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The American tradition of the literary interview, 1840-1956 : a cultural history

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THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF THE LITERARY INTERVIEW, 1840 – 1956: A CULTURAL HISTORY

by

Sarah Fay

An Abstract

Of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of
Philosophy degree in English
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Thesis Supervisor: Associate Professor Loren Glass

ABSTRACT

"The American Tradition of the Literary Interview 1840 – 1956: A Cultural History" is the first study to document the development of the literary interview in the United States. A handful of critics have discussed the literary interview and traced it back to various European cultural traditions; however, I argue that, like the interview, which the British journalist William Stead wrote "was a distinctly American invention," the literary interview was a particularly American form. Drawing on archival research and new readings of primary sources, this project examines the literary interview's systemic growth and formal characteristics between 1842 and 1956. I trace connections among the American press, culture, and literary marketplace to offer an as-yet unwritten history of the literary interview. During Charles Dickens's 1842 North American tour, the first literary interviews were published in written-up, or paragraph form and resembled written snapshots or sketches. As a result of the cult of domesticity and the popular scandals of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the literary interview developed into a slightly longer and more narrative form that focused on an author's surroundings and living quarters. With the rise of yellow journalism and muckraking reporting during the first decades of the twentieth century, the literary interview became a more investigative and intrusive form; yet at the same time, the first in-depth, literary conversations with American authors were published. During the interwar period, the second wave of "girl reporters" and lady interviews transformed the written-up literary interview into a more nuanced form that exhibited rhetorical and literary flourishes. With the development of the *New Yorker* profile and the *Paris Review* interview in the mid-twentieth century, the literary interview branched off into two distinct modes: the profile and the author Q & A. This history of the literary interview offers a model of reading mass media communications in terms of both content and form. In doing so, this project challenges the critical

frameworks that dismiss the literary interview as ancillary to literature and articulate the importance of interviews, communication, and conversation in American culture.

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Graduate College
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Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee
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To my mother, Dr. Lynn McCarthy

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ABSTRACT

"The American Tradition of the Literary Interview 1840 – 1956: A Cultural History" is the first study to document the development of the literary interview in the United States. A handful of critics have discussed the literary interview and traced it back to various European cultural traditions; however, I argue that, like the interview, which the British journalist William Stead wrote "was a distinctly American invention," the literary interview was a particularly American form. Drawing on archival research and new readings of primary sources, this project examines the literary interview's systemic growth and formal characteristics between 1842 and 1956. I trace connections among the American press, culture, and literary marketplace to offer an as-yet unwritten history of the literary interview. During Charles Dickens's 1842 North American tour, the first literary interviews were published in written-up, or paragraph form and resembled written snapshots or sketches. As a result of the cult of domesticity and the popular scandals of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the literary interview developed into a slightly longer and more narrative form that focused on an author's surroundings and living quarters. With the rise of yellow journalism and muckraking reporting during the first decades of the twentieth century, the literary interview became a more investigative and intrusive form; yet at the same time, the first in-depth, literary conversations with American authors were published. During the interwar period, the second wave of "girl reporters" and lady interviews transformed the written-up literary interview into a more nuanced form that exhibited rhetorical and literary flourishes. With the development of the *New Yorker* profile and the *Paris Review* interview in the mid-twentieth century, the literary interview branched off into two distinct modes: the profile and the author Q & A. This history of the literary interview offers a model of reading mass media communications in terms of both content and form. In doing so, this project challenges the critical

frameworks that dismiss the literary interview as ancillary to literature and articulate the importance of interviews, communication, and conversation in American culture.

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INTRODUCTION

In March 2005, I interviewed the Spanish novelist Javier Marías for one of the *Paris Review*'s "Art of Fiction" interviews.[1] His agent had informed me that he typically wrote between eleven at night to two in the morning and did not wake until two in the afternoon, so our interview sessions would have to take place six in the evening. When I arrived at Marías' apartment just off the Plaza Mayor in Madrid, the doorman, an elderly Madrileño, ushered me upstairs. Marías answered the door and politely invited me inside. He had dark circles under his eyes and his hair was tousled on top of his head. He lit a cigarette. Speaking in English, which he had mastered while lecturing on Spanish literature and translation at the University of Oxford, Marías explained that Orson Welles's *Othello* had been on television at three that morning and he had not gone to bed until six am. He squinted apologetically and took a drag. After a moment, he quietly mentioned that his father had passed away a few months earlier. "I sleep badly," he said.

Marías was then relatively unknown in the United States. Only a small number of readers had read the short profile of him in the *New Yorker* or the excerpts of his second novel, *Voyage Along the Horizon*, published in *The Believer*. But in Europe, particularly in Spain and Germany, he had the celebrity status of a rock star. His books had been translated into over thirty languages and had sold over five million copies worldwide. He was often mentioned in the European press as a contender for the Nobel Prize. Earlier that day, while eating lunch at a nearby restaurant, the waitress asked what I was doing in Spain and when I told her that I was in Madrid to interview Javier Marías, she gasped and said, "Sometimes we see him walking down the street!"

Marías gestured for me to sit on a puffy blue chair. As he sat on the couch, his eyes brightened and he described at length how pleased he was to have been chosen as the subject for a *Paris Review* interview. He had read them, of course—hadn't everyone? I settled into the chair and waited for him to continue. He looked at me sheepishly

through the haze of cigarette smoke said that he had read the *Paris Review* interview with Vladimir Nabokov many times. I waited for him to go on. He looked at me, wondering.

These awkward pauses were new to me. At the time, I had only interviewed two other writers: the American poet Jack Gilbert and the Indian writer Pankaj Mishra; but I had quickly adopted the *Paris Review* method of interviewing, which my editor Philip Gourevitch had passed on to me. (I never met the magazine's main editor George Plimpton, who died in 2003.) Gourivitch, via Plimpton, emphasized the importance of being silent, of listening and witnessing, in interviews. They were right. I quickly learned that the ability to remain quiet was, perhaps, my greatest asset. How else could I give Marías the license to digress, explore, and move beyond the usual sound bites? How else could I learn his voice? How else could I discover that Marías spoke in the same long, digressive sentences characteristic of the narrators in his novels?

After about an hour, he became self-conscious again. He said that although he was often interviewed, it was unusual to be given the opportunity to talk about his work and life in such depth. One of the other "rules" of interviewing that had been imparted to me was to know everything I could about my subject. A "good" *Paris Review* interviewer is knowledgeable enough about her subject's work to know what *not* to ask. In preparation for this interview, I had spent three months reading all eleven of Marías's novels (two in Spanish with the help of a translator); his two collections of short stories; his newspaper column, which runs weekly in *El País*; reviews of his work; and every interview with him that had been published in English and Spanish (again, with the help of a translator).

I reminded him that I would send him a transcript of the interview, which he could revise and edit as he saw fit. Ever since *The Paris Review* started publishing literary interviews sixty years ago, it has adopted the practice of the "rewritten" interview, first used by William Stead in England in the late nineteenth century. Like all interviewees from William Faulkner to Vladimir Nabokov to Toni Morrison, Marías

would have the opportunity to "sign off" on the interview before it went to print. Because each writer, or subject, has the opportunity to clarify, retract, and amplify, he or she is more likely to reveal him or herself. On hearing this, Marías stubbed out his cigarette, popped up, went into the kitchen, and returned with a thick bar of dark chocolate. After offering me some, he ate a few squares and went on talking.

By nine o'clock, Marías's energy started to fade. He said he had promised to meet his friends at the corner bar to watch fútbol. We arranged to meet at the same time again the following evening. *Paris Review* interviews take place over a number of sessions and are then edited so that they appear to be a single conversation. As he showed me to the door, he seemed exhausted. It was an expression of tiredness I had seen on other interviewees' faces—the kind that comes from talking about oneself. Like most *Paris Review* interviewers, I learned the art of the literary interview on the job.

