
Press, 1985. 121-36.
- Bakish, David. Richard Wright. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1973.
- Batchelor, J.B. "Feminism in Virginia Woolf." English 17.97 (1968): 1-
7.
- Beadle, Gordon B. "George Orwell's Literary Studies of Poverty in
England." Twentieth Century Literature 24 (1978): 188-201.
- Bell, Anne Oliver, ed. The Diary of Virginia Woolf. 5 vols. New York:
Harcourt, 1977-84.
- Bell, Quentin. Virginia Woolf: A Biography. 2 vols. New York:
Harcourt, 1972.

- Bender, John and David E. Wellbery. "Rhetoricity: On the Modernist Return of Rhetoric." The Ends of Rhetoric: History, Theory, Practice. Ed. John Bender and David E. Wellbery. Stanford: University of California, 1990. 3-39.
- Berlin, James A. Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1984.
- Berry, Paul and Alan Bishop, eds. Testament of a Generation: The Journalism of Vera Brittain and Winifred Holtby. London: Virago Press, 1985.
- Bitzer, Lloyd F. and Edwin Black, eds. The Prospect of Rhetoric: Report of the National Development Project. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971.
- Black, Naomi. "Virginia Woolf and the Women's Movement." Virginia Woolf: A Feminist Slant. Ed. Jane Marcus. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1983. 180-97.
- Blackstone, Bernard. Virginia Woolf: A Commentary. London: The Hogarth Press, 1949.
- Blair, Hugh. Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. 1783. Ed. Harold F. Harding. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1965.
- "Books of The Day." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The Saturday Review 11 June 1938: 374.
- Bosanquet, Theodora. "Men and Books." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. Time and Tide 4 June 1938: 788+.
- Bradley, David. Preface. Twelve Million Black Voices. By Richard Wright and Edwin Rosskam. New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1988. v-xvii.
- Brignano, Russell Carl. Richard Wright: An Introduction to the Man and His Works. Pittsburgh: University Press, 1970.
- Brittain, Vera. "Can the Women of the World Stop War?" Berry and Bishop 216-20.

- . "Committees versus Professions." Berry and Bishop 105-8.
- . "Illusion on the Somme." Berry and Bishop 213-6.
- . "Mrs. Pankhurst and the Older Feminists." Berry and Bishop 100-102.
- . "'A Poppy for her Cot.'" Berry and Bishop 208-10.
- . Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925. New York: Macmillan, 1933.
- . "'Their Name Liveth.'" Berry and Bishop 205-8.
- . "A Woman's Notebook." The Nation and Athenaeum 17 January 1931: 508-9.
- . "A Woman's Notebook." The Nation and Athenaeum 31 January 1931: 571-2.
- . "Why Feminism Lives." Berry and Bishop 97-99.
- . "Why Not a Real Peace Crusade?" Berry and Bishop 220-22.
- Brock, H.I. "The Full, True Flavor of Life in a Negro Community." Review of Mules and Men, by Zora Neale Hurston. New York Times 10 November 1935, sec. 6: 4.
- Brock, Peter. Twentieth-Century Pacifism. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970.
- Brown, Merle E. Kenneth Burke. Pamphlets on American Writers 75. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1969.
- Burke, Kenneth. Counter-statement. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California, 1968.
- . "Literature as Equipment for Living." Burke, The Philosophy of Literary Form. 293-304.
- . Permanence and Change. 3rd. ed. Berkeley: University of California, 1984.
- . The Philosophy of Literary Form. 3rd ed. Berkeley: University of California, 1973.
- . "The Philosophy of Literary Form." Burke, The Philosophy of

