

### Found! A Missing Aspern Paper:

We here at ALN would like to begin this issue with a tip of the cap to Jeanne Campbell Reesman, who organized and hosted the ALA Symposium on American Literary Naturalism that was held at Newport Beach, California, this past October 4-6, 2007. It was a marvelous and inspired event, featuring a nice blend of traditional three-paper panels and vibrant round-table discussions, as well as superb keynote addresses by Donald Pizer and Earle Labor. The venue—the Hyatt in Newport Beach, California—was perfectly suited to the occasion, and the lunches and receptions offered everyone a great chance to break bread and shake hands with other scholars of literary naturalism. It was also great to see the mix of long-established naturalism scholars and early-career scholars and graduate students at the symposium: it speaks well of the health of our field and promises continued fortune for the next generation of scholars. So, if you missed the symposium, you missed a good one. Thanks, Jeanne, for all of the hard work. For more on the symposium, please see the reflective essay by Cara Elana Erdheim in this issue of ALN.

In your hands is the third issue of ALN. There are many fine folks who deserve thanks for helping to put this issue together, and I cannot list them all, but special thanks go to Jeanne Campbell Reesman, Jeff Jaeckle, Lawrence Berkove, Cara Elana Erdheim, Stephen Brennan, Gary Scharnhorst, and John Dudley for their fine contributions to this issue. In addition, my continued thanks go to Steven Frye for his help with every facet of ALN, and to Stephen Fairbanks for his generous and capable editorial assistance.

In this issue of ALN you'll find the call-forpapers for the upcoming 2008 ALA conference in San Francisco. I hope many of you will consider submitting a proposal to one of the sessions. In the meantime, I hope you enjoy issue number three of ALN.

> Naturally, Eric Carl Link

# In This Issue:

### **Features**

| Crossing Cultures New and Old: Teaching<br>Naturalism as a Fulbright Professor in Greece<br>Jeanne Campbell Reesman | 00       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| On Teaching Naturalism Through Film<br>Jeff Jaeckle                                                                 | 00       |
| Before Adam and The Scarlet Plague: Two<br>Novels of Evolution by Jack London<br>Lawrence I. Berkove                | 00       |
| Reviving, Recovering, & Redefining<br>American Naturalism<br>Cara Elana Erdheim                                     | 00       |
| New Light on Dreiser's Schooldays in<br>Warsaw, Indiana<br>Stephen C. Brennan                                       | 00       |
|                                                                                                                     |          |
| Interview                                                                                                           |          |
| Interview Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst                                                                       | 00       |
|                                                                                                                     | 00       |
| Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst                                                                                 | 00       |
| Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst <b>Departments</b>                                                              |          |
| Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst  Departments  Five on Twenty-One                                                | 00       |
| Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst  Departments  Five on Twenty-One  Naturalism News                               | 00       |
| Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst  Departments  Five on Twenty-One  Naturalism News  The Call of the Papers       | 00 00 00 |

# Crossing Cultures New and Old: Teaching Naturalism as a Fulbright Professor in Greece

## Jeanne Campbell Reesman

On a bright autumn morning in September 2006, my son John, 14, and I boarded the first of several flights from San Antonio to Thessaloniki, Greece, where I would take up my Fulbright Fellowship as a Professor in the American Literature and Culture Department at Aristotle University, Greece's largest university, for the next five months. Not only were we thrilled at the chance to spend time in Greece, but we looked forward eagerly to reuniting with Dr. Eleftheria Arapoglou at Aristotle University, who had ten years previous completed her M.A. in English on a Fulbright at my home institution, the University of Texas at San Antonio. Eleftheria, with whom I would team-teach a course on 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Realism and Naturalism, her husband Stavros, an engineering professor, and the entire Arapoglou family would become our Greek family as they not only hosted us to seaside lunches in fish tavernas and invited us to the weeks of Christmas celebrations held in Greece, but also led us through those first confusing days of finding out where the bus stops were, how to get tickets, how to get a cell phone and internet service, which were the reliable taxi companies, and, most importantly, how to order in restaurants.

I had studied Ancient Greek in college and used to read the New Testament in Koine Greek at night. I had devoured travel books and studied Modern Greek phrasebooks for months, in between all the visa issues and other preparations, coming to the uncomfortable realization that Modern Greek and Ancient or even Koine Greek were completely different. Not only had Greek, like English, undergone a vowel shift, but also consonant shifts. What I thought was "Beta" was "Veeta," Delta was "Theeta," Nu

was "Ni," and so on. But I was ready with my greeting of χαιρετε! καλησπερα! ("Hi! Good afternoon!") to be followed with the universal Greek phrase that can mean hello, good bye, or even thank you: γεια σας! We got a warm welcome at the airport from Eleftheria and Stavros, but unfortunately, it turned out my next attempt at Greek was "Οι αποςκευες μου χαθηκαν," or "My baggage has been lost." Pieces were recovered and returned to us over the course of the next week, but one bag, the main one with my clothes, of course, had vanished. There were a lot of phone calls to British Air in London and Athens and more importantly Eleftheria's befriending of the woman in charge of lost baggage at the Thessaloniki airport, to whom I later took chocolates. One evening at about 6 p.m. I had tried to call British Air in Athens, only to be met with a very brusque woman's voice which informed me, "Airport closed." I wasn't convinced, but there was no arguing. Eventually the airline decided to open unclaimed bags at Heathrow. I was asked for a list of the missing bag's contents: black boots, red sweater, and so on, but at the last moment I remembered that sitting on top of everything in that bag was a painting by San Antonio artist Enedina Vasquez as a gift for Eleftheria and Stavros. In an hour the bag was found, thanks to friendship!

We settled into our apartment in the neighborhood of Kalamaria, a postwar landscape just out of the city center of furniture and bath stores, balconied apartment buildings, and small shops off of Odos Vasllissis Olga, a busy cross-town avenue, a 30-minute bus ride from campus. We met our landlady, Mrs. Χοιναιε (pronounced, believe it or not, "Skeena"), who lived across the hall. I got to know her well over the months we stayed. An older lady living alone, she had many woes, most of which emanated from the direction of her estranged husband, who, she confided to me, had "the schizophrenia of the skull." He preferred to live on the nearby peninsula of Kassandra, in Chalkidiki. She felt he had turned her two sons

against her, and all of them were trying to take her apartment and the one I was in away from her, but in the end she prevailed and retained my apartment, into which she moved into after I left when her married son and his family moved into hers. We attended Greek Orthodox Church with her and shared some meals. (In Greece of course this is The Church; it was interesting to hear the Catholic Church described as rank modernists.) Mrs. Skeena was often lonely; I asked her why she didn't go out with girlfriends, and she told me that in Greece a divorced or separated woman does not socialize with married friends, and that things that interest single women in the United States are not generally available there, such as book clubs, cooking classes, singles trips, women's gyms, and so on. Just about everything in Greece revolves around the extended family, and doing without one is painful and difficult. I ended up sitting in her kitchen many afternoons when John was at school to keep her company. She would cook lunch, teaching me how to make some wonderful Greek dishes, especially stuffed zucchini with a avgolemono sauce, fried zucchini, eggplant salad, "little shoes" (eggplant halves stuffed with minced beef, tomatoes, onions and cheese), and my favorite, soutzoukákia, a specialty of Macedonia and Thrace, meatballs flavored with coriander, pepper, and cumin and covered in fresh tomato sauce. We would go down the street to the butcher's for lamb to cook; the poor lambs hung whole on hooks, a little wool left around their ears and feet, and one would be brought down and cut as she specified.

I asked her questions about Greeks and about Thessaloniki. One day I asked her about the many Gypsies I saw—women and children with cardboard and wire carts investigating the dumpsters, men driving around with little trucks and big PA systems asking for scrap metal—and she told me some interesting things about them. Most of their gleanings are sent to the King of the Gypsies in Athens, who dwells in a palace, she said, while they live in official-

ly unrecognized camps outside the eastern gates of Thessaloniki. I asked her what the Greeks thought of their national neighbors, first about the Bulgarians on the northern border. Her eyes narrowed. "Dey warship de Debil," she glowered. Hmm. I knew better than to ask about Turks, but I had seen many Albanian immigrants from the eastern border around and so asked about them. Her looks grew darker. "Dey warship Saa-tin." I had decided not to ask anything else that day when suddenly she blurted out, "And jour bice-president Dick Cheney, he warship de Debil!" She seemed to hold him responsible for the events of 911.

Located on the Thermaic Gulf in northern Greece, Thessaloniki, Greece's second-largest city, is a busy port and commercial and cultural capital of Macedonia bordering the westernmost part of Greece—Thrace—renowned for its gold jewelry and fine cloth. It was founded in 315 B.C. by King Kassadros, brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, who named it after Alexander's sister, his wife Thessalia. In Roman times it was the capital of the Macedonian province, and in 395 A.D. it became part of the Byzantine Empire. It was always an important fixture on the trade routes by land and by sea. In 1430 it was captured by the Ottoman Turks, who held it until 1912. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk [Atatürk](1881-1938), founder of the Turkish Republic and its first President, was born there. Just about everyone in the region invaded Thessaloniki at some time—Venetians, French, Barbary pirates. It was always an important political and religious center, and under the Ottomans Jews, Muslims, and Christians all dwelt together more or less peaceably. Many Sephardic Jews cast out of Spain at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century migrated there, and for a time Spanish rivaled Greek as the local tongue. In 1918 a terrible fire burned up the old Jewish neighborhoods, and a worse blow fell during World War II when the Nazis rounded up all of the thousands of Jews there and sent them to their deaths at Auschwitz. Strangely, Aristotle University, established permanently in 1950, is

built on what used to be the Jewish graveyards, which were desecrated by the Germans. Every now and then I would see Hebrew letters on a curbstone, where the broken marble grave markers had ended up. Mark Mazower's book Salonica: City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430-1950, which I got at the only English-language bookstore, filled in the history ("Salonica" was a Roman name for the city). The bookstore, Molho's, was owned by a descendant of Rabbi Molho, who tried to resist the Nazis on behalf of his people. The city was full of Roman ruins, churches dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, and abandoned mosques and bathhouses, and the infamous Turkish prison, the White Tower. We were able to visit the spot in the Old Town, Ano Poli, now a monastery, where St. Paul preached. We traveled to nearby Vergina to see the underground tomb of Philip II of Macedon.

After a few days adjusting to Thessaloniki, we were on our way to Athens, where we would meet the Fulbright officers and journey with them and the other Fulbrighters for our orientation on the Saronic Gulf island of Aegina. There were three professors and a dozen extremely bright graduate students in fields including archeology, ancient music, immigrant studies, international law, linguistics, and museum conservation. John developed a crush on a graduate student from UC Santa Cruz. We met at the Fulbright office on busy Odos Vasllissis Sophias, home to most of the foreign embassies, including the United States Embassy, for a day and a half; the morning after, we convened on the sidewalk, were handed two bottles of water and a "smashed olive" sandwich, as the staff called them, and boarded a bus for the port of Piraeus to get the ferry to Aegina. Aegina, famous for its pistachios, sponges, and octopus, lured us with its clear sea and pebble beaches, tiny streets of shops and tavernas, brightly painted fishing boats, and the famous temple of Aphea, dedicated to Artemis and Athene and bearing, among many carved names, that of Byron. We were interested to

learn that Aphea, the Parthenon, and the temple to Poseidon at Sounion on the southern tip of Attica are in a perfect equilateral triangle. On the trip we formed some lasting friendships and later visited other Fulbrighters once we were off to our assigned places, from Crete to Athens to Thessaloniki. I was especially happy to get to know the director of the Greek Fulbright office, Artemis Zenetou, and our program coordinator, Nick Tourides. Their professional and personal generosity made the Fulbright experience rewarding again and again.

The Greek Fulbright program is one of the largest and oldest of all. John and I traveled many times to Athens and other locations for Fulbright-sponsored events. I spoke on Twain and London at the Hellenic-American Union in Athens, and we were among the attendees at the U. S. Ambassador's Thanksgiving Dinner. (It was strange to see him on tv a few weeks later when a rocket was shot through the front window of the embassy, landing in his private bathroom. And when I was to speak at the Hellenic-American Union I learned of the only bomb-threat to any lecture I have ever given.) The Archeological Museum and the Benaki Museum in Athens are two of the best I've ever visited, and I could still be wandering the flea market in Monastiráki had I not had to leave. We met many Fulbright alumnae in Athens and joined in their events, from art openings to history lectures.