But what exactly is a literary interview? At first glance, it defies categorization: not quite conversation, certainly not criticism, definitely not literature, akin to dialogue but also a form of publicity. Myriad traditions have given rise to it: testimony, commentary, interrogation, and correspondence, to name just a few. As an interviewer and journalist, I wanted to know the history of this hybrid form. I spent ten years interviewing authors and cultural figures such as Kenzaburo Oe, Marilynne Robinson, Ha Jin, Kay Ryan, Wells Tower, and Michael Silverblatt for magazines, such as the *Paris Review*, the *Believer*, and the *Iowa Review*, and knew that the literary interview was more than just an interview with a writer. When and where did it start? Why did newspapers, then magazines, then literary magazines and radio programs, then television, and now the Internet publish and broadcast literary interviews? Why has it remained such an integral part of American literature and its social life?

This dissertation is an effort to begin to answer these questions and discern why literary interviews are ubiquitous in twenty-first-century American culture. They appear in newspapers, magazines, and literary journals, and on the radio, television, and the

Internet. From *Playboy* magazine to Oprah, interviews with authors abound. However, there is not a single entry in any dictionary for the compound noun *literary interview*, and it has yet to be the subject of a thorough book-length study—until now.

This dissertation, "The American Tradition of the Literary Interview 1840 – 1956: A Cultural History" is the first to examine the history of the literary interview within the American context. Although Michael Schudson and others have written about the journalistic interview has been written about at length, the literary interview has been given scant attention. The few critics and scholars who have addressed the literary interview point to its potential as an object of study but do not place it within a particular historical and literary context.

Ronald Christ's "An Interview on Interviews" (1977) was the first study of the literary interview as a form. Christ, a professor of English and interviewer for such journals as the *Paris Review* and the *Partisan Review*, regards the literary interview as more than just a facet of and fodder for biographical criticism. Although he notes that the literary interview sometimes "breeds contempt, distrust," and "suspicion," he attributes critics' neglect of it to "the well-known phony-aristocratic contempt for the popular."[2] Christ's article invites someone to examine "the whole thing": "the history and the changing meaning of the term, the varieties of interviews, the formal characteristics of what is a literary form."[3] He even goes so far as to ask, "Isn't there some bright graduate student, somewhere, who's looking for a dissertation topic and who would do this really important study on the development of the interview?"[4]

More recently, Bruce Bawer, Ted Lyon, and Thasia Frank have considered the literary interview as a cultural phenomenon. Bawer's "Talk Show: The Rise of the Literary Interview" (1988) briefly examines the literary interview during the 1980s, when, he writes, it was "an even hotter form than the music video."[5] Both Lyon's "Jorge Luis Borges and the Interview as a Literary Genre"(1994) and Frank's "Deconstructing the Literary Interview: The Myth of the Literary Persona" (1996) touch on the ways that

a literary interview acts upon the reader. In documenting Borges's innovative approach to the interview, Lyon combs most of the 580 interviews Borges gave in his lifetime and concludes that the literary interview is a genre "caught between oral and written codes, between spontaneous flow and meditative creation, indeed between fact and fiction."[6] For Lyon, this results in a unique relationship between the reader and the "characters" in the interview: "The author and her/his interviewer blend into a single entity, and the reader establishes her/his dialogic relationship with them as if they were merely two characters in a novel."[7] Frank attempts to demonstrate that beneath the "perennial questions posed to writers about whether they write longhand or use a computer, who has influenced them, where they get their ideas, and what sorts of routines inform their working day" exists an "intense" and "deeply interactive" relationship between the reader, interviewer, and interviewee.[8] According to Frank, a literary interview acts upon the reader as a work of fiction. Often the reader feels she has met a "very particular person."[9]

John Rodden's *Performing the Literary Interview: How Writers Craft Their Public Selves* (2001) remains the only book-length investigation into the literary interview. Rodden's study primarily views the literary interview as a facet of performance studies. However, it does not examine the history or formal elements of the literary interview. He uses his own interviews with Isabel Allende, Richard Bach, and others to prove that the literary interview functions as a performative mode of self-invention for both the interviewer and the interviewee.[10]

Several of these studies address the literary interview but not one traces its history or examines its formal aspects within that history. To expand on the work of these scholars, I used Ngram Viewer to determine the historical periods during which the term *literary interview* was most popular in the American vernacular. Ngram Viewer, a tool developed by Google Labs to search the frequency of use of a word or phrase in Google's database of over five million digitally scanned books, allowed me to note the eras the

phrase appeared most often in print in the United States over a one-hundred-fifty-year period. The graph below shows the frequent occurrence of the term between 1800 and 1960:

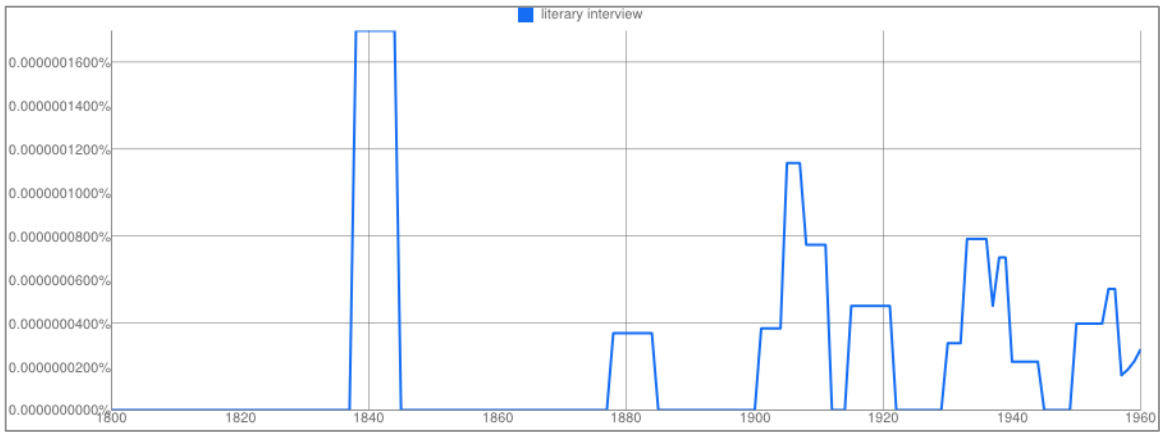

Figure 1 Frequency of use of the term *literary interview* in printed material written in English and published in the United States between 1800 and 1960 (Google Ngram).

This graph gave me a starting point from which to begin to research the history of the literary interview. The presence of peak periods—roughly 1840, 1880, 1908, 1920, 1935, and 1956—indicated that the term *literary interview* experienced periods of popularity that were determined by various social and cultural factors. For instance, it was clear that the literary interview did not flourish during periods of war, such as the Civil War, the Spanish American War, World War I, and World War II. Less obvious were the cultural institutions and trends that may have contributed to these peak periods.

For each peak period, I noted cultural institutions and developments that may have influenced the literary interview. The early nineteenth century saw the introduction and popularity of the literary sketch, the daguerreotype, and phrenology and physiognomy in American society. It also marked Charles Dickens's 1842 North American tour, which signaled the first visit of a literary celebrity that merited the

publication of literary interviews. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the cult of domesticity, the popular scandals of the 1870s, and Oscar Wilde's 1882 North American tour with the Gilbert and Sullivan production of *Patience* likely had an effect. During the first decades of the twentieth century, yellow and muckraking journalism transformed all areas of the American press and shifts in the literary marketplace were creating tectonic shifts in the very nature of authorial celebrity. During the interwar period, myriad influences, including the publication of *enquêtes* and questionnaires, the birth of "little" magazines, the rise of the gossip column, and the beginning of the star system had an effect. However, the greatest influence during this period was the influx of girl reporters and lady reporters who achieved professional success as journalists. During the postwar period, the publication "smart" magazines like the *New Yorker* and literary journals like the *Paris Review* inspired various shifts and changes in the literary interview as a form.

Since literary interviews vary according to medium, I focused primarily on the print interview in order to gain a better understanding of how it can function as both a record of a conversation and an edited text. As Jan Renkema notes, an interview "has the immediateness of spoken language and the permanence of written communication."[11] Spoken communication differs from written communication, and a print interview, and a print literary interview, is both.