- Literary Form. 1-137.
- . "Revolutionary Symbolism in America." American Writer's Congress.
Ed. Henry Hart. New York: International Publishers, 1935. 87-94.
- . "The Rhetoric of Hitler's "Battle."" Burke, The Philosophy of
Literary Form. 191-220.
- . A Rhetoric of Motives. California edition. Berkeley: University
of California, 1969.
- Bygrave, Stephen. Kenneth Burke: Rhetoric and Ideology. London:
Routledge, 1993.
- Calder, Angus. Introduction. Britain by Mass-Observation. Ed. Tom
Harrison and Charles Madge. 1939. London: Cresset Library, 1986.
vii-xv.
- Caldwell, Erskine and Margaret Bourke-White. You Have Seen Their Faces.
New York: Modern Age Books, 1937.
- Camitta, Miriam. "Gender and Method in Folklore Fieldwork." Southern
Folklore 47.1 (1990): 21-31.
- Carroll, Berenice. "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical
Connections." Women and Peace. Ed. Ruth Roach Pierson. London:
Croom Helm Ltd., 1987.
- Carroll, Berenice A. "To Crush Him in Our Own Country: The Political
Thought of Virginia Woolf." Feminist Studies 4.1 (1978): 99-131.
- Caughie, Pamela L. Virginia Woolf and Postmodernism. Urbana:
University of Illinois, 1991.
- Ceadel, Martin. Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- Chase, Mary Ellen. "A Modern Socratic Dialogue." Review of Three
Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The Yale Review 28 (1939): 403-5.
- Chubb, Thomas Caldecot. "Review." Review of Mules and Men, by Zora
Neale Hurston. North American Review 241.1 (1936): 181-3.
- Connors, Robert J., Lisa S. Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford. "The Revival of

- Rhetoric in America." Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse. Ed. Robert J. Connors, Lisa S. Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1984. 1-15.
- Constantine, Stephen. Unemployment in Britain between the wars. London: Longman, 1980.
- Crick, Bernard. George Orwell, A Life. New York: Penguin Books, 1980.
- Crompton, Donald. "False Maps of the World--George Orwell's autobiographical writings and the early novels." Critical Quarterly 16 (1974): 151-69.
- Cunningham, Valentine. British Writers of the Thirties. Oxford: University Press, 1988.
- Daiches, David. Virginia Woolf. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions Books, 1942.
- Daniels, Jonathan. "Black Magic and Dark Laughter." The Saturday Review of Literature 19 October 1935: 12.
- Davis, Arthur P. From the Dark Tower: Afro-American Writers 1900 to 1960. Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1982.
- Dayan, Joan. "Vodoun, or the Voice of the Gods." Raritan 10.3 (1991): 32-57.
- Dodd, Philip. "The Views of Travellers: Travel Writing in the 1930s." Prose Studies 5 (1982): 127-38.
- Dolby-Stahl, Sandra. "Literary Objectives: Hurston's Use of Personal Narrative in Mules and Men." Western Folklore 51.1 (1992): 51-63.
- Dorst, John. "Rereading Mules and Men: Toward the Death of the Ethnographer." Cultural Anthropology 2.3 (1987): 305-18.
- Eastman, Crystal. "Now I Dare to Do It: An Interview with Dr. Aletta Jacobs." Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution. Ed. Blanche Wiesen Cook. New York: Oxford University, 1978. 237-41.
- Edwards, Ruth Dudley. Victor Gollancz: A Biography. London: Gollancz, 1987.

- "'English Journey' A Correction." The Bookseller 18 April 1934: 1.
- Epstein, Joseph. "The big O: the reputation of George Orwell." The New Criterion 8.9 (1990): 14-24.
- Espinosa, Aurelio M. "Notes on the Origin and History of the Tar-Baby Story." Journal of American Folklore 43 (1930): 129-209.
- Fabre, Michel. The Unfinished Quest of Richard Wright. Trans. Isabel Barzun. 2nd. ed. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1993.
- Fauset, Arthur Huff. "Negro Folk Tales from the South." Journal of American Folklore 40 (1927): 213-303.
- . "Tales and Riddles Collected in Philadelphia." Journal of American Folklore 41 (1928): 529-57.
- Federal Writers' Project, Works Project Administration. New Orleans City Guide. 1938. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Felgar, Robert. Richard Wright. Boston: Twayne, 1980.
- Fish, Stanley. "Rhetoric." Critical Terms for Literary Study. Ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990. 203-22.
- Forster, E.M. Virginia Woolf. New York: Harcourt, 1942.
- Foster, Catherine. Women for All Seasons: The Story of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.
- Fox, Robert Eliot. "Blacking the Zero: Toward a Semiotics of Neo-Hoodoo." Black American Literature Forum 18.3 (1984): 95-9.
- Frank, Armin Paul. Kenneth Burke. New York: Twayne, 1969.
- Frazer, John P. "The Rhetoric of Down and Out in Paris and London." George Orwell. Ed. Courtney T. Wemyss and Alexej Ugrinsky. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987. 35-41.
- Fyvel, T.R. George Orwell, a personal memoir. New York: MacMillan, 1982.
- Gage, John T. "An Adequate Epistemology for Composition: Classical and