We also traveled to Crete; we didn't get to see the oldest Western writing in existence, the famous Phaestus Disc in still-untranslated Linear A, because the Archeological Museum in Iraklion was closed. We spent our time visiting Knossos, home of King Minos; exploring the old Venetian port of Xania, with its 12-foot wide stone streets and tiny shops; and driving into the surrounding western hills to buy oranges and explore ruins and monasteries. I emptied John's suitcase and put his clothes in two shopping bags so I could fill it with the huge, fragrant Kriti oranges we bought from old women by the roadside. John by this time was taking a

lot of photographs, and he especially liked his shots of the goats eating the ripening olives high up in the old and gnarled trees of Cretan monastery groves. Having heard me for too many years say, "I've got to finish my book!" he decided to do his own book of photographs, to be called Stone and Sky, which fits Greece well. (He "published" it using his Apple computer, some great bouzouki music, and a stack of blank DVD's.) With our French friends, Noël and Catherine Mauberret and Christian and Laurence Pagnard, we toured the Peloponnese, visiting the monastery of Osios Lukios, Delphi, Olympia, Náfplio, the theater at Epidaurus, and, my favorite, ancient Mycenae, home of Agamemmnon and with 3,500-year-old walls supposedly built by Cyclops. Noël is the president of Les amis de Jack London, the Jack London Society in France, and an Advisory Board member of the U.S. Jack London Society, and so he and I got some time to work on professional matters, including our ongoing enterprise of 30 new Jack London translations published by Éditions Phebus of Paris. But even with our love of Jack London, it was a little hard to concentrate while watching the sunset over the mountains of Arcady.

Back home in Thessoloniki, John attended the 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Pinewood School, an English-American private school. The students were either children of foreign corporate or diplomatic parents or they were children whose parents wanted to strengthen their command of English. We were surprised that so many people in Greece spoke English, but it is taught in school from the beginning. Even the videos we rented were in English, with Greek subtitles. (The exception was Mel Gibson's Apocalypto in Mayan with Greek subtitles, which was interesting.) John made friends at school from Spain, Poland, Slovenia, Bulgaria, and elsewhere, especially one girl from Serbia who cried when he left. He too had to learn his way around the national views of things. One student announced in the first week of school to the "Host Studies" teacher (Host Studies being

Greek Culture studies) that she was from "Macedonia," by which she meant "FYROM," or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, a country still in search of a permanent name. One of the first things you learn in Greece, especially in the Macedonian part of Greece, is that the Macedonians were Greeks. Things were tense around our time there because the Prime Minister of FYROM had successfully had the airport in Skopje renamed "Alexandros Megalos" Airport, bitterly resented by Greeks from taxi drivers to academics and politicians and the many talking heads arranged in six frames somewhat like Hollywood Squares—on the news every night. The teacher barked out, "You are NO Greek! You are worse than Turk!" John did fine, being the kid with the newest Ipod and not taking sides in Balkan affairs. We had to learn the rules of being entertained in Greece: nothing much happens in the morning except work or school, really strong coffee, and grocery shopping. Banks open at odd hours. Lunch is at 2 p.m. and lasts til 4:00; dinner is at 9 or 10, and parties don't start until midnight. Lunch is the best. There is no happier room full of people than Greeks at Sunday lunch. The table overflows with bread, olive oil, fried squid, taramosalata, village salads, grilled and fried fish large and small with tzatziki, grilled octopus, mousakkas, pita (pies) of spinach and garlic or potato and cumin, mashed chickpeas or eggplant with salt and olive oil, stuffed zucchiniall with ouzo or retsina. I almost never got to dessert, though later in the evenings I did become a regular consumer of thick Greek yogurt with walnuts, honey, and fruit. Greek school children come home to lunch every day, escorted by parents or grandparents. At 2 in the afternoon in any neighborhood wonderful cooking smells drift out of all the windows. All the shops close for a couple of hours at lunchtime. Sometimes, if the owner doesn't feel like it, they don't reopen. They still honor the siesta.

The longer we were in Greece, the more we began to notice differences with our lives

back home. Riding on the bus, people cross themselves when the bus passes a church. One really Greek moment occurred one evening, about 8 p.m., as I left campus—three really drunk men, arm in arm, passed me and stopped to make some thankfully unintelligible remarks about me, along with some fairly intelligible gestures. I ignored them and kept walking. Just then we passed a church. They stopped, solemnly crossed themselves and then lurched on. On the airplanes there are icons over all the exit doors. The Evil Eye is to be taken extremely seriously; quite a bit of blue "eye" jewelery to ward it off is on everyone and by everyone's front door. Just because the sign says "Walk" one should not assume any cars, let alone motorbikes, are going to stop. I wondered at how the Greeks invented democracy, when every individual Greek is a nation with its laws and requirements apart from anyone on the sidewalk. There are no real traffic lanes. The doctor who took my chest x-ray (they screen immigrants for TB) was smoking the entire time. Never toast with coffee, but drink coffee all day long. Iced tea, my daily Texas fix, is considered an abomination, but I did teach the kids at the only Starbuck's in town to make it. Also, gyros are only thought of as junk food and never served in restaurants.

I had some leisure to observe Greek life around me largely because Eleftheria and I began teaching our course on Realism and Naturalism later than planned; there were student strikes holding over from the spring term. The present Greek government is trying to reform its higher education system to get more in step with those of other EU countries. The government is concerned that a degree from a Greek university is not up to par with degrees from other EU members. U.S. students would be amazed to hear about how Greek students go on strike, occupy buildings, get bus drivers, bank clerks, physicians, and any other group to strike too, effectively shutting things down for awhile in the city. And then the non-student political groups come in for their share of the

action: anarchists, communists, and others. The students were especially upset, as were many faculty, because the government proposed such radical ideas as fiscal accountability, strategic planning, internal review, teacher evaluations, merit reviews, and degree plans. Particularly contentious were the issues of allowing police on campus and enforcing some sort of time limit on graduation. The rule of no-police-oncampus goes back to the days of the right-wing Junta, whose overthrow in 1974 was catalyzed by a student protest in Athens. But today, because tuition and books are free in Greece, Aristotle University, for example, officially has 100,000 students enrolled, most of whom can be seen drinking frappés and smoking in seaside cafes all day. We finally did start class in early October, but as it turned out later, we were not able to give final exams in late January because once again the campus was shut down by the students. I managed to wear my oldest and scruffiest sweatshirt and jeans and persuade them to let me into my office before my February 4 departure to collect my things.

I filled my time when not at the University with recruiting talks for the Fulbright Commission and lectures at various universities and consulates. As to the strikes, I reflected that the average Greek is much more "political" than the average American. I also thought of the endless picayune regulations to which a U.S. faculty member, especially at a state institution, is required to adhere—the online "accountability and outcome" courses; the parking committee "action plan"; the way saying "it's Regents' Rules" can shut down any conversation in the UT System; the dreaded SACS accreditation or Coordinating Board visit. I had to have a good laugh, grab an Athens News, and head somewhere for coffee and pitas.

Our class enrolled 90 students and met Monday evenings for 3 hours. Eleftheria and I shared preparation and teaching duties. She did the grading-perhaps the department didn't want a native English speaker to mark up Greek English majors' work. The class was mostly well-attended, usually about 70 present, and the students participated very well in discussions. They were almost all women, but our favorite student was Pericles, a lively young man who did justice to his name. These were second-year English majors, so that for some of them the readings in English (especially Henry James) were difficult. But then, I think I've heard that complaint from American students a time or two!

Our syllabus was drawn from the Norton Anthology of American Literature, 6<sup>th</sup> edition, Vol. C, 1865-1914, plus a thick class binder full of essays by naturalist critics and theorists and selections not in the Norton. This was really interesting for me, since just before going to Greece I had finished a three-year cycle of editing my first Norton volume, Vol. C., for the 7<sup>th</sup> edition. Each week we covered a different selection with the essays of critics, including Twain's Adventures of Huckleberry Finn; James's "The Art of Fiction" and Daisy Miller; Chopin's *The Awakening*, London's "The Law of Life," "To Build a Fire," "The Chinago," and "The Mexican"; Crane's "The Open Boat"; Norris's "Fantaisie Printanière"; and chapters 3 and 6 of Dreiser's Sister Carrie. Hands down, the favorite was *The Awakening*, and, among the critics, Don Pizer might like to know how universally he is adored by these students, as he is taught as the gospel of naturalism. (Don, I also gave all of them a copy of "Bad Critical Writing.") They were also taken with Shelley Fisher Fiskhin's Was Huck Black?

The Awakening led to such lively discussions largely because the students were a little unsure what to make of equality for women. What Edna does, especially abandoning her children, was nearly incomprehensible to students raised with the value of family coming first. Yet many of the women and some of the men voiced their approval of Edna as a person acting for her own freedom, though generally, they, like many American students, saw her suicide as a failure of character. They loved *Huckleberry Finn*. After Eleftheria and I had

gone through our particular approaches to the novel, she on its background and contexts and I chapter-by-chapter on its patterns of lies and narrative tricksterism, we found that what they really wanted was to hear no more of this, but to hear me, with my Southern accent, read to them entire chapters, especially those in which Jim is talking. They had never heard an African American speak, and they found Jim's dialogue both highly poetic and morally persuasive. They faulted Huck for running away in the conclusion, in contrast to Jim's heroic return to his family.

Jack London puzzled them. How, they demanded, could the family of old Koskoosh abandon him on the trail? The ending of "The Mexican" didn't make sense to them because they didn't think the fight promoters would actually pay Felipe Rivera, but would cheat him somehow (something I had never thought about). They quite accurately called "To Build a Fire" a hubristic tragedy. They found the figure of Carrie Meeber attractive but dangerous; they doubted she would ever be happy without a husband and children. I will never forget one of our best students, Maria, whom I helped interview for a Fulbright to the United States, alone among everyone I have ever taught in 30 years, claiming that "The Art of Fiction" moved her to tears—not of frustration, but of aesthetic admiration!

I explained American culture for the students when they inquired. I asked them what they thought of the *Borat* movie, which I had heard from friends back home was the hit of the fall. They did not like it at all because they thought it was "mean." They didn't really see the satire on American culture; they felt that if a Brit could make an American film poking fun at a Eurasian country, then maybe everyone would make fun of Greeks too. John and I more than once realized that the geography of Greece places it much closer to the Middle East, Russia, and Africa than one might think. We could watch Al Jazeera any evening, and while we were on Crete I noticed the map labelled the

sea south of Crete as the "Libyan Sea," a region visible until one crisp winter morning, riding I never thought I'd ever visit. Yet despite xenophobia, which they invented, Greece is very friendly to immigrants and is filled with people from everywhere in the region. Interestingly, nearly all immigrants in Greece who are there for a few months start learning and speaking Greek; there really are not the "ethnic enclaves" that one sees in other countries.

In addition to teaching the class, I met formally and informally with faculty to discuss common research interests. I gave a lecture on Jack London's photography with Professor George Katsagelos, a photographer and Dean of the College in which I taught, at the U.S. Consulate in Thessaloniki. I gave a seminar on Jack London's photojournalism and contemporary cultural theory to the department faculty, and I helped revise their undergraduate curriculum, which was friendly to a few powerful people who could teach whatever they wanted, but seemed to discount student requirements. I worked closely with Eleftheria to help her prepare a book proposal on Greek-American writer Demetra Vaka Brown to present to an American press. I also met with students as a group and individually to help recruit them for graduate study in the United States and especially for Fulbright applications. I enjoyed pleasant and intellectually fruitful relationships with the faculty, especially my many long conversations with the Department chair, Yiorgos Kalogeras, an expert on Hemingway and other modernists. The facilities were very run-down, you never knew if there would be electricity in a classroom plug for your computer and Powerpoints, and ashtrays were evidently unknown. But from my office window I had a view of Ano Poli's ancient churches and Macedonian timbered houses: the Arch of Galerius: and the Rotonda, a huge circular building Galerius built as his tomb and which later became a church, a mosque, and now a (closed) museum. And did I mention the sea and Mt. Olympus across it? Since Thessaloniki is generally somewhat humid, I didn't even realize Mt. Olympus was

the bus, I looked to my left and there it was: three huge shoulders of peaks, snow-covered, gleaming in the early orange morning light. Gosh, I thought. I love Greece. Teaching at a school named after the local hero Aristotle, seeing Mt. Olympus from the bus, and learning to speak a little Modern Greek—what could be better? What really was the best, however, were the Greeks themselves. After 25 centuries of civilization, they had a lot to teach us about life and living. Life was about living there, not about getting rich or working all the time or stressing out over one's "issues": we miss them, and we plan to return to visit them again next summer.

**Jeanne Campbell Reesman** is Professor of English at the University of Texas at San Antonio, where she has also served as Chair and Graduate Dean. She is the author of numerous books and articles on Jack London, Henry James, William Faulkner, and other writers. She is editor of Vol. C, American Literature 1865-1914, of the Norton Anthology of American Literature, and a coauthor of the bestselling textbook A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature. She is founder and executive coordinator of the Jack London Society.

## On Teaching Naturalism **Through Film**

#### Jeff Jaeckle

Film adaptation is a readily accessible topic for students of literature. Students are quick to offer their opinions on which is "better," the novel or the film, whether the subject is Harry Potter or The Godfather. They are adamant about why a film's lead performers both fit and differ from how they imagined the novel's characters. They are also apt to critique film adaptations for what they leave out, often faulting them for oversimplifying their favorite

parts of books. These initial conversations lay the foundation for more sophisticated discussions of adaptation as a mode of artistic production, of fidelity as a criterion of achievement, and of medium-specific narrative strategies in fiction and film.