I examined the myriad definitions of the word *interview*, as opposed to *conversations*. Although a literary interview works from similar assumptions as everyday conversation, the term *conversation* implies a naturalness or truth that is not inherent in an interview. An interview is a form of spoken language in the context of the media that begins as "talk" and then is transcribed, edited, revised, published, and circulated. A media interview may appear to be "real," but it is a construct. The definition of the word *interview*, particularly the verb form, has changed over time, but even the current meanings have different connotations. The primary definition is transitive and means, "to

have a personal meeting with (each other)."[12] This definition implies a certain mutuality and understanding. The secondary definition, however, is intransitive and denotes, "to talk with or question so as to elicit statements or facts for publication."[13] The latter definition signals less interchange than manipulation, even interrogation primarily on the part of the interviewer.

I considered the parameters of "media discourse" and how they might relate to interviews that feature an author. According to Anne O'Keefe, media discourse is a representation of reality, not reality itself. O'Keefe writes that media discourse is "a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper."[14] Every media interview, even those that attempt to present a subject objectively (a standard that did not become pro forma until the 1960s), tends toward ambiguity and miscommunication rather than clarity and precision. As the linguist Steven Pinker writes,

> …[E]ven when transcribed perfectly, conversation is hard to interpret. People often speak in fragments, interrupting themselves in midsentence to reformulate the thought or change the subject. It's often unclear who or what is being talked about, because conversers use pronouns…,generic words…, and ellipses….

Add to these ambiguities the fact that the interviewee and interviewer are often at cross purposes—the former set on portraying the subject in a certain way and the latter on presenting him or herself in the best light.

I then compiled a list of the key figures and interviews published during each peak period. These included interviews with Charles Dickens and Oscar Wilde published during their respective tours; author-at-home interviews with Harriet Beecher Stowe, Mark Twain, and Walt Whitman; and yellow journalism interviews with Mark Twain and Walt Whitman. I also examined longer works, such as Horace Traubel's nine-volume *With Walt Whitman in Camden* and Alfred Bigelow Paine's four-volume biography of Mark Twain. I concentrated on interviews by so-called girl reporters such as Nellie Bly, Djuna Barnes, "Kate Carew" (Mary Williams), and Jessie Wood. Finally, I examined

interviews by key modernist figures, such as Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, and Gertrude Stein. I also looked at authors and figures associated with the *New Yorker*, such as Harold Ross, Joseph Mitchell, John Hersey, Lillian Ross, and Truman Capote, and those associated with the *Paris Review*, including George Plimpton, E.M. Forster, and William Styron.

The result was a textual and cultural timeline of the American tradition of the literary interview that framed the following chapters. In chapter 1, "A Snapshot and a Sketch, 1842" I examine various factors that contributed to the emergence of the literary interview, including Charles Dickens's first North American tour in 1842, the literary sketch, pseudo-sciences like phrenology and physiognomy, the daguerreotype, and nineteenth-century reading practices. The formal qualities of the first literary interviews were ambiguous at best. They were *written-up* interviews, or interviews written in paragraph rather than dialogue form. In length, they were similar to notices. Literary interviews with Dickens reveal the influence of the daguerreotype and phrenology in their photographic descriptions of the author's physical appearance. In addition, these interviews demonstrate the influence of the literary sketch, as practiced in the eighteenth century by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele and in the early nineteenth century by Washington Irving and others. They use vignettes to present a scene, a character, and an incident rather than mere facts, figures, and information. They employ a rhapsodic or ardent tone through hyperbolic language and description. In their conflation of Dickens-the-author with Dickens-the-man, these interviews also reflect the tendency of nineteenth-century readers to consider authors their friends.

In chapter 2, "The Author at Home, 1882," I consider the next peak period in the development of the literary interview. During this period, the literary interview became a longer, more narrative due to the influence of author readings, which were introduced to the American public by Charles Dickens during his second North American tour in 1867; the cult of domesticity, particularly Harriet Beecher Stowe's involvement in it; and the

popular scandals in the 1870s. Using the many interviews published with Oscar Wilde during his 1882 North American tour, I show how the literary interview included not only a physical description of the author, but also an account of the author's physical environment, and—in some cases—a narrative. In an interview with Wilde published in the *New York Evening Post*, the interviewer describes how he meets Wilde at the pier of the Williams and Guion steamship on a weekday morning, where Wilde, with the help of a hotel porter, is retrieving his luggage. Amidst the bustle and activity of the dock, the interviewer and Wilde attempt to discuss the merits and limitations of aestheticism, but the interviewer doesn't understand what Wilde is talking about, and they are often interrupted. Yet, within this tale, the attentive reader receives a definition of aestheticism: it is the *effort* to find beauty in the ordinary. For the less attentive reader, the interview still serves a purpose other than that which is normally ascribed to interviews and other works of journalism: it entertains them with a narrative of the interviewer's brief, and funny, encounter with *the* Oscar Wilde. At the end of the chapter, I discuss the performativity of the literary interview and its connection to the self-interview.

In chapter 3, "The Invasive Interview and the Boswellian Treatment, 1908," I discuss two developments in the literary interview as a form: a tendency toward investigative reporting and the introduction of the first lengthy literary conversations, or life narratives, published with American authors. The late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries were the era of yellow and muckraking journalism, which endorsed an aggressive mode of interviewing. Literary interviews with Mark Twain and Walt Whitman exhibit the invasive nature of literary interviews published during this period. Twain was interviewed nearly three hundred times during his lifetime, and Whitman a scant thirty. However, interviews with both men described their physical appearances, domestic surroundings, and enacted a narrative of going to meet the "Dean of Humorists" (Mark Twain) or of making a pilgrimage to see the good gray poet (Walt Whitman). At the same time, both authors were the subjects of extensive studies toward the end of their

lives. Walt Whitman received what I call *the Boswellian treatment* in Horace Traubel's nine-volume *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, and Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens) received it in the final volume of Alfred Bigelow Paine's four-volume *Mark Twain: A Biography*. These were the first published literary conversations with American authors that bear comparisons to James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1792) and Johann Peter Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* (1836) in both length and depth.

In chapter 4, "Lady Interviewers, Questionnaires, and the Literary Gossip Column, 1920 & 1935" I examine interviews by women writers and editors and how these interviews influenced the literary interview during the interwar period. Interview by Kate Carew and Djuna Barnes refashioned the literary interview through the use of parody, self-deprecating narration, direct address, metaphor, and experimentation. As an interviewer for the *New York World*, Carew published interviews with Pablo Picasso, Mark Twain, and the Wright Brothers, among others. Her interviews parody the journalistic convention of the "deck," i.e. the subheadline that summarized the content of the article, and employed self-deprecating narration that often directly addressed the reader.[15] Barnes conducted interviews with Alfred Stieglitz, James Joyce, Frank Harris, Coco Chanel, and "Mother Jones" (Mary Jones), among others and published them in the *New York World*. She also wrote for nearly every newspaper in the New York metropolitan area. Barnes's interviews exhibit unconventional headlines, such as in the humorously titled interview with theater producer Arthur Voegtlin, "Interviewing Arthur Voegtlin Is Something Like Having a Nightmare." The interviews also include striking leads, as in the Mother Jones interview, which begins, "Mother Jones stood up in front of me and demanded, 'What do you want?'" The interviews employ metaphor, such as when Frank Harris is likened to "a favorite corridor where life had loved to stroll," and experiment with form, such as in interviews with comedienne May Volks and the actor Lou Tellegen which are structured as play scripts. Carew's and Barnes's interviews foreground the question of the "literariness" of a *literary* interview: Is it an interview with

a literary figure, one conducted by a literary figure, one that exhibits "literariness," or all three? This period also saw the publication of literary questionnaires modeled after *enquêtes* and literary salon parlor games and Fanny Butcher's "The Literary Spotlight" published in the *Chicago Tribune* between 1923 and 1963, one of the most prominent literary gossip columns.