- Modern Perspectives." Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse. Ed. Robert J. Connors, Lisa S. Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1984. 152-69.
- Gaston Mulira, Jessie. "The Case of Voodoo in New Orleans." Africanisms in American Culture. Ed. Joseph Holloway. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. 34-68.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. Afterword. Mules and Men. By Zora Neale Hurston. New York: Harper and Rowe, 1990. 287-97.
- Gattens, Marie-Luise. "Language, Gender, and Fascism: Reconstructing Histories in Three Guineas, Der Mann auf der Kanzel and Kindheitsmuster." Gender, Patriarchy and Fascism in the Third Reich. Ed. Elaine Martin. Detroit: Wayne State University, 1993. 32-64.
- Gayle, Addison. Richard Wright: Ordeal of a Native Son. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1980.
- Gibbs, Philip. England Speaks. New York: Doubleday, 1935.
- Gloster, Hugh M. "Zora Neale Hurston, Novelist and Folklorist." Phylon 3 (1943): 153-9.
- Gollancz, Victor. Foreword. The Road to Wigan Pier. By George Orwell. 1937. New York: Harcourt, 1958. ix-xxii.
- Good, Graham. "Language, Truth and Power in Orwell." Prose Studies 7.1 (1984): 55-68.
- Gorsky, Susan Rubinow. Virginia Woolf. Revised Edition. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989.
- Gottlieb, Laura Moss. "The War between the Wolfs." Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury: A Centenary Celebration. Ed. Jane Marcus. London: Macmillan Press, 1987. 242-52.
- Graff, Gerald. "George Orwell and the Class Racket." Salmagundi 70-71 (Spring-Summer 1986): 108-20.
- "Great 'English Journey' Drive." The Bookseller 11 April 1934: 1.

- Greene, Graham. "From the Mantelpiece." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The Spectator 17 June 1938: 1110+.
- Guiget, Jean. Virginia Woolf and Her Works. Trans. Jean Stewart. New York: Harcourt, 1965.
- Hanley, James. Grey Children, A Study in Humbug and Misery. London: Methuen, 1937.
- Harrison, Tom and Charles Madge, eds. Britain by Mass-Observation. 1939. London: Cresset Library, 1986.
- . First Year's Work 1937-38. London: Lindsay Drummond, 1938.
- Hart, Robert C. "Black-White Literary Relations in the Harlem Renaissance." American Literature 44 (1973): 612-28.
- H.C.S. "A Talk with J.B. Priestley." The Book Window Spring 1934.
- Heath, Robert L. Realism and Relativism: A Perspective on Kenneth Burke. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986.
- Heilbrun, Carolyn. "Virginia Woolf in Her Fifties." Twentieth Century Literature 27.1 (1981): 16-33.
- Hemenway, Robert E. Preface. Mules and Men. By Zora Neale Hurston. Bloomington: Indiana University, 1978. xi-xxviii.
- . Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1977.
- Hemmingway, Beulah S. "Through the Prism of Africanity: A Preliminary Investigation of Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men." Zora in Florida. Ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel. Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991. 38-45.
- Henderson, Greig E. Kenneth Burke: Literature and Language as Symbolic Action. Athens: University of Georgia, 1988.
- Herskovits, Melville J. The Myth of the Negro Past. 1941. Boston: Beacon Press, 1990.
- . "The Negro's Americanism." The New Negro. Ed. Alain Locke. 1925. New York: Atheneum, 1992. 353-60.