In the context of American literary naturalism, the topic of film adaptation can yield excellent discussions of the treatment of heredity and determinism, the use of naturalist symbols and imagery, and the filtering of naturalism through the lens of Hollywood censorship. Two films that allow for a range of conversation and debate on these topics are Erich von Stroheim's Greed (1924), an adaptation of Frank Norris' McTeague, and William Wyler's Carrie (1952), an adaptation of Theodore Dreiser's Sister Carrie. The topic of film adaptation can also lead to discussions of genre adaptation that address how film genres, most notably film noir, draw upon naturalist character types, plots, and motifs. Billy Wilder's Double Indemnity (1944) and Sunset Boulevard (1950) provide excellent models for addressing these parallels between naturalism and noir.

#### McTeague and Greed

A good starting point for students comparing McTeague and Greed is to review von Stroheim's explicit aim as director "to produce the story exactly as it was written" (Koszarski 117). His commitment to a page-by-page translation of Norris' novel resulted in a nearly 12hour, 47-reel film. Before MGM released Greed in December 1924, studio editor Joseph Farnham cut it to 10 reels. It is available today in a reconstructed 4-hour VHS version that blends original footage with over 600 stills. Even in its reconstituted form, students can address the problematic notion of Greed as an "exact" adaptation; after all, transforming the story from the print medium of fiction to the audio-visual medium of film presumes acts of change. This change in medium accompanies von Stroheim's alterations in plotting and characterization, which mark the film, in Mary

Lawlor's terms, as "simultaneously faithful and different" (389).

Comparisons between McTeague and Greed shed light on how the mediums of fiction and film allow for different narrative strategies. Fiction enabled Norris to construct an omniscient narrator fond of making harsh judgments about the story's protagonists, often emphasizing their limited comprehension and static existence. One such judgment is the repeated description of McTeague as stupid and animalistic. In the novel's opening chapter, the narrator characterizes him as "hopelessly stupid," "Bull-like," and a "draught horse, immensely strong, stupid, docile, obedient" (6-7). Von Stroheim, by contrast, had less recourse to a narrator except through the use of intertitles; he focused instead on film editing techniques to underscore the character's ignorant and bestial existence. When Marcus bids farewell to McTeague and Trina to begin his life as a rancher, von Stroheim superimposes a close-up of a cat's face over Marcus' torso and pairs this image with shots of McTeague's canary. Afterward, when McTeague receives a letter, prompted by Marcus, stating that he can no longer practice dentistry, these symbols return; the cat pounces on the canary's cage as McTeague reads. Von Stroheim uses superimposition again to dramatize the enfeebling effects of McTeague's unemployment. Following the auction of McTeague and Trina's personal effects, audiences see an enormous hand squeezing the naked bodies of a man and woman, presumably the McTeagues, powerless to free themselves from its grip.

Students can also compare narrative strategies in each work's treatment of avarice. Both Norris and von Stroheim rely on dialogue to convey psychological preoccupations with gold, such as when Zerkow comments on Maria's missing golden service, "a punch-bowl worth a fortune; red gold plates, heaps and piles. God!" (31), which von Stroheim reproduces almost verbatim in an intertitle. Both men also dramatize the characters' physical

obsessions with gold, such as when Trina cradles her \$5000 in lottery winnings. Norris captures this moment verbally when the narrator describes Trina's face "buried in a pile of gold that she encircled with both her arms" (197). Von Stroheim relies solely on visuals, staging the scene as a naked Trina climbing into a goldstrewn bed. The director also captures the characters' avarice by selectively coloring every gold object in the film, including raw gold ore, coins, and gold fillings. These gold images, which stand in stark relief to the film's predominant blacks, grays, and whites, are a constant reminder of the characters' gold lust. Von Stroheim extends this symbolic use of gold by coloring McTeague's canaries and gilded tooth, thereby broadening the film's critique of obsession to include even subtle incarnations.

Comparisons of narrative strategies can also include differences in plot. Whereas the novel opens on Polk Street in San Francisco as McTeague eats Sunday dinner, the film begins in the Big Dipper Mine prior to his move to the city. These scenes comprise less than a page in the novel yet account for 69 pages of the script. Audiences learn of McTeague's inherited traits of alcoholism and physical abuse from his father, and of his circular and static existence. These opening scenes foreground mining and gold as factors in his demise; they introduce the canary and the gilded tooth as persistent objects of obsession; they also dramatize McTeague's immense physical strength, which resurfaces when he murders Trina and Marcus.

Even though these strategies certainly distinguish *Greed* from *McTeague*, von Stroheim's film nonetheless succeeds in capturing the naturalist ethos of Norris' novel.

#### Sister Carrie and Carrie

Whereas von Stroheim sought exactitude in his version of *McTeague*, William Wyler's *Carrie* demands a more expansive notion of adaptation. Stephen C. Brennan captures this difference in approach when summarizing Wyler's treatment of *Sister Carrie*: "Even

though he ignored some aspects of the novel, including virtually all of its dialogue, he took up much else, sometimes amplifying, sometimes subverting, sometimes transforming it" (186). The most striking differences between *Sister Carrie* and *Carrie* include the film's elimination of Hurstwood's suicide, the complete absence of Bob Ames, the development of Mr. Fitzgerald into a moralistic prig, and the inventions of Carrie's pregnancy and miscarriage. These differences can elicit useful classroom discussion of each work's divergent social commentary on morality and human desire.

A potent symbol of desire in the novel is Carrie's rocking chair, in which she often sits to contemplate her future happiness. Dreiser introduces the chair in chapter II, and again in chapter IV, as the site of Carrie's "silent wonder" and "high-flown speculations" (11, 22). Even as Carrie moves from Minnie's flat to the Waldorf Hotel, the rocking chair and her unquenched desire are never far behind, accompanying her and readers through to the novel's final sentence: "In your rocking-chair, by your window, shall you dream such happiness as you may never feel" (369). When Wyler and screenwriters Ruth and August Goetz adapted the novel to film, this powerful icon nearly disappeared from the story, appearing only briefly as Hurstwood reads the newspaper. Gone as well are the novel's images of retail and department stores—the sites in which Carrie's mind luxuriates and feels "the drag of desire" (17). In the film, Carrie is largely unconcerned with material possession and instead spends her time cooking, cleaning, and tending to Hurstwood's ego. Larry Hussman captures the sheer difference between the on-page and on-screen Carrie when commenting on a scene in which Hurstwood accidentally burns a hole in his trousers: "Carrie cannot understand why he gets so upset. Carrie, the book character, could never be so uncomprehending of such a sartorial tragedy" (195).

These striking differences in setting and characterization beg questions of motivation.

Why did Wyler and the Goetzs gut the film of these potent symbols and critiques of consumerism? Wyler explicitly blamed the film's lack of social commentary on the McCarthy era "superpatriots" who objected to any film that "showed an American in an unflattering light" (qtd. in Geduld 163). These objections prompted what Carolyn Geduld calls the film's "suburban moral code," which transforms Carrie's self-obsessed persona in the novel into a selfless yet guilt-ridden figure in the film (156). These differences become explicit when students compare Carrie's reasons for leaving Hurstwood. In the novel, Carrie foregrounds her self-interest in a letter stating, "I need what little [money] I make to pay for my clothes" (320). The letter Carrie writes in the film emphasizes Hurstwood's needs over hers: "You will be happier with your son. I was not good for you." This selfless attitude continues even after Carrie achieves stardom. When Hurstwood approaches her in the film's closing scene, Carrie offers him food, money, and invites him to live with her, pleading "I'll make it up to you. Will you let me?" This penitent behavior contrasts sharply with the novel in which, after giving Hurstwood nine dollars, Carrie becomes enmeshed in thoughts of her fame spreading to London; during her excitement about the upcoming trip, "Hurstwood was forgotten" (353).

While these changes contribute to a diluted adaptation of *Sister Carrie*, the film's concessions to censorship codes nonetheless document the novel's power to disturb audiences fifty years after its initial publication.

#### Literary Naturalism and Film Noir

The relationship between naturalism and cinema extends beyond explicit adaptations of novels to include naturalism's influences on film genres. Foster Hirsch makes these influences explicit when detailing the literary precursors to film noir:

Fate in the naturalist novel is as dark and as relentless as in the grimmest crime novel or *film noir*. In the naturalists' view, as in that of *noir*, the world is a harsh place in which the lone person hasn't a chance. The naturalists thought everyone was a victim of heredity and environment, and unable, no mater how hard the struggle, to withstand the combined impact of these two forces [...] The trapped protagonists in the naturalist novel surface in *noir* on a smaller, less bombastic scale. (51)

Two films that exemplify these parallels between naturalism and noir are Billy Wilder's *Double Indemnity* and *Sunset Boulevard*, regarded by some film scholars as the bookends of classic noir. In both films, the male protagonists Walter Neff and Joe Gillis, respectively, are prototypical noir losers: down-on-their luck characters who become obsessed with promises of sex and financial gain, only to find themselves trapped in webs of deceit and violence that culminate in their deaths.

Walter Neff, an insurance salesman, stages the murder of his client Mr. Dietrichson as a business-related accident in the hopes of acquiring a one hundred-thousand dollar settlement and possession of Phyllis, Dietrichson's wife, with whom he plans and executes the murder. Wilder's use of high-contrast lighting and low-angle camerawork, typical of film noir, echoes naturalist motifs of humankind's limited knowledge and unwitting entrapment by forces beyond its control. For Christopher Orr, these visual stylistics function "as a kind of socially conscious commentary that can be compared to the authorial observations one encounters in American literary naturalism" (59). The combination of flashback and voiceover, also typical of the genre, contribute to this sense of doom by factoring out any chance for a happy ending. The film's dialogue, written by Wilder and Raymond Chandler, provides an aural counterpoint to these visual and narrative motifs via intertwined references to fate and the metaphor of an unstoppable trolley ride. Walter claims, for instance, that Dietrichson's murder is inevitable: "Those fates [...] had thrown the

switch. The gears had meshed. The machinery had started to move and nothing could stop it." This emphasis on determinism continues after Dietrichson's death as Walter and colleague Barton Keyes liken the act of murder to a trolley ride that goes "all the way to the end of the line [...] And the last stop is the cemetery."

Wilder's *Sunset Boulevard* also attests to the influences of literary naturalism.<sup>2</sup> The film opens with its male protagonist, the screenwriter Joe Gillis, dead and floating in a pool. Joe's voiceover, seemingly from beyond the grave, makes explicit the story's trajectory toward death, which the film recounts in a single extended flashback that chronicles the character's prostituting of his writing talents and autonomy to his "employer," former silent film star Norma Desmond, in exchange for the comforts of material possessions. Wilder emphasizes Joe's entrapment through images of imprisonment. During a temporary escape from the mansion, Joe's watch fob (purchased by Norma) catches on the iron doors to Norma's mansion, briefly restraining him from the outside world. As in Double Indemnity, writers Wilder, Charles Brackett, and D.M. Marshman, Jr. use dialogue to emphasize the forces of determinism. Joe characterizes his life with Norma as a "peculiar prison" in which he feels "caught, like the cigarette in that contraption on her [Norma's] finger." Nonetheless, his obsession with material possessions is so all-consuming that he foregoes a romantic relationship with writing partner Betty Schaefer. When Betty pleads with him to pack his things and leave Norma, Joe retorts, "All my things? All my eighteen suits, all my custom-made shoes and the six-dozen shirts and the cufflinks and the platinum keychains and the cigarette cases?" When Joe's greed finally gives way to an epiphany, Norma shoots him in the back as he attempts to leave and begin his life anew.

The above examples hopefully provide some sense of the pedagogical possibilities of teaching naturalism through film. The pairing

of fiction and film in the classroom has the potential to expand a student's understanding of the novel under discussion, of film adaptation as a phenomenon, and of storytelling as a craft that blends words, sounds, and images.

#### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> See Jonathan Rosenbaum's *Greed* (BFI Publishing 1993) for a detailed account of the film's post-production editing.

<sup>2</sup> Students familiar with *Greed* can appreciate Erich von Stroheim's semi-autobiographical role as former silent film director Max von Mayerling.

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# Before Adam and The Scarlet Plague: Two Novels of Evolution by Jack London

#### Lawrence I. Berkove

What has seemed a career marked by inconsistency or, worse, racism, appears from a more attentive perspective as Jack London's hesitant but definite evolution toward a position of personal and social morality in accord with the most progressive science of his day. Driving London's writing was wide—but sometimes concentrated—reading devoted to self-education and honest searching for truth. He had, for example, a pronounced interest in science. The chief intellectual controversy during

his lifetime was the issue of Darwinism, and London became a Darwinian as early as his high school years and remained one for the rest of his life. The importance of this position would be difficult to over-estimate; his stand for Darwinism is one of the major and defining themes of his literature. But whereas many of his contemporaries satisfied themselves with a cursory reading of Darwin and an acceptance of a popular understanding of evolution, London recognized that Darwinians were themselves divided over the implication of evolutionary doctrine. He followed thoughtfully the details of the main controversy within evolutionary theory—that between Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley, the leaders of the two main rival camps—and he cautiously at first, but eventually firmly, shifted his allegiance from the former to the latter. Two short novels of the last decade of his short life, Before Adam (1907) and The Scarlet Plague (1912), testify to his initial wavering between the two camps and then his ultimate move from the Spencerian to the Huxleyan position (Berkove, "JL and Evolution" 249-52).