In chapter 5, "The Literary Interview Branches Off into Two Distinct Forms: the *New Yorker* Profile and the *Paris Review* Q & A, 1956," I show how the literary interview became two distinct forms after the *Paris Review* adopted the Q & A form during the mid-1950s: the profile and the long-form Q & A. By the 1940s, the American public understood that written-up interviews, or profiles, of celebrities were often the product of publicists, movie studios, and publishing houses. At the same time, the *New Yorker* profile had reinvented the written-up interview and transformed it into an art form. When the *Paris Review* was founded in 1953, the editors started the tradition of the author Q & A in American publishing. George Plimpton, Harold "Doc" Humes, William Péne du Bois, Tom Guinzburg, and Peter Matthiessen founded the *Paris Review* and decided to make interviews with writers, such as E.M. Forster, Ralph Ellison, Dorothy Parker, Ernest Hemingway, and William Faulkner, among many others, the magazine's hallmark. In a 1954 letter, Plimpton defined what would soon become known as the *Paris Review* interview as "an essay on technique in dialogue form."[16] The *Paris Review* interview's Q & A format was a departure from other literary interviews. It presented a more neutral dialogic exchange than a written-up interview, or profile, could communicate. The *Paris Review* also instituted three additional practices that shaped the publication of literary interview during the postwar period: the rewritten interview process, craft talk, and the policy of interviewing writers in the "winter" of their careers. In doing so, the *Paris Review* interview was unlike the written-up interviews of the past and helped shape the literary interviews of the future.

In my research, I discovered that in the American tradition the literary interview has functioned as news/publicity, gossip/entertainment, and as art. A literary interview that seeks to relay "facts" about an author's new book often operates as publicity. This type of literary interview is scripted and conducted in the service of self-promotion and sales, not with the objective of conversing, discovering, or relating. A literary interview may also be intrusive and seek to invade an author's privacy. As a result, authors have sometimes rejected the literary interview. Authors including Mark Twain, Henry James, J.D. Salinger, Norman Mailer, and Thomas Pynchon have disdained the interview, some to the point of total avoidance of it. Aside from the inherent shading of interviews on the parts of the interviewer and interviewee, literary interviews often blur the line between fact and fiction, form and function, by experimenting with formal and literary elements, such as structure. As an art form, the literary interview has pushed the boundaries between artistic expression and relaying "the facts." It has embraced the qualities of inventiveness, originality, and creativity necessary to the arts and has done so at the expense of the conditions of clarity, precision, and validity desirable in newspapers and magazines that attempt to serve as information outlets.

In this dissertation, I complicate the standard approach to the literary interview by reframing its categorization, tracing the history of the form, and analyzing specific examples. I argue that the literary interview's formal characteristics changed over time. Initially, it resembled the sketch and the snapshot. It slowly developed into a prose form that included setting, narrative, point of view, and rhetorical devices. During the postwar period, it became two distinct forms: the profile, which filtered the interview experience through the lens of narrator, and the Q & A format, which introduced a seemingly more neutral portrait of authors.

I hope this dissertation will inspire others to examine how the literary interview has served as a portal to American literature and a reflection of the changing nature of authorial celebrity, but also as news, an art form, and a mode of entertainment. Today, we

rarely distinguish between these types of literary interviews and almost never analyze its systemic development or formal characteristics, yet one could argue that the literary interview is at the heart of American journalism, literature, and culture. My hope is that this dissertation will serve future scholars by offering 1) the first cultural history of this neglected form and 2) a way to read the literary interview in terms of its literary function and within the system of literature.

CHAPTER 1: A SNAPSHOT AND A SKETCH, 1842

When the steamship *Britannia* docked in Boston in 1842 with Charles Dickens on board, it marked the first visit of a celebrity author to the United States. Although the republic was home to many native authors—such as Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Ralph Waldo Emerson—it looked to European authors rather than native authors to assume the role. Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper were the country's first native well-known authors, but international authors like Dickens were more widely read because of the absence of an international copyright law.[17] As a result, the States did not have what European critics esteemed as a national literature. In 1820, Reverend Sydney Smith famously declared, "Literature the Americans have none." Two decades later, Alexis de Tocqueville agreed: "The inhabitants of America have…at present, properly speaking, no literature." To European critics, writers in the republic had forsaken European literary traditions. To American critics, they had failed to establish a tradition of their own. They had not answered Noah Webster's insistence that "America must be as independent in *literature* as she is in politics."

By the time of Dickens's visit, the American literary marketplace had established New York as its center and was primed to recognize and incorporate authorial celebrity into its system. In 1825, the Erie Canal had opened markets to the west. By making New York City the center of the book publishing industry, books could be shipped in bulk cheaper than they could by the smaller, local publishing houses that had dominated the book trade for much of the eighteenth century. Larger, family-owned publishing houses, including Harper Bros. (1814), Putnam (1840), and Scribner (1846), were beginning to put local publishers out of business.

Concurrently, the periodical press was expanding, and American journalism was ready to embrace a new journalistic form like the literary interview. The Post Office Act of 1792 had allowed newspapers to circulate through the mail at cheap rates. Forty years

later, the newspaper industry saw a decrease in paper costs and the invention of the cylinder and steam presses, which could manufacture over one hundred-fifty times more papers per hour than the Gutenberg printing press had been able to produce. As a result, the penny papers increased their circulation. In 1800, there were 200 newspapers in circulation. By 1825, the number had grown to 861. By 1840, nearly 1,400 newspapers were sold in the United States.[18]

As the first celebrity-author visit to the United States, Dickens's tour was a spectacle to the American public. Although still a young man, he was already a celebrity in England and America. He had experienced popular success with the serial publication of his novels *The Pickwick Papers* (1836-1837), *Oliver Twist* (1837-1839), *Nicholas Nickleby* (1838-1839), *Master Humphrey's Clock* (1840), and *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840-1841). American readers of *The Old Curiosity Shop* had been so enthralled with the fate of the book's protagonist, Little Nell, that they famously stood on the docks in Lower Manhattan calling to sailors aboard ships from England—where the publication was serialized in advance—to find out whether or not the angelic Nell was still alive. During his tour, the *Savannah Georgian* published the opinion of one of its readers, who cheekily wrote, "We are very happy to see him among our *living* authors, although his *Nell* has been heard all over the country."[19]

It is accurate to refer to the published reports of Dickens's visit as interviews in that they relayed sightings of and encounters with the author to American readers. When the word *interview* entered the English language in 1514, it meant simply, "to be in sight of." By the eighteenth century, an *interview* indicated a meeting between two people and typically referred to a meeting with a formal purpose as between high-ranking officials. The emphasis was still on the encounter that took place between two people. With the rise of the penny papers, an interview came to denote an encounter between an individual and a member of the press for the purposes of publication.[20] According to the OED 2nd

edition, the first time *interview* was used as a verb that meant to talk to someone for the purposes of publication occurred during the mid-1800s.

Most of the interviews with Dickens were brief, sometimes as short as a paragraph or two, and resembled newspaper notices. Some, however, were slightly longer and more complex. At the time, interviews per say did not exist. Although the interviews, or what I will refer to as interview-snapshots or interview-sketches of Dickens, did not resemble contemporary interviews (they were neither profiles nor published in question-and-answer format, two forms typical of twentieth- and twenty-first century literary interviews), they laid the foundation for the development of the literary interview. They provide a mediated portrait of an author, one that demonstrates the influence of photography, phrenology, and physiognomy. They also depict characters, scenes, and incidents and use hyperbole in ways that are reminiscent of the literary sketch. In this, I argue that the literary interview was influenced by but did not simply arise out of the news interview or human interest story, which had not yet become a common publishing practice by the 1840s; rather, the literary interview was shaped by the popularity of the daguerreotype, phrenology, and physiognomy and the literary sketch.

Human Interest

By the late nineteenth century, the penny press's use of the interview had fundamentally changed the newspaper industry and journalism as a profession. It introduced the practice of interviewing and publishing interviews. However, at the time of Dickens's North American tour, an interview in the form of a one-to-one question-and-answer session had never been published. There also was no such thing as an interviewer, per say yet penny press reporters were beginning to use the interview as a technique.

The very concept of a newspaper was unheard of before 1830. Commercial papers were marketed to businessmen and public figures. They sold by subscription for six to eight cents an issue, which was outside of the living wages of most working people at the

time. They contained partisan editorials, shipping and mercantile notices, and other miscellany. Essentially, they published official documents, including the annual message of the president, laws enacted, trial records, and reports of political conventions. These pamphlets and corporate papers did not present information in columns and rarely displayed typographical breaks. They cost nearly a tenth of the average daily income of a person living in 1820.

The penny papers, on the other hand, were cheap, sold on street corners, reader friendly, and geared toward the general reader. They also featured reader-friendly layouts that included headlines, column breaks, and advertisements for products such as patent medicines. Amidst increasing competition, a paper's success depended on its ability to obtain, transcribe, and circulate the news quickly and efficiently. Newsboys sold penny papers for one or two cents per issue.