- Hesse, Douglas. "The Recent Rise of Literary Nonfiction: A Cautionary Essay." Journal of Advanced Composition 11.2 (1991): 323-33.
- Hitchens, Christopher and Norman Podhoretz. "An exchange on Orwell." Harper's (January 1983): 56-8.
- Hobhouse, Emily. The brunt of war and where it fell. London: Methuen, 1902.
- Hoggart, Richard. "George Orwell and The Road to Wigan Pier." Critical Essays on George Orwell. Ed. Bernard Oldsey and Joseph Browne. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986. 175-88.
- Holland, L. Virginia. Counterpoint: Kenneth Burke and Aristotle's Theories of Rhetoric. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.
- Hopkinson, Tom. George Orwell. London: Longmans, 1953.
- Howe, Irving. "George Orwell: "As The Bones Know."" Harper's 238.1 (1969): 98-103.
- Huggins, Nathan Irvin. Harlem Renaissance. London: Oxford, 1971.
- . Introduction. Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 3-11.
- , ed. Voices from the Harlem Renaissance. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Hughes, Langston. The Big Sea. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.
- . "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 305-9.
- Hummel, Madeline M. "From the Common Reader to the Uncommon Critic: Three Guineas and the Epistolary Form." Bulletin of the New York Public Library 80 (1977): 151-7.
- Hunter, Jefferson. "Orwell's Prose: Discovery, Communion, Separation." Sewanee Review 87 (1979): 436-54.
- Hurbon, Laennec. "Vodou: A Faith for Individual, Family, and Community from Dieu dans le vaudou haitien." Callaloo 15.3 (1992): 787-96.
- Hurley, F. Jack. Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties. Baton Rouge: Louisiana

- State University, 1972.
- Hurley, Lynne T. "Virginia Woolf and the Romance of Oxbridge." The Massachusetts Review 25 (1984): 421-36.
- Hurston, Zora Neale. "Communications." Journal of Negro History 12 (1927): 664-7.
- . "Cudjo's Own Story of the Last African Slaver." Journal of Negro History 12 (1927): 648-63.
- . "Dance Songs and Tales from the Bahamas." Journal of American Folklore 43 (1930): 294-312.
- . "Hoodoo in America." Journal of American Folklore 44 (1931): 317-417.
- . Mules and Men. 1935. New York: Harper and Row, 1990.
- . Review of Voodoo in New Orleans, by Robert Tallant. Journal of American Folklore 60 (1947): 436-8.
- Jackson, Bev. "'A Vicious and Corrupt Word': Feminism and Virginia Woolf." Dutch Quarterly Review 17 (1987): 249-61.
- Jarratt, Susan C. Rereading the sophists: classical rhetoric refigured. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1991.
- Jay, Paul. "Kenneth Burke and the Motives of Rhetoric." American Literary History 1 (1989): 535-53.
- John, K. "The New Lysistrata." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The New Statesman and Nation 11 June 1938: 995-6.
- Jordan, June. "On Richard Wright and Zora Neale Hurston: Notes Toward a Balancing of Love and Hatred." Black World 23.10 (1974): 4-8.
- Jordan, Rosan Augusta. "Not into Cold Space: Zora Neale Hurston and J. Frank Dobie as Holistic Folklorists." Southern Folklore 49 (1992): 109-31.
- Kant, Immanuel. Critique of Judgement. Trans. J.H. Bernard. 2nd ed. London: St. Martin's, 1931.
- Keating, Peter. Introduction. Into Unknown England, 1866-1913:

- Selections from the Social Explorers. Ed. Peter Keating.
Manchester, England: Manchester University, 1976. 11-32.
- Kennedy, Louise and William W. Newell. "Notes and Queries." Journal of American Folklore 3 (1890): 241.
- Kramer, Hilton. "An Orwell for the Nineties?" The New Criterion 10.3 (1991): 4-8.
- LaFarge, Oliver. As Long as the Grass Shall Grow. New York: Alliance Book Corp., 1940.
- Lange, Dorothea and Paul Shuster Taylor. An American Exodus. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939.
- Leavis, Q.D. "Caterpillars of the Commonwealth Unite!" Review of Three Guineas, by Zora Neale Hurston. Scrutiny 7 (Sept. 1938): 203-14.
- . "The Literary Life Respectable." Scrutiny 9 (1940): 170-6.
- Lefevre, Karen Burke. Invention as a Social Act. Carbondale: Southern Illinois Universtiy Press, 1987.
- Lentricchia, Frank. Criticism and Social Change. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1983.
- Liddington, Jill. The Long Road to Greenham: Feminism and Anti-Militarism in Britain since 1820. London: Virago Press, 1989.
- Lindroth, James R. "Generating the Vocabulary of Hoodoo: Zora Neale Hurston and Ishmael Reed." The Zora Neale Hurston Forum 2.1 (1987). 27-34.
- Lock, Helen. "'A Man's Story Is His Gris-Gris: Ishmael Reed's Neo-Hoodoo Aesthetic and the African-American Tradition.'" South Central Review 10.1 (1993): 67-77.
- Locke, Alain. "Art or Propaganda." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 312-3.
- . "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 137-42.
- . "The New Negro." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 47-

56.