Any examination of London's career must take into account its brevity. The usual approach of tracking an author's development over a normal range of early, middle, and late years does not work well for this prodigious genius who threw himself passionately into life, packed his life with adventures, and achieved intellectual maturity just before he died in 1916 at age forty. Elsewhere, I have characterized London's intellectual development as strikingly honest, but moving ahead somewhat haltingly by means of the process of "second thoughts" (Berkove, "JL's 'Second Thoughts'"). That is, after building a story around an idea that seemed truthful to him at the time, if subsequent reading, experience, or reflection caused him to have second thoughts about it, he would revisit the idea in another work from a different, even contradictory, position. In other words, he used his literature to test out his thinking, and see-sawed on ideas until they

seemed honest to him and free from personal prejudice. "Indecision" or "inconsistency" are, therefore, unsatisfactory terms to describe what was a trial-and-error way of determining truth, especially since London's output shows definite movement toward liberal values. His movement on evolution is a case in point.

In Darwin's time and even in ours, a standard paraphrase of his evolutionary theory was "survival of the fittest," a slogan coined by Herbert Spencer, the English popularizer of science. While it is true that Darwin did adopt Spencer's phrase in later editions of Origin of Species, it was an unfortunate replacement for "struggle for existence," the term Darwin used in the first edition of the book, and which describes his theory more accurately than the replacement. Furthermore, the notion of survival of the fittest, which became the mantra of social Darwinism, was used in London's time to justify white supremacy, "Anglo-Saxon" domination, and the existing, commanding position of the moneyed over the working classes. But for an author interested in individuals, one who championed the underdog and the oppressed, and one who was a socialist for most of his adult life, finding satisfaction with a doctrine that endorsed things as they were and automatically favored the system over individuals was problematic.

The extension of "fittest" to include ethics was faulty from the start. Thomas Huxley, the eminent English scientist, recognized this early, and pointedly and dramatically took issue with Spencer's notion in a series of highly publicized lectures he presented in the 1890s, the most famous of which was "Evolution and Ethics," the 1893 Romanes lecture at Oxford. Huxley argued that ethics must be the highest good of the human race, even above survival (Huxley 81). London slowly but surely came to agree with Huxley. Both *Before Adam* and *The Scarlet Plague* are important markers of his shift from the Spencerian to the Huxleyan position.

Before Adam is set in prehistoric times, when different progenitors of homo sapiens

still coexisted. In the novel, the "progressive," i.e. more technologically advanced and aggressive, Fire People attack and eventually exterminate a more technologically primitive but gentler and more social race called "the Folk." Before this happens, however, "Swift One," an orphan girl from the Fire People, and a young man from the Folk named "Big-Tooth" fall in love, escape from the destruction of Big-Tooth's tribe, and have a child. One of the descendants of this couple is the novel's modern American narrator, who is troubled by dream recollections of a prehistoric existence in which he is Big-Tooth. In college the narrator encounters the Darwinian idea of reversion, throwback to normally lost but still persisting characteristics inherited from some remote forebear (Darwin 160ff), and at last he understands that these dreams, that cause him to fear that he is some abnormal "freak of heredity, an atavistic nightmare," derive from embedded memories of his mixed ancestral origin, and are a clue to his nature.

Although the novel can be, and has been, read either as a fantasy of the development of the unconscious mind (Labor 67-9), or as supporting the view that the fittest survive, the eminent evolutionist Loren Eiseley more sensitively intuits London's parable when, in his epilogue to the novel, he identifies with the line of the Folk for their contribution of humane qualities to civilization. But for this persistent inherited legacy of gentleness and soft emotions, London implies, there would be no check to, no dilution of, the murderous inclinations of the race deriving from the Fire People. Looked at from the perspective of "survival of the fittest," the novel may be seen to be in opposition to the slogan, for it demonstrates that while intellect and ruthlessness may guarantee survival, by themselves they are insufficient to foster society and the arts of peace and culture.

With *The Scarlet Plague*, London took a stronger and more pointed stand against the Spencerian position. This later novel is set in a California returning to the wild decades after a

sudden and deadly plague that all but exterminated the human race. An essential element of Darwin's theory of evolution is that natural selection occurs randomly, and this requirement is met in the novel by the arbitrary survival of only a few individuals, a tiny remnant of the human race. Among them are James Howard Smith, a professor of English from the University of California, Vesta Van Warden, the beautiful young wife of an important industrialist, and Bill, the crude Van Warden chauffeur. Before the plague, Smith and Vesta are of the ruling class and Bill of the subservient working class, but after the plague, leadership goes to the strongest, and the chauffeur, being stronger than Smith, takes Vesta for himself, and begets three sons with her: Edwin, Hoo-Hoo, and Hare-Lip. The names themselves might seem to signify the lapsing of the race back toward barbarism, except that Edwin, the oldest and smartest, exhibits signs of unscrupulous ambition.

Smith is known by the boys as "Granser" (i.e. Grand Sir), and he attempts to hold their lukewarm attention with a narrative of how society and civilization quickly disintegrated when the scarlet plague struck. Pillaging and riots occurred as soon as the burgeoning death rate destroyed the police and military. One statement in Smith's account exposes the fatal flaw of social Darwinism: "In the midst of our civilization, down in our slums and laborghettos, we had bred a race of barbarians, of savages, and now, in the time of our calamity, they turned upon us like the wild beasts they were and destroyed us. And they destroyed themselves as well" (105-6). The novel ends with the old, frail Granser being led down the trail to camp, the last civilized man in a world so returned to the wild that even fellow humans of the next generation are incurious about their own history.

The quoted passage shows that London understood that Darwinism rejected stasis and perfection, because situations were always changing and organisms had to keep adapting,

and therefore "perfection" was always relative to changing environmental conditions. Intellect and wealth might temporarily determine "fittest" in certain situations, but brute strength might be fittest for others. For London, additionally, the notion of a superior *race* was a delusion. All races, even the most "advanced," this novel shows, have social levels: lower, relatively barbarian, classes ("they"), and an upper, ruling class ("we") that is only shallowly civilized and that exploits the underclass.

After The Scarlet Plague, there was no turning back. Even if he had lived longer, London had been led by Darwinian thinking to irrefutable conclusions. Spencer's phrase was epigrammatically attractive, but intellectually false. Although Huxley could not promise the ultimate survival of the human race, he at least showed that it could perish as humans and not as beasts. London's acceptance of this neo-Stoic insight might have been somewhat ameliorated by his contact with Jungian thought in the last months of his life, but in any case, these two novels show, he had worked his way in his oeuvre to a subtle, sophisticated, deep, and powerful rationale for treating morality as the defining characteristic of humanity.

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## Reviving, Recovering, & Redefining American Naturalism

#### Cara Elana Erdheim

When first given the opportunity to reflect upon the American Literature Association's Symposium on Naturalism, I considered writing a journalistic account that would attempt an objective report of the weekend's events, discussions, and debates. Apparently, the naturalist in me emerged, as I planned to model my piece upon the documentary style of Stephen Crane's war novels, as well as on the omniscient bird's eye view that such narratives often sought to provide. However, as the weekend progressed and as my conceptions of literary naturalism broadened, I began gravitating toward a more anecdotal response to all of the rethinking about this genre that occurred on October 5 and 6 in Newport Beach, California. The lively, intellectually stimulating atmosphere at this symposium didn't so much discourage my omniscient impulse to report on the conference's events as it did encourage me to begin rethinking the role that individual authors, narrators, and protagonists play in naturalism's mechanistic universe.

I certainly do not aspire to the indirect discourse of Frank Norris, nor do I attempt to engage in a discussion of Theodore Dreiser's "chemisms." However, I aim to craft this response according to a style that reflects the genre as we have understood it, while simultaneously echoing the newly developed ideas about literary naturalism introduced by scholars ranging from graduate students to distinguished professors. So, for those of you who could not attend this conference, I still feel a journalistic responsibility to relate the thought-provoking topics that were proposed by panelists, roundtable participants, and lecturers. Much like The Octopus's Presley who attempts to enliven his Western poetry with truthful, yet vivid details, I wish to enhance my documentary reportage of this symposium by coloring its facts with anecdotal allusions to spectacular events.

One such unforgettable moment was Eric Carl Link's priceless performance of, as well as his uncanny identification with, Oliver Wendell Holmes during the final "Naturalism Slam." Proposing Holmes as a new naturalist, and doing so with a steadfast and unwavering expression as his audience roared with laughter, Link pasted two small strands of white beard hair onto his face and proceeded to engage in a Holmes-like narration of an unforgettable romance with naturalist tendencies, of course! Other persuasive performances included Steve Brennan's proposed pitch of John Hector de Crevecoeur, John Clendenning's promising position on Henry James, Donna Campbell's fruitful perspective on Ellen Glasgow, and Steven Frye's memorable mention of Cormac McCarthy.

Just as the symposium concluded with this enlarged view of naturalist prose, so too did the conference begin with an earnest endeavor to extend literary naturalism beyond the canonical boundaries of Crane, Dreiser, London, Norris, and Sinclair.

The opening roundtable discussion on "What is Naturalism?" initiated this effort to expand our perspective on a genre that has been primarily city-centered, deterministic, and masculine in nature. Leading this introductory discussion, Keith Newlin invited distinguished panelists Bert Bender, Donna Campbell, James Giles, Eric Carl Link, and Zena Meadowsong to sketch out the current patterns and trends in American literary naturalism, as well as to carve out the genre's future possibilities and potentials. Newlin proposed a widening of naturalism's chronological boundaries beyond the years of 1890-1950, and questioned whether we could claim authors like Don DeLillo as naturalist novelists. Invoking the 1959 anthology focusing on What Was Naturalism?, Newlin launched a sort of second awakening for a literary genre that could use a little reviving.

One question that Newlin posed to the five panelists was whether or not naturalist texts could be distinguished from realist writings because of the former genre's male-dominated themes and predominantly urban settings. One responder noted that associations between realism and naturalism are merely chronological, whereas another participant alluded to arguments made by Link, Ten Dandt, and others about the place of American romance within the naturalist narrative. Claiming that there's something problematic about reducing all naturalist novels to a merely materialistic and purely pessimistic reading, Link launched a provocative question about the possibility of classifying utopian texts and social reform novels as naturalistic. I thought immediately about how some have associated Jurgis' final conversion to socialism with an aesthetically inferior ending to Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. Echoing these thoughts, a subsequent debate occurred: those who saw the potential for optimism, progression, and change in a naturalist universe argued that sentimental themes and expressionistic styles are present in these texts; however, others disagreed, claiming that tragic American tales where determined actions and pure chance govern individual decision making epitomize the philosophical and scientific underpinnings of literary naturalism.

Although no formal "recipe" for naturalism (a metaphor that someone created to illustrate our critical quest to define this movement) emerged from this vibrant debate, the discussion itself launched perhaps the most intriguing and challenging questions of all: does a formal aesthetic exist for literary naturalism, as it does for modernism, courtesy of Henry James, and/or do naturalist texts simply reflect the evolutionary and deterministic discourses of their day? Which stylistic and thematic elements characterize these writings, and is there some sort of "sixth sense" (to borrow Norris's vocabulary for a moment), which indicates to readers that they are experiencing a naturalist novel? While responses to these insightful inquiries varied, there was a general consensus that the third-person omniscient narration of Dreiser's Sister Carrie, combined with the Spenserian and Darwinian terminology expressed throughout this novel, produces in its readers such a sense that they have entered into a truly naturalistic universe.

If, indeed, Sister Carrie epitomizes the naturalist novel, then does this text serve as an aesthetic and thematic model for all works, including those of formerly marginalized authors like Ellen Glasgow and Richard Wright? Taking into account our pre-conceived notions about Naturalism, round-tables and panels such as "Women and Naturalism," "African-American Writers," and "Ethnic Representation and Assimilation" sought to incorporate a wider array of perspectives into a genre that has been deemed by some to have anti-Semitic tendencies. Donald Pizer's fascinating keynote address, "Naturalism and the Jews," validated this point when he drew our attention to repeated references in Dreiser, Norris, Wharton, and others to Jews as animals and brutes. By acknowledging these parallels between animal and man as racist, sexist, and often anti-Semitic, we can begin to map out a new literary landscape in which the dignity of each human being is reconsidered as crucial to the workings of any naturalist machine.

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# New Light on Dreiser's Schooldays in Warsaw, Indiana

## Stephen C. Brennan

In An American Tragedy, Clyde Griffiths, on trial for his life, begins his testimony with "the short but straitened story of his youth" (707). When he gets to his family's move to Kansas City, he recalls how, from age twelve to fifteen, he looked for "something to do," all the while "resenting the combination of school and religious work expected of him." At this point, his attorney Reuben Jephson interrupts:

"Were you up with your classes in the public school?"

"No, sir. We had moved too much."

"In what grade were you when you were twelve years old?"

"Well, I should have been in the seventh but I was only in the sixth. That's why I didn't like it."

"And how about the religious work of your parents?"