Editors hired full-time staff reporters to facilitate the process of "heralding" the news. Reporters relied on the interview to gather eyewitness accounts for what had once been considered un-newsworthy material. Publishers quickly learned that people were most interested in reading about other people, particularly those who were known because of their exceptional wealth, talent, public service, or heroism. These stories were gathered via interviews, or meetings, between newspersons and citizens. Because of the frequency and speed with which the penny press had to produce papers, reporters did not depend on interviews to verify a story; instead, they used on them to create news.

As a result, the interview became a technique that added color, or detail, to a story and encouraged falsification of the news so that publishers could achieve their one objective: mass appeal. Reporters met their subjects (or glimpsed them), conversed with them, and then paraphrased the meeting or conversation and published the account in what often took the form of brief sketches. They also published "newsy narratives," to use Karen Roggenkamp's term, and hoaxes. In Roggenkamp's study of the antebellum press, she examines how penny press editors devoted themselves to the entertainment-

value rather than the truth-value of news stories: "[T]he penny press smeared preconceived borders between fact and fiction in the antebellum marketplace."[21] In 1833, the *New York Sun* published a series of six articles now referred to as the Great Moon Hoax that reported Sir John Herschel's supposed astronomic discoveries about the moon and Saturn through his ultra-powerful telescope.[22] This series inspired Edgar Allan Poe to write "The Balloon-Hoax," in which he describes one man's fictional journey across the Atlantic Ocean in a hot air balloon. Readers were so convinced by "The Balloon-Hoax" that they gathered outside the *New York Sun* offices to demand more information about the event and nearly caused a riot.[23] The popularity of these hoaxes reflects the public's willingness to equate fiction and nonfiction. As Roggenkamp writes: "[R]eaders of penny papers did not make fundamental distinctions between the 'journalistic' and the 'literary.'"[24]

During this period, the most influential publisher was James Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Bennett was the first Washington news correspondent and single-handedly revolutionized early American journalism. He invented the American practice of reporting. Bennett was the first to synthesize and summarize them. As editor of the New York Herald, Bennett was also the first journalist-editor to report on crimes, religious sermons, fires, and events in a sequential narrative form; include popular culture and sports news; and run a regular column which he referred to as the money column.

Prior to Bennett's influence, penny papers did not publish question-and-answer exchanges, although they did publish news reports that were verbatim transcriptions of what was said during government meetings. Bennett's 1836 *New York Herald* interview with Rosina Townsend, an eyewitness in the Helen/Ellen Jewett murder case, is often cited as the first published interview in American history.[25] Bennett published a snippet of his conversation with Townsend:

> BENNETT: Did you hear no other noise previous to the knocking of the young man you let in?

> TOWNSEND: I think I heard a noise and said who's there, but received no answer.
> BENNETT: How did you know that the person you let in was Frank [the name the accused was said to have been using]?
> TOWNSEND: He gave his name.
> BENNETT: Did you see his face?
> TOWNSEND: No – his cloak was held up over his face, I saw nothing but his eyes as he passed me –he had on a hat and cloak…[26]

This excerpt between Bennett and Regina Townsend, the madam of the brothel where Helen Jewett was killed, was the first question-and-answer exchange published in a penny paper.

Bennett's use of the Q & A form in his interview with Townsend bore a striking resemblance to testimony. The back-and-forth between Bennett and Townsend evokes the image of a witness giving testimony. And testimony, as Peter Brooks points out, has always been regarded as "the 'queen of proofs' in the law: it is a statement from the lips of the person who should know it best."[27] The Q & A format provides a theatrical, frame—that of Bennett, the interviewer, playing the part of the lawyer, and Townsend, the interviewee, assuming the role of the witness. Townsend's brief account makes Jewett's final moments seem shadowy and full of silent terror at the hands of a masked man. Townsend states that she had locked the door to the brothel before the cloaked man/murderer arrived. He gave his name but did not allow Townsend to see his face. In addition, the published interview, which was only slightly longer than the exchange quoted above, portrays Townsend as a careful, conscientious, almost motherly madam. She carefully locked the door, tried to check on Jewett, noticed smoke, etc. According to her interview, Townsend let in the murderer, but given the situation couldn't possibly have known that something was amiss.[28]

Although this brief dialogue may have given the impression of veracity, it had no bearing on the case. A writer from *The Sun* accused Bennett of forging the interview, and it was never used in court. Ultimately, the majority of the evidence against the young man accused was circumstantial, and the jury found him not guilty.

Bennett's integrity was later called into question. In 1840, the editors of the commercial papers waged a "Moral War" against him and the *Herald*. The commercial papers tried to put the *Herald* out of business by charging Bennett with indecency, blasphemy, blackmail, lying, and libel. On the one hand, these editors objected to Bennett's paper because it catered to a general readership, covered murder trials, and sought out news. On the other, Bennett admitted that the Townsend interview was an attempt to draw in readers and sell papers. He was less interested in the interview as a mode of truth telling than as a way to reach his readers. As Joel Wiener notes, Bennett "actively searched for news…[and] attempted to publish it in a systematic, if tantalizing, way."[29] Regardless, Bennett's interview with Townsend and method of reporting would inspire nineteenth- and twentieth-century editors and reporters to produce interviews in a similar fashion.

Other critics cite the first published interview as having been published nearly two decades after Dickens's North American tour. Horace Greeley's 1859 *New York Tribune* interview with the Mormon leader Brigham Young is a longer and more complete interview. It, too, gives the impression of veracity, but only insofar as the reader accepts Greeley's impressions of Young. In the interview, Young comes across as a specious figure and in doing so demonstrates how an interview can provide information beyond that of the content expressed. Initially, Young gives methodical yes-no responses. But as the interview progresses, Greeley's questions become more pointed and Young's replies more vague and convoluted. When asked whether he receives any portion of the tithing each member of the Mormon church is required to donate, Young says, "…I am the only person in the Church who has not a regular calling apart from the Church's service, and I never received one farthing from her treasury; if I obtain anything from the tithing-house, I am charged with and pay for it, just as any one else would." He evades the question by distinguishing between the income he receives from the treasury and that which he

obtains through the tithing-house. He then confuses the question by attesting to the fact that he accepts money but also pays for it.

Bennett's and Greeley's influences on American journalism had transformed the public's interest in and approach to information and public figures. The penny papers began to publish what would later be called human interest stories, the purpose of which was to give readers a sense of intimacy with the subject.[30] During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, newspapers and then magazines used human interest stories to cultivate what Richard Schickel calls the presence of an "intimate stranger."[31] In other words, the media encouraged the public to think of a celebrity (a stranger) as their friends,[32] a practice that was already established among nineteenth century readers.

Intimate Strangers

Dickens's visit occurred at a time when readers wanted to interact with or at least see and read about their beloved authors. Readers were accustomed to popular novels that included what Barbara Hochman calls "'friendly' authorial narrators that engaged readers as participants."[33] During the 1840s, readers equated the author and the narrator and perceived both as their friend.

Not only did readers conflate apostrophic narrators with authors, but also, as Hochman argues, they perceived the writer of the text as "the repository of moral, social, and intellectual values."[34] Hochman notes that readers were addressed in the second person and assumed they knew an author simply by reading his or her book: "For most writers, reviewers, and educators of the period, the self-evident condition for making sense of a text was a concrete image of 'one's author' and a sympathetic writer-reader 'relationship.'"[35]

In the media, Dickens's relationship with his readers was often described as friendship, even love. A reporter from the *New Bedford-Mercury* wrote, "Few…have gone into the hearts of men as Dickens has done. We cannot help loving him."[36] In a

lengthy article published in the *Norfolk Democrat*, the editors explained why the public displayed such enthusiasm for Dickens: "The whole secret of it is, that his immense personal popularity is attributable more to the peculiar *character* of his writings, than to their surpassing excellence, when viewed as mere literary compositions."[37] The editors continue to remark that Dickens's novels "touch upon the chord of humanity" with "delicate sensitiveness" that the "elite coteries" and "*bon ton*" of the metropolis couldn't understand. Soon after Dickens's arrival, "Boz Clubs" were founded. One reporter from the *Alexandria Gazette* noted that these clubs paid "compliment to Charles Dickens, whose writings alone have done so much to amuse and delight his fellow men…."[38] During "Boz Club" meetings, participants dressed up as characters in the *Pickwick Papers*, a scene that Louisa May Alcott would use in *Little Women* nearly half a century later.