- . "Spiritual Truancy." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 404-6.
- . "Who and What is 'Negro?'" Opportunity 20.1 (1942): 36-41.
- Longinus. On the Sublime. Trans. W.R. Roberts. Critical Theory Since Plato. 2nd ed. Cambridge: University Press, 1907.
- Lousiana Writers Project. Gumbo Ya-Ya. Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1945.
- Lunsford, Andrea A. and Lisa S. Ede. "On Distinctions between Classical and Modern Rhetoric." Essays on Classical Rhetoric and Modern Discourse. Ed. Robert J. Connors, Lisa S. Ede and Andrea A. Lunsford. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1984. 37-49.
- MacLeish, Archibald. Land of the Free. New York: Harcourt, 1938.
- Marcus, Jane. "Art and Anger." Feminist Studies 4 (1978): 69-97.
- . "'No more horses': Virginia Woolf on art and propaganda." Women's Studies 4 (1977): 265-90.
- Marder, Herbert. "Virginia Woolf's 'Conversion': Three Guineas, 'Pointz Hall' and Between the Acts." Journal of Modern Literature 14 (1988): 465-80.
- Margolies, Edward. The Art of Richard Wright. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University, 1969.
- Marshall, Catherine, C.K. Ogden and Mary Sargant Florence. Militarism versus Feminism: Writings on Women and War. 1915. Ed. Margaret Kamester and Jo Vellacott. London: Virago Press, 1987.
- Mazorati, Gerald. Letter. The New Criterion 10.5 (1992): 79-80.
- McCall, Dan. The Example of Richard Wright. New York: Harcourt, 1969.
- McIntyre, Clara F. "Is Virginia Woolf a Feminist?" Personalist 41 (1960): 176-84.
- McNelly, Cleo. "On Not Teaching Orwell." College English 38 (1977): 553-66.

- Middleton, Victoria. "Three Guineas: Subversion and Survival in the Professions." Twentieth Century Literature 28 (1982): 405-17.
- Moore, Jack B. "The Voice in 12 Million Black Voices." Mississippi Quarterly 42.4 (1989): 415-24.
- Muir, Edwin. Scottish Journey. London: Heinemann and Gollancz, 1935.
- "Mules and Men." Review of Mules and Men, by Zora Neale Hurston. Times Literary Supplement 7 March 1936: 200.
- Natanson, Nicholas. The Black Image in the New Deal: The Politics of FSA Photography. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1992.
- Neal, Larry. "A Profile: Zora Neale Hurston." Southern Exposure 1 (1974): 160-8.
- Newell, W.W. "Myths of Voodoo Worship and Child Sacrifice in Hayti." Journal of American Folklore 1 (1888): 16-30.
- . "Reports of Voodoo Worship in Hayti and Louisiana." Journal of American Folklore 2 (1889): 41-7.
- Nixon, Herman Clarence. Forty Acres and Steel Mules. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1938.
- Olney, James. Autobiography, essays theoretical and critical. Princeton: Princeton University, 1980.
- "On the Field and Work of a Journal of American Folk-lore." Journal of American Folklore 1 (1888): 3-7.
- Orwell, George. An Age Like This 1920-1940. Ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus. New York: Harcourt, 1968. Vol. 1 of The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell.
- . Down and Out in Paris and London. 1933. New York: Harcourt, 1961.
- . "Review." Review of Angel Pavement, by J.B. Priestley. Orwell, An Age Like This 25-7.
- . "Review." Review of Caliban Shrieks, by Jack Hilton. Orwell, An Age Like This 148-50.