"Well, it was all right—only I never did like going out nights on the street corners." (707-08)

As many readers have pointed out, Dreiser attributes to Clyde much of his own resentment against a dogmatically religious father whose ineffectuality he blamed for the poverty and rootlessness of his early life. The surprising part of the above passage is Clyde's dislike for public schools. When Dreiser describes his own schooling, first in his road book *A Hoosier Holiday* (1916) and then more fully in *Dawn* 

(1931), the autobiography covering his first twenty years, he celebrates public schools for their liberating effects, reserving his contempt for the Catholic schools he attended until his family moved to Warsaw, Indiana, just after he turned thirteen. Dreiser, however, warns readers of his self-narratives not to expect exact truth. In A Hoosier Holiday, he is surprised at what "a poor affair" his first Warsaw house is compared to the one he remembers as part of an idyllic past and asks, "Why do our memories lie so? Could anyone or anything be a greater liar than the average memory?"(321). Dawn, he declares in its opening pages, is not "a true record" of his life, only "sincere impressions" called up from a fallible memory (3-4). Some of these impressions, however, are less sincere than others. In fact, the record of his first year in the Warsaw public schools reveals an experience more like Clyde's than he later depicted it and allows us to see how some of his stretchers contributed to Dawn as both a work of art and a response to critics who continually depreciated his fiction for its supposedly bad English.

Like Clyde, the young Theo of Dawn has moved with his impoverished, and often fragmented, family from one Indiana town to another—Terre Haute, Sullivan, Evansville, with a brief sojourn in Chicago--in search of economic security and social acceptance. Until he enters public school in Warsaw in the fall of 1894, he has attended only Catholic schools. Typical is the one in Evansville, whose curriculum is a "mixed gibberish of minor arithmetic, beginner's grammar, reading, Bible history, spelling, [and] catechism" that does little to prepare the mostly dullard students for life and whose principal is "a ferocious bull" of a priest who rules through terror (130). "I can think of nothing more stupid than the system which prevailed here," Dreiser writes (131).

In Warsaw's B Ward School, Theo finds an "atmosphere . . . radically different from that which had terrorized me at Evansville and elsewhere" (191). While the teachers are hard-

ly "intellectual giants," they are "kindly, helpful and sympathetic individuals" (190). After telling his new teacher about his previous schooling, he is placed in the seventh grade to see whether he is up to the work. In this new environment, Theo's "young American soul gave one bound and thereby attained to the meaning of freedom!" (191-92). May Calvert, his pretty young teacher, "did really teach me in the best sense of the word, spelled opportunity instead of repression" (192). She also boosts his ego. "Theodore," she tells him after he reads to the class a passage from "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," "you read beautifully. . . . You read as you are. It is perfect" (194). Through Calvert's agency, Theo gains access to Warsaw's public library, where his reading of Hawthorne, Irving, Goldsmith, and Kingsley helps him "better to formulate myself to myself" (199) and to see that education brings "power" (200).

As is evident in Calvert's grade book, portions of which are reproduced below, Dawn does not adhere to the facts. While Dreiser tells of "boys and girls freely intermingling in the same room" (Dawn 191), in truth his classmates were all boys. Although he may simply be confusing different times and places, it seems more likely that he played loosely with the facts to further his thematic intentions. At age thirteen, Theo has just entered puberty, and Dreiser creates a strong contrast with the repressive atmosphere of Theo's early life by depicting the Warsaw public schools as much more erotically charged than they probably were in actuality. In May Calvert, Theo finds a source of love transitional between his mother and girls his own age. "[I]t always seemed to me," he recalls of his earlier years, "that no one ever wanted me *enough*, unless it was my mother" (81). As opposed to the "frowning Cerberus of a nun or principal" that has confronted him in Catholic schools, Calvert is "a bland, smiling, pink-cheeked girl of twenty-two or three" (191). She brings to their private after-school tutoring sessions in grammar "some-

thing that was very close or akin to affection love, even. Her eyes, her pretty mouth, her hair, her pink cheeks! . . . Had words come, they would have been 'Love me; love me, love, me please!" (193). Younger than his mother, too old to be a serious sexual object, this "girl" is a safe transitional object of desire for a boy too frightened to approach the girls who surround him all day, girls "whose cheeks and hair and eyes in their wondrous combinations, were a constant provocation and delight" (193). In the ensuing chapters, Dreiser depicts a selfconsciously homely Theo tormented by sexual desire, failing miserably with girls, seeking gratification in fantasy and masturbation, and having his first sordid sexual encounter in a back alley. Dreiser's transformation of the actual all-male classroom of the B Ward School into a place of continual sexual stimulation contributes significantly to one of his central themes in *Dawn*—the inseparability of, and tension between, sexual and intellectual development.

Calvert's grade book also shows that, like Clyde, Dreiser was placed in the sixth grade, not the seventh. The reason would not have simply been his age, for even though he had just turned thirteen in late August, one seventhgrader, Fred Ale, was only eleven and two others, Harry Croxtom (spelled Croxton in *Dawn*) and John Shoup, were twelve. The probable reason for Dreiser's placement was his late entrance into the class; while all the other students began the year on September 8 or shortly thereafter, he did not enter the class until October 28. It would have been natural for Calvert to place a latecomer in the lower grade, at least until he showed the ability to handle more advanced work and perhaps earn a mid-year promotion. That such a promotion was possible is indicated by the record of Charles Hessel, whose name appears just above Dreiser's in the sixth-grade roster and also at the end of the seventh-grade roster. Since Hessel entered the class on September 8 along with most of the

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others and since more than half of his academic grades reflect seventh-grade work, he seems to have been promoted during the semester, probably in part because at fifteen he was older than all but one of the other sixth graders. Since the grades Hessel received before and after his promotion were spotty—a 49 and an 88 on tests in sixth-grade geography and grammar, respectively; a 50 on a seventh-grade arithmetic test and an 85 and a 90 on seventh-grade reading tests—Dreiser, whose own grades were generally above average, would understandably resent being stuck in the sixth grade while younger boys did seventh-grade work and a duller one moved up. According to Jack Dvorak in a recent article tracing Dreiser's long relationship with Calvert, Dreiser and nine others from her sixth-and-seventh-grade class were promoted (one only conditionally) to the eighth grade at Warsaw's Central High School (8). But Dvorak assumes that the class was a homogeneous unit of some sort, an assumption not supported by Calvert's records. Not only did seventh graders have an additional course—Mental Arithmetic—but they also took examinations on different days. The last recorded exam date for Dreiser was May 22, and his immediate promotion in the spring was most likely to the seventh grade.

The grade book also belies Dreiser's account in Dawn of being so bad in grammar that it takes Calvert's intervention before he is promoted. "I'm going to pass you just the same," she tells Theo. "You're too bright to be held back for that. You're going to be in Miss Reid's room next year, and I'll speak to her. She'll understand and help you through. Grammar isn't everything" (195). This account seems improbable. Although Dreiser made soso grades on his first two grammar tests (78 and 75), his 84 on the final test was the highest in the sixth grade and his overall average in grammar, a 79, was second highest. Dreiser would have needed no special dispensation from Calvert for normal promotion to the seventh grade. What Dreiser claims, however, is

something not so normal: "During this same summer and fall [of 1885], I passed or was promoted from May Calvert's room in B Ward School to the eighth grade Central High . . . " (Dawn 243). No records from Dreiser's 1885-1886 school year have turned up, so we can only speculate about events. If his dating is accurate—and I'm far from certain that it is he may have started the seventh grade with Calvert in the B Ward School in the late summer or early fall of 1895 only to be skipped forward to the eighth grade because of his superior work early in the semester and his good record the previous year—a 94 average in sixth-grade reading, a 92 in geography, an 87 in writing, and an 85 in average scholarship, the highest grade in his class. And it couldn't have hurt that the future literary rebel had the best deportment—straight G's—of any student but one in both the sixth and seventh grades. One thing is clear, however: Dreiser was not the numbskull in grammar that he says he was, though there is always the question of Calvert's standards for grading.<sup>2</sup>

May Calvert's grade book is one piece of evidence that Dawn is not entirely a literal transcript of Dreiser's experience but a well crafted work of art that deserves more attention from critics than it has received. The grade book also suggests that Dreiser exaggerated his problems with grammar, perhaps in response to the relentless attacks on his style he had suffered ever since the publication of Sister Carrie. "The English is seldom good and frequently atrocious," sneered one of the novel's early reviewers (Review 13); "it abounds with annoying anachronisms and blunders in English," sniffed another ("Among" 14). True, some of his admirers then and later praised his "plodding sincerity" (Bourne 235) and a style that fitted his crude subject matter. Yet each new book brought self-righteous condemnation such as that heaped on *The Titan* as "an offense against good taste and the dignity of the English tongue" (Edgett 175). We can imagine, then, the pleasure Dreiser took in portraying

himself as a homely schoolboy loved and caressed by a woman who assured him that "Grammar isn't everything."

#### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> My thanks go to the Kosciusko County Historical Society in Warsaw, Indiana, for their generous permission to reproduce portions of Calvert's grade book.

<sup>2</sup> Calvert's letters to Dreiser are not notable for their grammatical correctness. When Calvert read a flattering account of herself in Dreiser's *A Hoosier Holiday* (1916), she initiated a correspondence that continued almost until her death in 1942. In July 1918, Calvert visited Dreiser in New York and persuaded him to visit her in Indiana in the fall, though Dreiser postponed the trip until June of 1919. For the fullest account of this relationship, see Dvorak. The Dreiser-Calvert correspondence is available online at the University of Pennsylvania's *Dreiser Web Source*. It is clear from Calvert's letters that she developed an erotic attachment to Dreiser that he did not reciprocate.

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**Stephen C. Brennan** teaches in the English Department at Louisiana State University in Shreveport. He is president of the International Theodore Dreiser Society and co-editor of *Studies in American Naturalism*.

# Ten Questions with Gary Scharnhorst



Gary Scharnhorst is Distinguished Professor of English at the University of New Mexico, editor of American Literary Realism, and editor in alternating years of American Literary

*Scholarship*. He is also the author or editor of thirty-five books.

ALN: Many undergraduate courses are organized around the relationship between realism and naturalism in the late nineteenth century. In the classroom, how do you approach these two movements?

I was taught a thumbnail definition of naturalism over thirty years ago: "realism plus Darwin." While so brief a definition must be "interrogated," of course, it remains the point with which I begin a discussion of the movements. There is no neat and pretty demarcation between them. Many of the realists, including Howells, James, and Mark Twain, experimented with naturalism late in their careers. Howells's novel The Landlord at Lion's Head clearly exhibits the influence of Zola; James described The Princess Casamassima as naturalistic; and Twain's belief in determinism is apparent in such books as The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, Pudd'nhead Wilson, and What is Man? So while realism and naturalism may have been distinct movements, they were kissing cousins.

ALN: Your scholarship is remarkably wideranging, from Hawthorne and Thoreau to Twain, Harte, Gilman, and Howells. Are there threads that bind these authors that have compelled you to explore them? Or is your approach to your scholarship naturally eclectic?

I've always wanted my scholarship to augment my reading and teaching. I'm like a kid without a favorite player or team—I like so many. One project naturally leads to another—an essay on Mark Twain to one on Harte, from a piece on Howells to a piece on Gilman. To be a responsible editor, I've also needed to remain current with a wide variety of trends in scholarship.

While I'm on the subject: I believe that editorial work is not "service," but another form of scholarship—and I daresay most of the people who disagree with me on this point have never been editors. Tell your deans and department chairs.

ALN: Equally wide-ranging has been your approach to the type of scholarship you have produced. You're quite remarkable in this regard. While many scholars specialize in introductions, edited collections, book-length studies, journal and series editing, as well as bibliography--you do them all. First, how do you get it done? And second, what benefits accrue from this varied approach? Any drawbacks?

I simply try to work a while every day. I don't neglect my family or limit my sleep. In fact, I spend an hour or two at my favorite bar in Albuquerque every evening. Years ago, when my kids were young, I also began to accept every reasonable offer that came my way to help pay their school tuition. I usually worked on deadline, an incentive to complete work I might not otherwise have finished. I suppose I earned a reputation for reliability, which brought more work my way.

Not that I ever began a project that didn't interest me. I simply have welcomed a host of opportunities to contribute to scholarly venues.

ALN: Can you give our readers a sense of your experience editing the research annual *American Literary Scholarship*? How did the project come about?

ALS was founded by James Woodress, who wanted to provide a digest of scholarship in American literature because so much of it was published—in 1963. I look at those early volumes and tremble when I compare them to more recent volumes, which are three or four times thicker and cover perhaps eight or ten times as much scholarship as measured by column-inches in the MLA Bibliography. I began as a contributor to the annual and slowly worked my way into editing ALS every other year, alternating with David Nordloh. The production cycle for each volume is around fifteen months—that is, a volume is in the final stages of production as the next one is researched and written by the contributors. In the days before email and computerized databases, the editorial work on ALS was much more difficult because we corresponded with contributors, including the overseas folks, by mail and checked citations by hand. Now I'm able to contact contributors without playing phone tag or running up a long-distance bill, and I can often verify online the accuracy of quotations and so forth. I can't emphasize enough how computers have simplified the lives of editors.