Early reports conflated Dickens-the-man with Dickens-the-author. They used Dickens's appearance and manner as proof of his literary talent. One interview published in the Boston *Transcript* reports that the author is "one of the most frank, sociable, noble-hearted gentlemen we ever met with, perfectly free from any haughtiness or apparent self-importance."[39] Both Dickens and his wife, Kate, are depicted as noble, sociable, and modest. The interview even cites Kate's comely appearance as further evidence of Dickens's literary talent: "His lady, too, is most beautiful and accomplished, and appears worthy to be the partner of her distinguished husband." It concludes, Dickens "is just such a person as we had supposed him to be, judging from his writings." Dickens-the-man lives up to their impression of Dickens-the-author.

However, as Garrett Stewart points out, Dickens was, in some ways, an exception to this rule. Stewart describes how, in his works of fiction, Dickens does not risk losing the "anonymous intimacy" of the narrative by "polluting" it with addresses to the reader; instead, "interpolation [of the reader] is strategically forgone."[40] The effect, as Stewart writes, is greater involvement from Dickens's readers, who "no longer referred to, are

regularly led to infer their role from within an enacted scene of decipherment or interpretation."[41] Stewart argues that Dickens attracted not an audience or even a reading public, but a mass of individual readers or fans. These fans desired an interview, or meeting, with the author, one that was provided by a peculiar form, which might best be called the interview-snapshot or interview-sketch.

The Daguerreotype, Phrenology, and Physiognomy

The photographic era redefined the American public's ideas about and attitudes toward representation. Photography was so striking in its "lifelikeness" that it replaced painting as the most efficient representational medium. In his 1840 article on the daguerreotype, Edgar Allan Poe wrote that it was "*infinitely* more accurate in its representation than any painting by human hands."[42] Scholars such as Nancy Armstrong and Susan Williams have examined the ways that photography influenced antebellum fiction, but no one has yet discussed how it influenced the development of the literary interview. The public's preoccupation with phrenology and physiognomy also influenced the way that Dickens was described in these interview-snapshots. Just as the daguerreotype produced images that appeared to be stable, static, permanent, and therefore true, the interview-snapshots published during Dickens's tour reveal a desire to provide descriptions of the author that were lifelike, meticulous, and true.

The invention of the daguerreotype created a sensation amongst the American public. Introduced to the American public in late 1839, the daguerreotype was the first commercially successful photographic process to flourish in the United States. Although photography had many inventors, Louis Daguerre's self-named daguerreotype first captured the attention of Americans. After the French government patented the daguerreotype, twenty people stepped forward to claim that they had invented the idea of photography, including Elizabeth Fulhame (1794), Thomas Wedgewood (1800), the Niépce brothers (1814), Daguerre (1824), and Henry Fox Talbot (1833). In England,

Talbot produced an image on paper rather than glass. But it was the daguerreotype that captured the American public's attention. During the 1840s, daguerreotype studios sprang up in cities all over the country. As Richard Rudisill observes, "No other nation produced more or better daguerreotypes, and no other nation more widely employed the medium than the United States."[43] The daguerreotype transformed the public's relationship to description by presenting them with a replication that was perceived to be exact. As Tom Gunning writes, "[W]ith the advent of photography the human face became less a realm described in generalities…than a zone of intense scrutiny on an individual basis."[44]

With the arrival of Dickens, a version of the literary interview that resembled a snapshot emerged. The interview-snapshots of Dickens concentrate on the author's physical characteristics. A newsman for the *Worcester Aegis* who met Dickens at a reception at the Governor's mansion logged a detailed description of the author. The first paragraph of the three-paragraph interview-snapshot follows:

> We found a middle-sized person in a brown frock coat, a red figured vest, somewhat of the flash order, and a fancy scarf cravat, that concealed the collar and was fastened to the bosom in rather voluptuous folds by a double pin and chain. His proportions were well-sounded, and filled the dress suit he wore. His hair, which was long and dark, grew low upon his brow, had a wavy kink where it started from the head, and was naturally, or artificially, corkscrew, as it fell on either side of his face. His forehead retreated gradually from the eyes, without any marked protuberance save at the outer angle, the upper portion of which formed a prominent ridge, a little within the assigned position of the organ of ideality. The skin on that portion of the brow which was not concealed by the hair instead of being light and smooth, flushed as readily as any part of the face, and partook of its general character and flexibility. The whole region about the eyes was prominent with a noticeable development of nerves and vessels indicating, say the phrenologists, great vigour in the intellectual organs with which they are connected. The eyeballs completely filled their sockets. The aperture of the lids was not large, for the eye uncommonly clear or bright, but quick, moist and expressive. The nose was slightly aquiline, the mouth of moderate dimensions, making no great display of teeth, the facial muscles occasionally drawing the upper lip most strongly on the left side, as the mouth opened in speaking. His features, taken together, were well proportioned, of a glowing and cordial aspect, with more animation than grace, and more intelligence than beauty.

The second paragraph describes Dickens as an ordinary fellow and alludes to his writing:

> We will close this off-hand description without going more minutely into the anatomy of Mr. Dickens, by saying that he wears a gold watchguard over his vest, and a shaggy greatcoat of bear or buffalo skin that would excite the admiration of a Kentucky huntsman. In short, you frequently meet with similar-looking young men at the theatres and other public places, and you would infer that he found his enjoyments in the scenes of actual life, rather than in the retirement of a study, and that those scenes which he describes with such unrivalled precision and power. We believe that it is well understood that he draws his characters and incidents less from imagination than upon observation. His writing bears slight evidence of reading, and he seldom if ever quotes from books. His wonderful perceptions, his acute sensibility, and his graphic fancy, furnish the means by which his fame has been created.

First, Dickens is described in terms of his dress and appearance. Then his physical characteristics are analyzed to determine his value as an author. The second paragraph is devoted to a description of the author as an average man and implies that he is the type of writer whose talent derives from his experiences rather than his imagination. The final paragraph of the interview slips into biography and cordiality, as if the newsman were writing directly to Dickens rather than a general readership:

> Mr. Dickens was born February 7, 1812. He was therefore thirty years of age on Monday last. The early maturity of his genius and reputation had but few parallels. May he long live to edify and amuse the world, and to receive the reward of praise and emolument which is his just due.[45]

The interview ends by noting Dickens's young age and early maturity and by wishing the author well.

The interview-snapshot begins as an anatomical portrait. It categorizes Dickens as "middle-sized" with "well-sounded" proportions. It gives an account of Dickens's hair, which is not as thick as it appears in portraits but is, in fact, wavy with a "glossy soft texture." His eyeballs "completely filled their sockets," and one eye is described as "dark blue and full." Dickens's mouth is noted as being of "moderate dimensions" with "no great display of teeth."

Once the anatomical portrait of Dickens is clearly established, the interview describes the author in phrenological terms. It measures Dickens as a writer in terms of his anatomy. Dickens's forehead lacks a "marked protuberance" and displays a prominent ridge but one that is only within slight proximity of "the organ of ideality."[46] This description alludes to the organs of ideality, imagination, and reason. According to phrenologists, these three contiguous organs were the anatomical center of artistic talent. The exterior appearance of the forehead was believed to reveal the subject's ability to think, associate, and illustrate or explain. Although Dickens's prominent ridge is a sign of his intelligence, it is not close enough to the organ of ideality to confirm that the author has extraordinary imaginative capabilities. Dickens's physical appearance is evidence of his promise as an author: "His features, taken together, were well proportioned, of a glowing and cordial aspect, with more animation than grace, and more intelligence than beauty." His features prove that he is a man of animation and intelligence rather than grace and beauty. Dickens's prominent eyes signify "great vigour in the intellectual organs." His eyeballs, which "completely fill their sockets," are further proof of the author's keen powers of observation. The newsman even references phrenology in his description: "The whole region about the eyes was prominent with a noticeable development of nerves and vessels indicating, say the phrenologists, great vigour in the intellectual organs with which they are connected." The author's eyes are vessels of his intellectual "vigour."