- . The Road to Wigan Pier. 1937. New York: Harcourt, 1958.
- . "The Road to Wigan Pier Diary." Orwell, An Age Like This 170-214.
- . "Why I Write." Orwell, An Age Like This 1-7.
- Perelman, Chaim. The Realm of Rhetoric. Trans. William Kluback. Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame, 1982.
- Podhoretz, Norman. "If Orwell were alive today." Harper's (January 1983): 30-7.
- Poresky, Louise A. The Elusive Self: Psyche and Spirit in Virginia Woolf's Novels. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware, 1981.
- Preece, Harold. "The Negro Folk Cult." The Crisis 43 (1936): 364+.
- Preu, Dana McKinnon. "A Literary Reading of Mules and Men, Part I." Zora in Florida. Ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel. Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991. 46-61.
- Priestley, J.B. English Journey. 1934. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Puckett, Newbell Niles. Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1926.
- Rampersad, Arnold. Foreword. Mules and Men. By Zora Neale Hurston. New York: Harper and Rowe, 1990. xv-xxiii.
- Rantavaara, Irma. Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Kirjapainon Oy, 1953.
- Redding, Saunders. "The Alien Land of Richard Wright." Soon, One Morning: New Writing by American Negroes 1940-1963. Ed. Herbert Hill. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. 50-9.
- Reed, Ishmael. "Neo-HooDoo Manifesto." Conjure: Selected Poems, 1963-1970. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1972. 20-5.
- Reilly, John M. "The Reconstruction of Genre as Entry Into Conscious History." Black American Literature Forum 13.1 (1979): 3-6.
- . "Richard Wright Preaches the Nation: 12 Million Black Voices." Black American Literature Forum 16.3 (1982): 116-8.

- Rosenthal, Michael. Virginia Woolf. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Roskam, Edwin. Preface. Washington: Nerve Center. By Edwin Roskam. New York: Alliance, 1939. 7-8.
- Rueckert, William H. Encounters with Kenneth Burke. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1994.
- . Kenneth Burke and the Drama of Human Relations. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California, 1982.
- Samuelson, Ralph. "More Than One Room of Her Own: Virginia Woolf's Critical Dilemmas." Western Humanities Review 19 (1965): 249-56.
- Sanchez-Eppler, Benigno. "Telling Anthropology: Zora Neale Hurston and Gilberto Freyre Disciplined in Their Field-Home-Work." American Literary History 4.3 (1992): 464-88.
- Saxon, Lyle. Fabulous New Orleans. New York: The Century Co., 1928.
- Schlack, Beverly Ann. "Virginia Woolf's Strategy of Scorn in The Years and Three Guineas." Bulletin of the New York Public Library 80 (1977): 146-50.
- Schreiner, Olive. Woman and Labor. 1911. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972.
- Schulyer, George S. "The Negro-Art Hokum." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem Renaissance 309-12.
- Scott, Robert L., et al. "Report of the Committee on the Nature of Rhetorical Invention." The Prospect of Rhetoric. Ed. Lloyd F. Bitzer and Edwin Black. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971. 228-36.
- Sears, Sallie. "Notes on Sexuality: The Years and Three Guineas." Bulletin of the New York Public Library 80 (1977): 211-20.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe. A Defence of Poetry. London: The Porcupine Press, 1973.
- Silver, Brenda R. "The Authority of Anger: Three Guineas as Case

- Study." Signs 16 (1991): 340-70.
- Smith, Catherine F. "Three Guineas: Virginia Woolf's Prophecy." Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury: A Centenary Celebration. Ed. Jane Marcus. London: Macmillan Press, 1987. 225-41.
- Southerland, Ellease. "The Influence of Voodoo on the Fiction of Zora Neale Hurston." Sturdy Black Bridges: Visions of Black Women in Literature. Ed. Roseann P. Bell, Bettye J. Parker and Beverly Guy-Sheftall. New York: Anchor Books, 1979. 172-183.
- . "Zora Neale Hurston: The Novelist-Anthropologist's Life/Works." Black World 23.10 (August 1974): 20-30.
- Southwell, Samuel B. Kenneth Burke and Martin Heidegger, with a Note Against Deconstruction. Gainesville: University of Florida, 1987.
- Speisman, Barbara. "Voodoo as Symbol in Jonah's Gourd Vine." Zora in Florida. Ed. Kathryn Lee Seidel. Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991. 86-93.
- Steiner, Roland. "Observations on the Practice of Conjuring in Georgia." Journal of American Folklore 14 (1901): 173-80.
- Stevenson, John. "Myth and Reality: Britain in the 1930s." Crisis and Controversy: Essays in Honour of A.J.P. Taylor. Ed. Alan Sked and Chris Cook. London: MacMillan, 1976. 90-109.
- Story, Ralph D. "Patronage and the Harlem Renaissance: You Get What You Pay For." College Language Association Journal 32 (1989): 284-95.
- Stott, William. Documentary Expression and Thirties America. New York: Oxford University, 1973.
- Tallant, Robert. Voodoo in New Orleans. 1946. New York: Collier Books, 1971.
- "Time and Time Diary." Time and Tide 19:26 (1938): 886-888.
- Trombley, Stephen. "All that Summer She was Mad:" Virginia Woolf and Her Doctors. London: Junction Books, 1981.
- Turner, Darwin T. In a Minor Chord: Three Afro-American Writers and