ALN: From your Twayne book in 1985, you have been interested in Charlotte Perkins Gilman. What drew you to the study of Gilman?

I read Gilman's *Women and Economics* in 1976. After I completed my dissertation on Horatio Alger, Jr., part of which appeared as a Twayne volume, I asked the Twayne editors who was on their "desiderata" list and they

mentioned Gilman—this in the early days of her recovery. I jumped at the chance to write about her work because so little had been written at that time. I was inadvertently ahead of the wave. And in the course of researching the Twayne book, I realized I first needed to compile a bibliography of her œuvre. So in effect I was working on two books at the same time.

# ALN: From your Twayne book in 1992, you have been interested in the study of Bret Harte. What drew you to the study of Harte?

A friend of mine gave me a set of Harte's collected writings. I had moved to New Mexico, so I wanted to write about a western American writer, though until then I'd mostly worked with figures in the "New England tradition." Harte seemed to be a bit of both. And, as in my research on Gilman, I soon realized that in order to write sensibly on Harte I first needed to lay the bibliographical groundwork, so again I worked on two books at the same time.

# ALN: Beginning with annotated bibliographies in 1988, what led you to the study of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry David Thoreau?

My daughters were little in the late '80s and early '90s, plus I was an associate dean for a couple of years. The time I could devote to scholarship was limited, sometimes only a few minutes a day, so I decided to compile bibliographies of Hawthorne and Thoreau criticism published before 1900. I could read and annotate a citation in ten or fifteen minutes and accomplish something more satisfying than memo-writing. I also thought about these projects as "basic research" in American literature with myriad possibilities for spinoffs.

ALN: You edit a journal that takes its name from a period: realism. Some contemporary scholars express skepticism of "periodiza-

tion," both in teaching and in scholarship. What are some of the benefits of dealing with authors, at least in part, in terms of periods such as realism and naturalism?

The realists believed they were writing a unique type of fiction, and I think we ought to try to understand them in their own terms. Howells objected to literary romance because, in his evolutionary model, he believed it an inferior form of fiction. I follow Don Pizer's lead here—what was new about realism? Or what were the realists doing that they considered avant-garde? Objections to periodization are often disguised or coded objections to historicizing.

Still, when I assumed the editorship of American Literary Realism I tried to delete the dates "1870-1910" from the title. Such strict dating left too much pie dough outside the pan. But the Copyright Office of the Library of Congress informed us that, if we changed the title of the journal by dropping the dates, we would be assigned a new ISSN, which would have confused our subscribers and complicated renewals. So we kept the dates, though they appear only on the spine and title page of the issues.

ALN: The breadth of the authors you approach ranges from the canonical (Thoreau, Hawthorne, Twain, Howells, Gilman) to the marginally non-canonical (Alger, De Forest, Field). You have a few books with the word "canon" in the title. What piques your interest in the canonization process?

I long ago realized that the canon does not consist of those works that withstand the so-called "test of time." In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the American literary canon basically consisted of the writers published by Ticknor & Fields and its successor firms. I've tried to trace the ebbs and flows in the critical reputations of authors we may have once naively thought were "timeless"—Thoreau, Harte, and others. Believe it or not,

Harte was regarded as one of the major American authors until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. Today he is "marginalized"—nothing from his hand appears in the Heath or Harper or other standard anthologies. Howells has dropped out of the Norton. I appreciate more than ever the extent to which literary reputation is held hostage by editors, critics, publishers, and teachers. But I also question the extent to which the political views of these writers a century and more ago determined their canonicity. Hawthorne and Thoreau were worlds apart politically, but both were published by Ticknor & Fields because it was in the self-interest of the company to promote their writings in the literary market. The political views of writers matters nowadays because the process of canonization—the market in which they are read—has changed.

ALN: Some of your recent work, specifically contributions to *Western American Literature*, centers on the American West. Certainly this interest emerges naturally from your work in southwestern regionalism. To what extent has living and teaching in the West been a factor as well?

I've been a member of the Western Literature Association for over twenty-five years, though in truth I've never considered myself a specialist in western American lit. But no one can live and teach in New Mexico without better appreciating Native American and Chicano/a cultures. My friendships with Rudolfo Anaya and Gerald Vizenor have profoundly broadened my understanding of literature. I'm still a student.

## **Naturalism News**

ALN seeks to note all items of interest to scholars of American literary naturalism and related to the memberships of the Frank Norris Society, the Jack London Society, the Hamlin Garland Society, the Stephen Crane Society, the Theodore Dreiser Society, and beyond. If you have a newsworthy item, please send it to Eric Carl Link at elink@ngcsu.edu and we'll be sure to take note of it in a forthcoming issue of ALN. Did someone in your society win an honor or reach an important career milestone? We want to know. Do you know of a forthcoming volume that might be of interest to the ALN readership? Tell us about it. Is there an event related to American literary naturalism that you attended (or would like us to attend in the future)? Are there competitions, prizes, or grant opportunities that you have learned about? Let us know.

#### •ALN•

The National Endowment for the Arts has selected *The Call of the Wild* as part of its "Big Read" national program for 2008; there will be lectures and an exhibit at the Huntington Library in conjunction with the 9th Biennial Jack London Society Symposium Oct. 10-12, 2008.

#### •ALN•

**Announcing: The Digital Americanists**Ed Whitley, Vice-President, Digital Americanists, writes to ALN:

We are pleased to announce the formation of a new professional organization designed to support the scholarship and teaching of American literature and culture using digital media. The Digital Americanists was formally brought to life at this year's American Literature Association in Boston, and in the past couple of months we have established the necessary frameworks to begin officially filling our membership rolls.

At our new wiki-based website, <a href="http://www.digitalamericanists.org">http://www.digitalamericanists.org</a>, you will find the constitution, an initial list of members, an initial list of associated digital projects, a bibliography of resources, some sample classroom syllabi and activities, and information on

how to become a member along with a description of the privileges of membership. After you've become a member and paid the modest \$10 annual fee (which can be done conveniently online), we invite you to help build the wiki by adding information about yourself, your digital projects, your teaching, and whatever else you feel would be of interest to this community. Please join us in our efforts to create a vibrant organization that can support this growing field of American literature scholarship.

Andrew Jewell, President Edward Whitley, Vice-President Amanda Gailey, Secretary/Treasurer

#### ·ALN•

# **Dave Hudson of the Garland Society writes:** Hello Garland Society! I realized it has been a

while since I'd sent you an update of our musical adaptation of "Main-Travelled Roads". Lots of good things have been happening. The show has shaped up into a really wonderful, intimate musical that captures the loneliness, love, and also the lighter side of Garland's wonderful stories. The show was workshopped at Madison Repertory Theatre in November 2006, where we made a lot of good progress on the piece. The show is going to have its first full production at AFT in Door County Wisconsin. It runs from the 30th of August through Sunday, October 28th. The schedule isn't posted on the website yet, but will be shortly at www.folkloretheatre.com. Door County is gor-

More good news: "Main-Travelled Roads" has won the 2007 Richard Rodgers Award. The Rodgers Award is the most prestigious award for new writers of musicals in America, with a selection committee that includes Stephen Sondheim, Sheldon Harnick (Fiddler on the Roof), and several other renowned theatre and

geous in the fall, so if anyone is looking for an

excuse for a weekend getaway - this is a great

musical theatre writers. As part of the award, the musical will be performed several times in New York City some time in the winter or spring of 2008. I'll keep you posted when we know more. One of the most exciting things for me about this show seeing this success is knowing that it will do something to help raise awareness of Garland and his writings. Fingers crossed it continues to get productions and spurs on more people to explore his works.

-- Dave Hudson

#### ·ALN•

#### Overheard at the Naturalism Symposium:

The central question the novel poses Concerns the extent determinism imposes Upon human will And if we are still Responsible when lead by our noses

[Instructions for use of the above limerick: replace the phrase the novel in line one with the title of your favorite naturalist text (i.e, "The central question that Vandover poses.") Memorize. Recite for your students and revel in their admiration of your poetic skill and fine wit.]

#### •ALN•

# Dave Hartzell on What's New at the World of Jack London website:

## 1) Jack London: The Stories

An open-ended series about Jack London's stories, with plot description and commentary on each and an extended critique on the more important stories to London's short fiction.

- 2) A brief analyses of Jack London's literary naturalism which appear on our site. It consists of an introduction and 3 excerpts from Earl J. Wilcox's 1966 Ph.D. dissertation: "Jack London and American Literary Naturalism."
- 3) <u>The Book of Jack London</u>. A rare out of print two-volume book written by Charmian

one.

London. Unveils the writer's personality, contains many quotes, letters, and conversations along with illustrations.

#### 4) The Kempton-Wace Letters

Letters (1903) is a debate about love and marriage, as well as an epistolary novel. A collaboration between Jack London and Anna Strunsky which took twenty-two months writing.

- 5) We began posting, <u>The Nonfiction of Jack London</u>, a collection by Daniel Wichlan with permission by the Jack London estate.
- 6) We now have more of <u>London's writings</u> posted than any other website.

## **Five on Twenty-One**

For each issue of ALN the editors ask someone in the field to share his or her favorite books. We aren't sure why we do this. Call it an obsession. For this issue of ALN, we asked John Dudley, Associate Professor of English and Coordinator of Graduate Studies for the English Department at the University of South Dakota, and author of A Man's Game: Masculinity and the Anti-Aesthetics of American Literary Naturalism.

## The Dudley Top Five

- 1. Ralph Ellison *Invisible Man*
- 2. Stephen Crane The Red Badge of Courage
- 3. Willa Cather My Antonia
- 4. Leslie Marmon Silko Ceremony
- 5. Frank Norris McTeague

The editors wish to thank Professor Dudley for his list, and we must insist that if you have not read these books, you take some time to introspect on your anti-aesthetic tendencies. This is no game we are playing. After all, one or two of the books on Professor Dudley's list might actually be well written...

# The Call of the Papers

#### **Jack London Biennial Symposium:**

The Jack London Society seeks one-page paper proposals for the 9th Biennial Jack London Society Symposium to be held Oct. 10-12, 2008 at the Huntington Library, San Marino. CA. Hotel reservations can be made at the Westin Pasadena (866-716-8132). Registration for the conference will be \$100. There will be an opening reception the first evening and a banquet the second evening. Keynote speaker will be Thomas R. Tietze, incoming JLS President. Proposals along with complete contact information for all panelists should be sent by July 30, 2008, to Jeanne Campbell Reesman at jeanne.reesman@utsa.edu.

#### •ALN•

#### Jack London Society at the ALA

The Jack London Society seeks one-page paper proposals for the May 22-25, 2008, ALA Annual Conference at the Hyatt Embarcadero in San Francisco. Proposals along with complete contact information for all panelists should be sent to Jeanne Campbell Reesman at <a href="mailto:jeanne.reesman@utsa.edu">jeanne.reesman@utsa.edu</a> by the deadline of December 31, 2007.

#### •ALN•

#### The Frank Norris Society at the ALA

The Frank Norris Society will sponsor two sessions at the American Literature Association Conference at the Hyatt Regency Embarcadero in San Francisco, 22-25 May 2008.

Session One: Issues in American Literary Naturalism. This session will focus on broader treatments of American literary naturalism (whether directly related to Frank Norris or not). Possible topics would include definitional studies, treatments of American literary natu-

ralism in the context of late nineteenth-century culture and history, examinations of literary naturalism in the twentieth century, and related topics.

Session Two: Open. Any aspect of Norris's work or life will be considered.

Presentations will be limited to 20 minutes. Please email abstracts or papers of no more than ten double-spaced pages by 1 January 2008 to the program chair: Eric Carl Link elink@ngcsu.edu

#### •ALN•

#### Theodore Dreiser at the ALA

The International Theodore Dreiser Society will sponsor two sessions at the American Literature Association 19<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference, May 22-25, 2008, in San Francisco.

Papers on all aspects of Dreiser's writing and related topics are welcome. Please submit proposals or papers via e-mail before January 11, 2008, to the vice president and program chair of the Dreiser Society:

Roark Mulligan International Dreiser Society 105 N. Sulgrave Ct. Williamsburg, VA 23185 757-229-3697 mulligan@cnu.edu

#### •ALN•

#### Hamlin Garland at the ALA

The Hamlin Garland Society will sponsor one session at the American Literature Association's Annual Conference, May 22-25, 2008, in San Francisco.

Papers on all aspects of Garland's writing and related topics are welcome.

Please submit proposals or papers via e-mail before January 11, 2008, to

Keith Newlin
Department of English
University of North Carolina Wilmington
newlink@uncw.edu
www.uncw.edu/garland/

#### ·ALN•

#### Stephen Crane at the ALA

The Stephen Crane Society will sponsor two sessions at the American Literature Association Conference at the Hyatt Regency Embarcadero in San Francisco, 22-25 may 2008.

Session One: "The Monster"
Session Two: Any aspect of Crane's works or life will be considered.