The newsman's phrenological portrait in the first paragraph sets up the description of Dickens's ordinariness in the second paragraph. To the untrained eye, Dickens is like any other young man one might meet. The newsman elaborates on the ways that the anatomical, "off-hand description" in the previous paragraph might escape the average observer. The reporter notes Dickens's apparent ordinariness:

> In short, you frequently meet with similar-looking young men at the theatres and other public places, and you would infer that he found his enjoyments in the scenes of actual life, rather than in the

> retirement of a study, and that those scenes which he describes with such unrivalled precision and power.

Dickens is like any other young men in theaters and public places. However, as the newsman points out, Dickens is in these places to describe with "unrivaled precision and power" the "scenes of actual life." Dickens's talent derives from experience rather than pure imagination.

Another interview-snapshot published in the *St. Louis Organ* gives a similarly anatomical account:

> We knocked at the door, gave our name to a gentleman usher, and were introduced to Charles Dickens and his Lady. Dickens stands very straight, is of medium length, and has a good figure. His manner of introduction is free and easy, frank. His head shows large perceptive faculties, a large volume of brain in front of the ears, but not a large causality. His eye is to our perception blue, dark blue and full. It stands out slightly and is handsome-very beautiful. It is the striking feature of his physiognomy.[47]

Dickens "and his Lady" at introduced after which the interview describes Dickens anatomically. The author stands "very straight," is "of medium length," and "has a good figure." His manner is "free and easy, frank." Closer analysis of his physiognomy reveals "large perceptive faculties, a large volume of brain…but not a large causality." His "eye," which is "blue, dark blue and full" is not only "handsome—very beautiful" but also "the striking feature of his physiognomy." Phrenologists believed that the eye was merely the external instrument through which the true organ of vision, the brain, views the world. Due to a proclivity for clairvoyance, phrenologists insisted that one could see as well with the eyes opened or closed. In other words, the eyes were almost ornamental—like stained glass windows that reflected the luminosity of the mind.

The descriptions of Dickens's hair and clothing in the second paragraph are equally detailed:

> His hair has been described as very fine. We did not find it remarkably so. It is slightly wavy, and has a glossy soft texture. We had thought from his portraits that it was thick, but did not find it so. He wore a black dress coat, with collar and facings of velvet, a satin vest with very gay and variegated colours, light coloured pantaloons, and boots polished to a fault. His neck was covered by

> a low rich satin stock, with a small bow and large appendages, which were arranged rather carelessly, and fastened with a double pin united by a chain, and so disposed as to hide his shirt bosom entirely.[48]

The reporter depicts the colors, textures, emotions, and shades of Dickens's physical appearance. His coat is black, his collar and facings are made of velvet, his vest is satin painted with "very gay and variegated colours," his pantaloons are light colored, and his boots are "polished to a fault."

In the final paragraph, the newsman concludes that Dickens's average appearance does not reflect his true genius:

> No shirt collar appeared, but the wristbands were turned back over the cuffs of his coat. Small thin whickers run along the front of his ears. One or more rings ornamented his fingers. Dickens is thirty years and one or two months old. He does not look older. No one would suspect from inspection that he is the genius his works prove him to be. The world has scarcely furnished an example of a man who has written his way to so widespread a fame as his in so short a time.[49]

The fact that he has no shirt collar, thin whickers along his ears, and rings ornamenting his fingers—belie the face that "he is the genius his works prove him to be." In other words, Dickens's genius is hidden. It is tucked away in the details of his appearance.

The use of anatomical detail to verify of Dickens's worth as a writer demonstrates how these interview-snapshots were influenced by photography, phrenology, and physiognomy. As Allan Sekula notes, physiognomy and phrenology were prestigious and popular pseudo-sciences during the 1840s and 1850s. According to Alan Trachtenberg, physiognomy "treated the exterior surface of persons as signs or expressions of inner truths, of interior reality…[by] develop[ing] a rationale which held that the true Daguerrean artist looked through surfaces to depths."[50] An interviewer or newsman need merely account for Dickens's "surfaces" in order to give readers a sense of his "depths."

Physiognomy would later become the bedrock of racial "typing" and eugenics, in which photography would also play a role; however, Dickens himself insisted that an author had to be able to visualize his characters' physical appearances in order to relay

them to readers. In 1872, Joseph Simms warned of the degeneration of the human race in *Physiognomy Illustrated*. In 1883, Francis Galton published *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*. In 1911, Franz Boaz published *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*, in which he argued that American immigrants look more American or like each other than their European progenitors. Like many authors, Dickens profiled his characters by visualizing them. He reportedly once said, "[W]hen I am describing a scene I can as distinctly see the people I am describing as I can see you now."

The American preoccupation with photographic and physiological description was likely a response to a world that for Jacksonian-era Americans was becoming increasingly unfamiliar. Amy Kaplan writes that "the growing sense of unreality at the heart of middle-class life" was manifest in the "weightiness of descriptive detail" of the early realist novel.[51] Early American newspersons took a similar approach, favoring the "weightiness of descriptive detail" as a way to manage "the growing sense of unreality at the heart of middle-class life."

The Sketch

The brief interviews with Dickens also demonstrate the influence of the literary or descriptive sketch first made popular by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's early eighteenth-century periodicals. The Spectatorial sketch reported "goings-on" around town rather than important news. Similarly, early interviews used vignettes to present a scene, a character, and an incident rather than mere facts, figures, and information and employed a rhapsodic or ardent tone through its use of hyperbolic language and description.

The sketches published in Addison and Steele's *The Spectator* were vignettes based on actual events and people as mediated by a fictional observer, Mr. Spectator. The primary device of the sketch was that of the all-seeing, supposedly nonjudgmental,

taciturn witness, Mr. Spectator. This fictional observer filtered information and revealed aspects of society that the reader could not see. As one issue of the *Spectator* proclaimed, the periodical was "[e]xploring every place with curious eye."[52] The sketches revolved around the daily musings and observations of Mr. Spectator who knows more than the public and chooses to publish what he knows rather than speak about it.

Each Spectatorial sketch was devoid of plot but communicated wit and moral lessons via a series of vignettes, which were fictional but based on actual events and people.[53] These vignettes depicted events in London and critiqued the city's political and social elite. The characters and events sometimes worked their way into an overarching narrative, such as whether or not the character of Ned Dempsey will succumb to the pressures of a corrupt politician. Hijinks often ensued amongst the other characters, including Ned Dempsey, Robert Harley, and Daniel Defoe. In one overarching narrative, Dempsey, an ambitious paperboy, attempts to rise up against Harley, a corrupt British politician who expertly manipulates members of the press like Defoe, the blackmailed editor of the *Review*.

As a mix of news and entertainment that communicated both information and gossip, the Spectatorial sketch had a lasting effect on the journalistic and literary practices in England. Parliamentary journalism, as it became known, was practiced throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and continues in England today. Samuel Pepys and Samuel Johnson both reported on parliamentary debates and proceedings, and Charles Dickens got his start as a parliamentary sketch writer. Dickens was one of the first sketch writers to focus on the personalities and foibles of MPs and the people they represented. Dickens became a noted author in part because of such characterizations in "Street Sketches," which appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1834; "Sketches of London," which appeared in the *Evening Chronicle* in 1835; and "Scenes and Characters," which appeared in *Bells Life in London* in 1835. Dickens often referred

to himself as a "periodical essayist" rather than "an author." As he wrote to Wilkie Collins,

> …[M]y faculty for descriptive writing was seized upon the moment I joined *The Morning Chronicle*, and…I was liberally paid there and handsomely acknowledged and wrote the greater part of the short descriptive *Sketches by Boz* in that paper….[54]

Dickens notes the way the parliamentary sketch drew on his talents for "descriptive writing," which for him is synonymous with the sketch. Eventually collected under the title *Sketches by Boz*, Dickens penned hundreds of sketches, some of which are humorous, including "The Four Sisters," in which the "four Miss Willises" are presumed to be old maids who will never separate long enough to marry. Others are impressionistic exercises, and others are sentimental, moral treatises or didactic tales like "Our Parish" and "Mr. Bundy's Narrative."