- Their Search for Identity. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1971.
- Wain, John. "The Last of George Orwell." Twentieth Century 155.1 (1954): 71-8.
- Wainwright, Mary Katherine. "Subversive Female Folk Tellers in Mules and Men." Zora in Florida. Ed. Steve Glassman and Kathryn Lee Seidel. Orlando: University of Central Florida, 1991. 62-85.
- Walker, Alice. "In Search of Zora Neale Hurston." Ms. 3 March 1975: 74+.
- Walker, Margaret. Richard Wright, Daemonic Genius. New York: Warner Books, 1988.
- Wall, Cheryl A. "Mules and Men and Women: Zora Neale Hurston's Strategies of Narration and Visions of Female Empowerment." Black American Literature Forum 23 (1989): 661-80.
- Williams, Raymond. Keywords. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Willis, Miriam DeCosta. "Folklore and the Creative Arist: Lydia Cabrera and Zora Neale Hurston." College Language Association Journal 27.1 (1983): 81-90.
- Wimsatt, W.K. Jr. and Monroe C. Beardsley. "The Affective Fallacy." Wimsatt 21-39.
- . "The Intentional Fallacy." Wimsatt 3-18.
- Wimsatt, W.K. Jr. Introduction. Wimsatt xi-xviii.
- , ed. The Verbal Icon. New York: Noonday Press, 1964.
- Wolf, Howard. "George Orwell and the Problematics of Nonfiction." George Orwell. Ed. Courtney T. Wemyss and Alexej Ugrinsky. New York: Greenwood Press, 1987. 75-81.
- Wollheim, Richard. "Orwell Reconsidered." Partisan Review 27 (1960): 82-97.
- "A Woman's Views on Peace." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The Times 3 June 1938: 20.

"Women in a world of war." Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf.

The Times Literary Supplement 4 June 1938: 379.

Woods, Katherine. "Virginia Woolf's Parable of Three Modern Causes."

Review of Three Guineas, by Virginia Woolf. The New York Times Book

Review 28 August 1938: 5.

Woolf, Virginia. The Pargiters. Ed. Mitchell A. Leaska. New York:

Harcourt, 1977.

---. A Room of One's Own. 1929. San Diego: Harcourt, 1957.

---. Three Guineas. 1938. San Diego: Harcourt, 1966.

---. The Years.. 1937. San Diego: Harcourt, 1965.

Wright, Richard and Edwin Rosskam. Twelve Million Black Voices. 1941.

New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 1988.

Wright, Richard. "Between Laughter and Tears." New Masses 25.2 (1937):

22, 25.

---. "Blueprint for Negro Writing." Huggins, Voices from the Harlem

Renaissance 394-402.

Young, James O. Black Writers of the Thirties. Baton Rouge: Louisiana

State University, 1973.

Zwerdling, Alex. Virginia Woolf and the Real World. Berkeley:

University of California, 1986.

VITA

Kenneth S. Rogers received his B.A. in Essay Writing from Northwestern University in 1985 and his M.A. in English from Loyola University Chicago in 1988. He served as editorial assistant on Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research, a journal published by Loyola, from August 1988 to December 1989. He presented "Coming Up for Air and Between the Acts as Social Fiction" in February 1989 at the Conference on Virginia Woolf Studies in Chicago, and "Orwell's 'Politics and the English Language' in the First-Year Composition Course" in October 1990 at the Conference for Graduate Studies in English in Lincoln, Nebraska. He has been employed by T.Y. Lin International/BASCOR, Inc. since November 1990.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Kenneth S. Rogers has been read and approved by the following committee:

Paul Jay, Ph.D., Director
Professor, English
Loyola University Chicago

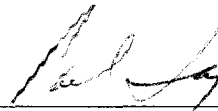
Pamela Caughie, Ph.D.
Professor, English
Loyola University Chicago

Joseph Epstein, M.A.
Lecturer, English
Northwestern University

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is, therefore, accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

4/2/96
Date



Director's Signature