Presentations will be limited to 20 minutes. Please email abstracts or papers of no more than ten double-spaced pages by 1 January 2008 to the program chair: Patrick K. Dooley pdooley@sbu.edu

#### •ALN•

#### Cormac McCarthy at the ALA

The Cormac McCarthy Society will sponsor two panels at the 2008 American Literature Association Conference in San Francisco. Topics Open. Send proposals for twenty-minute papers and/or presentations by December 15<sup>th</sup> to: Steven Frye California State University, Bakersfield 43909 30<sup>th</sup> Street West Lancaster, CA 93536 sfrye@csub.edu
E-mail proposals preferred
Provide contact information including email, address, and academic affiliation
See Cormac McCarthy Society Website at

www.cormacmccarthy.com for proposal format

#### •ALN•

#### William Dean Howells at the ALA

#### The International Howells

The William Dean Howells Society invites paper proposals addressing "The International Howells" for the 2008 ALA Convention in San Francisco (22-25 May, 2008). Paper topics are invited on any aspect of Howells's work that touches on the international: fiction; criticism and reviews; travel writing, etc.

#### The Domestic Howells

The William Dean Howells Society invites paper proposals addressing "The Domestic Howells" for the 2008 ALA Convention in San Francisco (22-25 May, 2008). Paper topics are invited on any aspect of Howells's work touching on the "domestic": fiction set in the U.S.; fiction examining domestic life; criticism and reviews; autobiography; reportage and non-fiction, etc.

For either session, please send a 500-word abstract and a brief c.v. (separate MS Word attachments) by 7 January, 2008 to Rob Davidson: <a href="mailto:rgdavidson@csuchico.edu">rgdavidson@csuchico.edu</a>. Or post to: Dr. Rob Davidson
Dept. of English
Taylor Hall
California State University, Chico
Chico, CA 95929-0830

#### •ALN•

#### **Edith Wharton at the ALA**

The Edith Wharton Society will sponsor two sessions at the upcoming ALA conference in San Francisco.

1. Representations of Wharton in the Mass Media: How has Wharton been represented, both during and after her lifetime, in the mass media (including, but not limited to, reviews, visual images, advertisements, obituaries, fictional texts, architectural and design texts,

newspapers, magazines, film, radio, television, tourist and historical site brochures, internet sites, and so forth). What aspects of Wharton's life, identity, or career are privileged or omitted in these texts and for what purpose? What is the relationship between the persona constructed in these texts and the private and public persona that Wharton herself constructed? What is the relationship between Wharton's mass media image and her fiction? All approaches are welcome. Please send a 1-page abstract and brief c.v. to Gary Totten (gary.totten@ndsu.edu) by January 15, 2008.

**2. Edith Wharton and the Culture of Celebrity:** Wharton's treatment of literary, musical, and theatrical celebrity; fans, obsessive and otherwise; the meanings of stardom and fame in Wharton's fiction; being in and out of the spotlight. All approaches welcome; papers on Wharton's lesser-known works would be especially appreciated. Please send 1-page abstracts and brief c.v.'s to Meredith Goldsmith (mgoldsmith@ursinus.edu) by January 15, 2008.

#### •ALN•

# Edith Wharton Conference in Lenox, Massachusetts, June 26-28, 2008

"Edith Wharton and History"
Deadline: 20 January 2008
<a href="http://www.edithwhartonsociety.org/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/conference/c

The broad theme of this conference, organized by the Edith Wharton Society, aims to bring historical, cultural, and literary contexts to Wharton's life and all of her work. Please send abstracts of no more than 1000 words and a one-page cv by Jan. 20<sup>th</sup>, 2008, to Carol Singley [singley@camden.rutgers.edu].

Possible topics include: Edith Wharton and women's history and women's studies; Edith Wharton and women's writing; Edith Wharton

in the work of others (her influence on others, her appearance in the work of others); Historicizing aspects of Wharton's work; Edith Wharton and popular culture;

Edith Wharton and cultural phenomena and practices; Edith Wharton and illness, addiction, etc.; Edith Wharton and publishing

#### •ALN•

#### Richard Wright: The Centenary Celebration

The American University of Paris announces the International Richard Wright Centennial Conference. It will be held 19-21 June 2008 at The American University of Paris and at the Musée des années trente (Museum of the Nineteen Thirties), in Boulogne-Billancourt.

The Conference will encourage broad international and interdisciplinary explorations of Wright's life and writing, with a special emphasis on the Paris he inhabited (1947-1960), both what it was and what it is today as a result of the marks he left behind, and on his experiences in Africa. Stressing the importance of Richard Wright, the conference hopes to be an international point of intersection for all those interested in Wright's work from literary and cultural critics, to political activists, poets, musicians, publishers and historians. We seek the widest range of academic and public intellectual discussion around Wright's work which has influenced so many and so much.

Topics may include, but are not limited to: Wright in the Black Atlantic: Transnationalism and Transatlanticism; Wright and expatriate Paris; Wright as exile and travel writer; The reception of Wright's work in various non-U.S. settings; Wright and African American Satire, Irony, and Comedy; Wright and the African American Literary Canon; Wright, Whiteness, and Black Masculinity; Wright and African American Confinement Literature; Wright, Gender, and the Political Use of Modernism;

Wright's Cultural Criticism; Wright and Literary Friendships and Influences; Wright and Films; Wright and Teaching Pluriculturalism; Wright's Influence on the World Today.

Paper/presentation proposals should include:

- 1. A brief (250-300 word) abstract.
- 2. A brief (1-2pp.) vita.

The deadline is January 15, 2008. Submit abstracts to:
Alice.Craven@aup.fr OR
William.Dow@wanadoo.fr

# **Bibliographic Update**

Listed below are studies on American literary naturalism published since the last bibliographic update (in the April 2007 issue of ALN), plus a few that evaded our fading eyesight last April. The lists below are comprehensive, but not exhaustive, and we undoubtedly missed a work here and there. If you published an article or book related to American literary naturalism in the past six months and it is not listed below, please let us know and we will note it in the next issue of ALN.

#### **General Studies**

Meadowsong, Zena. "Natural Monsters: The Genesis and Deformation of the 'Experimental Novel.'" *Studies in American Naturalism* 2.1 (Summer2007): 3-17.

#### **Stephen Crane**

Gandal, Keith. *Class Representation in Modern Fiction and Film*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Lutes, Jean Marie. "Lynching Coverage and the American Reporter-Novelist." *American Literary History* 19.2 (Summer 2007): 56-81.

Goldsby, Jacqueline. *A Spectacular Secret: Lynching in American Life and Literature.*Chicago: University of Chicago P, 2006.

#### **Theodore Dreiser**

- Geyh, Paula E. "From cities of Things to Cities of Signs: Urban Spaces and Urban Subjects in *Sister Carrie* and *Manhattan Transfer.*" *Twentieth Century Literature* 52.4 (December 2006): 413-42.
- Hindley, Meredith. "Filming the American Novel." *Humanities* (March 2007): 26-29.
- Lutes, Jean Marie. "Lynching Coverage and the American Reporter-Novelist." *American Literary History* 19 (2007): 456-81.
- Eby, Clare, ed. *The "Genius*." By Theodore Dreiser. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois P, 2007.

#### **Hamlin Garland**

- Philip, Joseph. *American Literary Regionalism* in a Global Age. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State UP, 2007.
- Teorey, Matthew. "Escaping the Lion's Paw: Jungle Cat Imagery and Late-Nineteenth-Century Political Reform." *ANQ* 19.1 (Winter 2006): 42-7.

#### **William Dean Howells**

- Anderson, David D. *Ohio: In Fact and Fiction:*Further Essays on the Ohio Experience.

  East Lansing, MI: Midwestern, for Center for the Study of Midwestern Literature and Culture, Michigan State University, 2006.
- Belluscio, Steven J. *To Be Suddenly White: Lit* erary Realism and Racial Passing. Columbia, MO: U of Missouri P, 2006.
- Delgado, Josep Francesc. "Jack London Versus James Oliver Curwood. Los Animales También Sienten Y Piensan." *CLIJ: Cuadernos de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil* 19.198 (2006): 42-50.
- Dooley, Patrick K. "William Dean Howells and Harold Frederic." *Howellsian* 9.1 (2006): 3-10.
- Fernández, Victoria. "Jack London." *CLIJ: Cuadernos de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil* 19.198 (2006): 3-82.
- Howe, Patricia. "William Dean Howells's Indian Summer and Theodor Fontane's Effi Briest: Forms and Phases of the Realist

- Novel." *Modern Language Review* 102.1 (2007): 125-38.
- Pérez Bernardo, María Luisa. "Pardo Bazán Y Dean Howell [Howells]: Dos Escritores Realistas Ante Un Mismo Tema Literario." La Cultura Hispánica En Sus Cruces Trans-Atlánticos. Eds. R. de la Fuente Ballesteros and J. Pérez-Magallón. Colección Cultura Iberoamericana Number: 22: Universitas Castellae, Valladolid, Spain Pagination: 233-39, 2006. 298.
- Pérez Morán, Ernesto. "Una Vida De Cine. Jack London En La Pantalla." *CLIJ: Cuadernos de Literatura Infantil y Juvenil* 19.198 (2006): 51-55.
- Puskar, Jason. "William Dean Howells and the Insurance of the Real." *American Literary History* 18.1 (2006): 29-58.
- Spencer, Nicholas. After Utopia: The Rise of Critical Space in Twentieth- Century American Fiction. Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska P, 2006.
- Sundeen, Mark. "The Man Who Would Be Jack London: Wrestling (and Driving around) with the Legacy of the Most Widely Read American in the World." *Believer* 4.6 (2006): 27-37.
- Walker, Jeffrey. "What Difference a Definition Makes; or, William Dean Howells and the Sophist's Shoes." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 36.2 (2006).
- Witherow, Jean. "Kate Chopin's Dialogic Engagement with W. D. Howells: 'What Cannot Love Do?'" *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South* 13.3-4 (2006): 101-16.
- Wray, Sarah. "Light and Darkness in Howells's 'Editha': A Feminist Critique." *Explicator* 65.3 (2007): 157-59.

#### **Jack London**

Bomback, Andrew S. and Philip J Klemmer.

"Jack London's 'Mysterious Malady.'" *The American Journal of Medicine* 120.5

(2007): 466-467.

- Chu, Patricia E. "Dog and Dinosaur: The Modern Animal Story." Mosaic 40.1 (2007): 79-94.
- Feldman, Mark. "The Physics and Metaphysics Link, Eric Carl. "'A Lost Story': Reflections on of Caging: The Animal in Late-Nineteenth-Century American Culture." Mosaic 39.4 (December 2006): 161-80.
- Lansac, Philippe, and Jack London. Jack London's Grand North. Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2007.
- London, Jack, and Jonathan Auerbach. The Iron Heel. NY: Penguin Books, 2006.
- London, Jack, and Todd DePastino. The Road. Subterranean Lives. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006.
- London, Jack, Gary Riedl, and Thomas R. Tietze. Jack London's Tales of Cannibals and Headhunters: Nine South Seas Stories by America's Master of Adventure. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico P, 2006.
- Phillips, Lawrence. "Colonial culture in the Pacific in Robert Louis Stevenson and Jack London." Race & Class 48.3 (2007): 63-
- Photinos, Christine. "Tracking Changes in Jack London's Representation of the Railroad Tramp." The Journal of American Culture 30.2 (2007): 175-186.
- Rossetti, Gina M. Imagining the Primitive in Naturalist and Modernist Literature. Columbia: University of Missouri P, 2006.
- Ruh, Adam and Scharnhorst, Gary. "Fifteen Minutes on Socialism with Jack London': A Recovered Interview." Studies in American Naturalism 2.1 (Summer 2007): 66-77.
- Spencer, Nicholas. After Utopia: The Rise of Critical Space in Twentieth- Century American Fiction. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2006.

#### Frank Norris

Austenfeld, Thomas. "A Happy Naturalist? Jeremy Bentham and the Cosmic Morality of The Octopus." Studies in American Naturalism 2.1 (Summer2007): 33-45.

Frye, Steven. "Presley's Pretense: Irony and

- Epic Convention in Frank Norris' The Octopus." American Literary Realism 39.3 (Spring 2007): 213-21.
- Frank Norris as a Short Story Writer." Studies in American Naturalism 2.1 (Summer 2007): 18-32.

#### **Other Authors**

- Dietrick, Jon. "Real Classical Money': Natu ralism and Mamet's American Buffalo." Twentieth Century Literature 52.3 (Fall 2006): 330-46.
- Fleissner, Jennifer L. "The Biological Clock: Edith Wharton, Naturalism, and the Temporality of Womanhood." American Literature 78.3 (September 2006): 519.
- Totten, Gary, ed. Memorial Boxes and Guarded Interiors: Edith Wharton and Material Culture. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2007.

# From the Archives

## A Contemporary Account of the **Mussel Slough Massacre**

On May 11, 1880, wheat farmers and agents of the Southern Pacific Railroad clashed in armed conflict in an area known to locals as Mussel Slough. The San Francisco Bulletin published the following account of the incident on May 12 of that year. Students of Norris may be interested to know the details of the conflict, particularly what Norris chose to leave out of his fictionalized account. Note how detailed the article is, giving approximate distance in feet and rods, as well as how gruesome a picture it paints, with vivid descriptions of oozing blood and disfigured faces. The naturalist in Norris would no doubt have approved.

> --Stephen A. Fairbanks North Georgia College & St. Univ.

[San Francisco Bulletin, May 12, 1880]

### TULARE LAND TROUBLES.

Bloody Sequel to the Mussel Slough Railroad Land Controversy.

Armed Resistance to a United States Marshal.

Seven Men Killed and Another Wounded.

History of the Mussel Slough Dispute— Interesting Correspondence.

Statement of United States Marshal Poole.

The land trouble in the Mussel Slough region, Tulare county, with the various phases of which the readers of the *Bulletin* are quite familiar, has culminated in a bloody tragedy, the details of which are given below:

# COLLISION BETWEEN THE SETTLERS AND THE UNITED STATES MARSHALL

VISALIA, May 11th--United States Marshal Poole and W.H. Clark, the land grader, arrived at Hanford this morning to dispossess the settlers, and left Hanford at half-past 7 to serve process on William Broden and others. The Leaguers collected and followed the Marshal and overtook him three miles north of Grangeville and commanded him and the grader to surrender, which they did. They then commanded Crow, a purchaser from the Railroad Company, and a companion named Hartt, to surrender. Instead of surrendering they leaped from a spring wagon and fired with a shotgun and rifle, killing James Harris, Iver Knutson and John Henderson, and wounding Archie McGregor, William Broden, D. Keller, and a man named Haymaker, all being settlers. The settlers returned the fire, wounding Hartt fatally; and as Crow retreated at some distance, a shot struck him, killing him instantly. There is great excitement at Hanford and vicinity, but the leaders of the League caution prudence.

#### PARTICULARS OF THE FIGHT

KINGSBURY, May 11th—About 9:30 this morning, United States Deputy Marshal Poole, accompanied by W.H. Clark, was in the vicinity of Hanford, for the purpose of serving writs on the settlers on the railroad lands who had refused to give up possession in those cases where such had been decided against them by the United States Courts. Marshal Poole had put M. D. Hartt and Walter Crow in possession of one tract, and the four men were proceeding to another piece of land, when they saw about forty mounted men riding toward them. The United States Marshal left his buggy and advanced to meet them. After a brief conversation with them they suddenly covered him with rifles and pistols, and part of them rode rapidly toward the wagon, in the rear of which Hartt and Crow were seated. One of the horses struck Marshal Poole, throwing him down. It is not known who commenced the firing. The settlers—Knutson, Henderson and Harris—are reported killed, and one—McGregor—badly wounded. M.D. Hartt is supposed to be fatally shot in the groin. Great excitement prevails here, and the supposition is that Crow, who escaped this morning, will be killed if he is overtaken. Marshal Poole and Clark are all right.

# INTERCEPTED TELEGRAPH COMMUNICATION.

The following dispatch, in response to a request for information, was received by the Associated Press agent in this city last night:

GOSHEN, May 11<sup>th</sup>—I can give no definite information, as I was requested by the Leaguers to leave about the time the trouble commenced, and the Leaguers took possession of the telegraph office in order to stop telegraphic communication.

B. DOWAGER, Operator at Hanford.

# LATER DISPATCH—ALL QUIET AT THE SCENE OF TROUBLE.

HANFORD, May 12<sup>th</sup>—Matters are quiet this morning. There are no prospects of a further out-

break. Six men are killed, namely, Dan Kelly, James Harris, and Archibald McGregor. M. D. Hartt is mortally wounded and R. Haymaker is slightly wounded. The principal shooting was done by Crow, Hartt, Henderson, Kelly and Harris. No others did any shooting as yet known.

# ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE FATAL COLLISION.

Special to the Bulletin.

VISALIA, May12th—The Visalia *Delta* extra, just issued, gives the following account of the Mussel Slough tragedy: For many weeks a suppressed apprehension has prevailed in Tulare county that we were on the eve of an outbreak between the settlers and the Railroad. This fear has, with good reason, increased as the time drew near when, in the events of the settlers failing to comply with certain conditions, they would be dispossessed of their homes by the Railroad Company. Whispers that they United States Marshal was to be sent to take possession of and hold the disputed lands for the Railroad Company, only made the crisis more certain in the opinion of those who knew the settlers. A grand indignation meeting of settlers was appointed at Hanford for Tuesday, May 11th, at which Judge Terry was expected to give his views on the legal aspect of the case. On Monday it was reported that several parties, supposed either to be in league with the Railroad Company or opposed to the interests of the settlers, had received anonymous warning to leave the county. Among those said to have been thus forewarned were M.D. Hartt and Walter J. Crow, who were looked upon as tools of the Railroad Company, and who, in consideration of their services to dispossessing the settlers and thereby providing a test case, were to receive their land. Members of the League deny having sent these warnings to Crow and others. United States Marshal Poole and W.H. Clark, grader of railroad lands in the Mussel Slough region, arrived at Hanford Monday night, and took rooms at the hotel. Early Tuesday morning, they drove out of town in a buggy. The settlers' meeting had called together a large concourse of people from all parts of the Mussel Slough country, who began to arrive early in the morning, and when the news went around that the United States Marshal and W.H. Clark had arrived the night before, and had early that morning ridden away in company with Hartt and Crow, many set-

tlers, gathered for the meeting, were prepared for prompt and united action in whatever course they might dictate or pursue in the matter. The Marshal and Clark drove out to the place occupied by Wm. B. Braden, northeast of town, and dispossessed him, and in his absence set his household goods out in the road and put M. D. Hartt in possession. They then proceeded in company with Hartt and Walter Crow to the place occupied by Brewer and Storer, three and a half miles north of Grangerville, in Fresno county. Meantime various squads of mounted men, as the presence and purposes of the Marshal became known, had followed the officer with a party from Hanford. Some of these men were armed, but many of them had no weapons. They soon learned the summary measures taken by the officers at Braden's ranch, and hearing that like proceedings were contemplated at Brewer's, they rode there. When about half a mile from the place they saw the two buggies, the forward one containing Marshal Poole and Clarke, and the other Hartt and Crow, pass through the yard near the house and into the field, some 200 yards west of the residence, where they stopped. The settlers passed through the fence at the southwest corner of the field, and rode directly across toward the buggies. When the advance squad of some fifteen settlers came up to within fifty or one hundred yards of the Marshal. He alighted, advanced, meeting them half way, and saluted them in a gentlemanly manner saying that in his official capacity as United States Marshal he was compelled to perform his duties in the matter, although against his desire. A formal demand to surrender was then made to the Marshal by the leader. This he did, but refused to give up his pistol, and, with the understanding that he should not use it, was allowed to retain his revolver. Two men—Archie McGregor and John E. Henderson were told to keep ward over the officer. When the party was still going on, one man rode alongside Hartt and Crow, and commenced conversation with the latter. Crow and Hartt seemed to be watching the actions of the party around the Marshal. Once Hartt grasped his gun, when Crow said: "Don't shoot yet; it is not time." Whether Hartt and Crow were at this time ordered to surrender, according to one account, or whether a settler drew his revolver on the latter, as has been reported, we are not able to state, but they both at the same time leaped from the wagon grasping their weapons, and Crow discharged the contents of his shotgun into the breast

and face of Harris, who fell to the ground dead. The fight now commenced in earnest, and shot followed shot. Henderson, who was guarding the Marshal, ran forward firing as he went, and but for the insufficiency of his weapon, it being a small pistol, and hanging fire, he would have probably finished Crow and put a stop to the affair, but before he was killed by Crow one shot from his pistol wounded Hartt in the abdomen. McGregor, who with Henderson had been guarding the Marshal, and who was unarmed, was shot twice in the breast and crying "My hand" started off for the pool of water near and when about 170 steps away, was shot, again in the back. Knutson fell riddled with buckshot, grasping his loaded revolver, before he had fired a shot. Dan Kelley, with three shots in his back, fell from his horse near the barn. Crow, who had now run some distance from the wagon sung out to Hartt: "God d-m it, bring the rifle." Hartt ran toward him with it, and Crow commenced reloading. When J.M. Patterson said: "This thing has gone far enough, and better stop." T.J. McQuiddy now rode up with thirty or forty settlers and handed Marshal Poole a written demand that he desist from dispossessing the settlers, and that he leave the county forthwith, which he consented to do, and with Clark was sent away, under guard of four men. During this parley and the excitement, Crow ran along the fence south, in a stooping position holding his gun. He was heard to say that he was wounded. While the dead and dying were being cared for, bands of armed men scoured the country in quest of Crow, whom it was feared would offer a desperate resistance.

The report of this awful affair which happened about 10 o'clock, spread like wild fire. It reached Hanford in about an hour, and the *Delta* reporter, having telegraphed the first news, started for the scene of action, and in forty minutes hand passed over the intervening nine miles and was on the ground. A sickening spectacle met his gaze. Stretched on the porch of Brewer's house were the blood and lifeless remains of James M. Harris, Iver Knutson and John E. Henderson, while the fourth form was that of D.M. Hartt, writhing and groaning from a mortal wound in the abdomen. Inside the house was a no less ghastly spectacle. On one bed was Dan Kelley terribly wounded with three holes in his back, and, on another couch Archibald McGregor lay groaning with three wounds through

his body. The wives, children and friends soon began to arrive and the shrieks and heart rending cries filled the air. Surgical skill in the persons of Drs. Lovelace and Davidson, soon came to hand, and all that possibly could be was done to relieve the sufferers. It was the opinion of the surgeons that the wounds of all would prove fatal, except those of Haymaker, who is slightly wounded in the head by glancing buckshot. On his return the reporter met a squad of men, who informed him of the discovery of the body of Crow one-and-a-half miles southeast of the scene of action in an alfalfa field, lying on his face, dead, with his loaded double-barrel shot-gun by his side of his face presented a sickening spectacle. The blood was oozing from his nostrils and mouth, and the black discoloration of his countenance hardly presented the semblance of a human face. Crow seems to have done the principal shooting. It is doubtful whether Hartt fired a shot, and it is further questioned whether Crow was wounded at all in the conflict. Subsequent developments seem to indicate that he pretended to have been badly wounded only to facilitate his escape. He left the scene and struck out through the fields for his home about two miles distant. When he had gone about one and a half miles, followed by and armed man, his is said to have raised up his gun to fire at George Hackett, who was passing a few rods from where he stood. He did not fire, but a musket report from a near thicket was heard and he pitched headlong to the ground where he apparently died without a struggle.

Great excitement prevails. At the time of the arrival of the first messenger Hanford was full of people and excitement knew no bounds.

Men hurried to and fro, women cried, while everywhere were evidences of the most intense feeling. Of those killed and wounded all except McGregor of Grangerville, were residents of the vicinity of Hanford. McGregor and Kelly are single men, Harris has a wife and one child. Henderson a wife and one child: Kneutson, a wife and nine children; Hartt, a wife and two children; Crow a wife and two children. The wife of crow is visiting in Stanislaus County and the family of Hartt left on the train the night before the occurrence herein related.

The reporter after telegraphing the first brief report was unable to dispatch another message as the operator had turned the keys of his office over to an officer, and left town after having been requested so to do. All trains were discontinued and for the time being Hanford was cut off from the outside world. The settlers assembled in the afternoon and passed resolutions and then dispersed. No violence was attempted or threatened, and life and property were apparently as safe as ever. The United States Marshal and Clark arrived in Kingsburg that afternoon, and a special train was sent from Goshen to take them to Fresno from whence they went, we learn, on Wednesday morning, direct to San Francisco. It was their purpose, we are informed, to dispossess the settlers on but three pieces of land, which had been purchased by Crow and Hartt. William Braden, Archie McGregor and Brewer and Storer were settlers on these lands. In Mussel Slough the feeling over this lamentable affair and the causes which led to it is intense, and public opinion there seems to be that this may be but the commencement of a resistance forced upon them, and which they are obliged to make in defense of their homes.

Coroner Lovelace appointed the inquest for Thursday, at 9 o'clock, at Hanford.

#### **LATER**

Archie McGregor and Dan Kelley have died, making six killed and two wounded.

#### THE FEELING IN THE CITY

The news from Tulare County of a sanguinary conflict between the Settlers' League and men holding the title under deed from the Southern Pacific Railroad Company excites comment in the city. The latest intelligence from the scene of the conflict reports several men dead, and the people very much excited.

# THE FEELING AT RAILROAD HEADQUARTERS

The representatives of the Southern Pacific Railway in this city deplore the collision and assert that they have done everything to avoid it. They did not invoke the United States authorities to place men in possession who held valid title to the lands until the United States Circuit Court had rendered a decision declaring that the settlers were in wrongful possession. Then no steps were taken until the time

for appeal to the United States Supreme Court had expired.

#### NO RECORDED CLAIMS AGAINS THE LAND

Charles Crocker, President of the Southern Pacific, and Jerome Madden, Land Agent, assert that there were no claims of record against the lands when the patents were received. In proof of this they submit the certificate of the Register and Receiver of the Visalia Land District.

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