Critics have noted how the Spectatorial sketch transformed the dynamics of the public sphere in eighteenth-century England. In the tenth issue of the *Spectator*, Addison wrote that the paper's purpose was "to enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality…to bring philosophy out of the closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffeehouses."[55] As Terry Eagleton writes, the Spectatorial project was ultimately that of "consciously educating a heterogeneous public into the universal forms of reason, taste and morality."[56] Jürgen Habermas argues that 18th-century periodicals, such as those published by Addison and Steele, and the period's coffeehouse culture mark the emergence of the public sphere.

Although the sketch had less of a direct effect on American culture, it had a transatlantic influence via American authors like Washington Irving who embraced the sketch as a form. Irving was the country's first native well-known author and the first American author to be published and renowned in England and America. Tim Killick writes, "He was, as many critics have noted, the first truly transatlantic man of letters."[57] Irving's transatlantic status was due in part to his embrace of the descriptive sketch.

Although Irving is best known for tales such as "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" that appeared in *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon*, most of the thirty-two episodes in the collection are sketches—including scenic descriptions, character portraits, and musings on historical figures and celebrities—narrated by the fictional Geoffrey Crayon.

Like the wise, all-seeing Mr. Spectator, Irving's Geoffrey Crayon is the consummate bourgeois traveler who witnesses the ordinary scenes of the world around him. Crayon is a man leisure whose "roving passion" is gratified by "the shifting scenes of [everyday] life" rather than visions of spectacular monuments like "St. Peter's, or the Coliseum." As Crayon states in *The Sketch-Book*:

> I cannot say that have studied them [these scenes] with the eye of a philosopher, but rather with the sauntering gaze with which humble lovers of the picturesque stroll from the window of one print-shop to another; caught sometimes by the delineations of beauty, sometimes by the distortions of caricature, and sometimes by the loveliness of landscape.[58]

Irving famously called Crayon's perspective that of the bachelor-traveler's "sauntering gaze." As Kristie Hamilton writes, Irving's sketches promote an "aesthetic of the everyday," which in turn begins to generate a "typology of the nation" for the nineteenth-century American reader in which "places became *scenes*, people were transformed into *characters*, and events…were abstracted as *incidents*."[59]

In *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon*, Irving's sketches demonstrate a tone of reverie expressed via hyperbolic language. Crayon witnesses the world around him from a fundamentally external position that grants him a certain degree of naiveté. This, in turn, allows Crayon to be entranced by the subject he observes. As Killick writes, "Crayon self-consciously exerts himself to give the liveliest and most picturesque sketch, by verbally glossing the attractively framed foreground in the hope that the reader will share his fascination with the more substantial background theme of the significance that Britain holds for America."[60] Crayon lapses into reveries about the landscape and

population. He also rhapsodizes about other authors. In "Roscoe," Crayon is reading in a library that authors frequent when the noted historian "Mr. Roscoe" walks in. Crayon is aghast by his presence and slips into a meditation on the genius and authorship:

> Nature seems to delight in disappointing the assiduities of art, with which it would rear legitimate dullness to maturity; and to glory in the vigor and luxuriance of her chance productions. She scatters the seeds of genius to the winds, and though some may perish among the stony places of the world, and some be choked, by the thorns and brambles of early adversity, yet others will now and then strike root even in the clefts of the rock, struggle bravely up into sunshine, and spread over their sterile birthplace all the beauties of vegetation. Such has been the case with Mr. Roscoe.[61]

In the passage above, Crayon metaphorically links an author's talent to the natural world. He soliloquizes about how the "assiduities of art" can fall prey to nature's malice and "perish among the stony places of the world" or "be choked, by the thorns and brambles of early adversity." Only a select few, such as Mr. Roscoe, take root and flourish. They "struggle bravely up into sunshine" and disseminate their "beauties of vegetation" throughout the "sterile" world. The tone is hyperbolic. The passage exemplifies the tonal "excess" that Irving, via Crayon, employs.

Many of the press's reports of Dickens's visit resemble Irving's sketches. The majority of the penny papers published notices of Dickens's arrival. The Boston *Evening Transcript* reported Dickens's attendance of a play at the Tremont Theater as an incident. The reporter wrote, "The building was crowded from pit to gallery, and when he entered the private box…the whole audience rose, en masse, and gave him three cheers."[62] A reporter from a Philadelphia paper similarly reported Dickens's appearance in Philadelphia and the mob of spectators who wanted to meet him and shake his hand: "Mr. Dickens was overrun with visitors at Philadelphia, and was absolutely *run down* shaking hands. He was compelled to retire."[63] The *Philadelphia Gazette* published a report that relayed Dickens's attendance at the theater and the admiring readers who tried to get close to him:

> Mr. Dickens narrowly escaped the fate of Samson the other night at a social party in this city. Groups of the gay and beautiful crowded around him, eyeing his profuse flow of 'soap locks' with a most envious glance, and wishing all the while he could be thrown into a mesmeric sleep, that they could plunder his cranium of its drapery undiscovered. Not being able to furnish these bewitching ones with a lock of his hair, he gave the most of them a bit of sweet poetry, or a sentiment, coupled with his autograph.

Dickens is compared to Samson, whose strength was sapped after Delilah cut his hair. Although the crowd is described as "gay and beautiful," it is made up of "envious eyes." The envious throng of admirers is described as "bewitching" as its participants attempt to steal away with a lock of the author's hair. Dickens pacifies the crowd with "a bit of sweet poetry, or a sentiment" or his autograph. The report bears resemblance to a sketch in that it moves beyond facts and descriptions to depict what might otherwise be a moment in time as an incident.

Some reports frame the encounter with Dickens as a vignette complete with characters, a setting, and incidents. Typically, the vignette begins with a member of the press seeking out Dickens. The newsman is not always granted a face-to-face verbal exchange. The report often relays a sighting of the author. In an interview published in the *Express*, the report describes Dickens's meeting with President Tyler in Washington, D.C. The scene is the President's house, and the characters are Dickens and the crowd in attendance:

> ...The greatest lion among the men was Boz, the never-ending Boz. He made his appearance between nine and ten, and the fifteen hundred or two thousand people present went in pursuit of him like hounds, horses and riders in pursuit of a fox in the chase.
>
> ...The people gazed, stared, opened their mouths, stretched their necks until the corks of their necks cracked and the limbs were extended to their utmost tension. This fever was kept up for some thirty or forty minutes, until Boz turned upon his heels to get rid of his two thousand good-natured American friends who had taken the President's house by storm. And there was no peace. Wherever he moved, it was like throwing corn among hungry chickens. They flocked around him here until he took leave of the President. He was then pursued to the dressing-room, and finally to his carriage, and probably to his house and chamber. In the general admiration, too, it is presumed that he found some dozen or two under his bed,

> in his bedroom closet, and perhaps, unconsciously, a bed-fellow with him. Well, 'Hurrah for Boz,' and 'Hurrah for the Americans.'

The characters include Dickens, President Taylor, and the "fifteen hundred or two thousand people present." The crowd is likened to animals in order to highlight and parody their uncouth behavior. The people go "in pursuit of him like hounds, horses, and riders in pursuit of a fox in a chase." The reporter then likens them to hungry chickens attempting to gobble up corn. This metaphor expresses how the public "flocks" to Dickens, pursuing him to his dressing room, his carriage, and perhaps even his place of residence.

Many of the sketched interviews exemplify the use of hyperbole. Although hyperbole was often used ironically, particularly in the "braggadocio" typically found in the early American West, its use by the penny press was often an earnest attempt to attract readers. The first announcements of Dickens's departure appeared in the New York and Boston papers on January 4, 1842. Before his departure, Dickens had alerted Gaylord Clark, editor of the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, who, in turn, alerted the American press. As a result, reporters and newspersons anxious to give readers news of the author's arrival thronged Dickens the moment his ship docked. As biographer Peter Ackroyd writes, "As soon as the *Britannia* had reached its berth a group of Boston editors and journalists rushed on board in order to see and to interview Dickens."[64] One reporter wrote: "The steamer *Britannia* arrived in Boston on Saturday afternoon…Among the passengers is Charles Dickens, Esq., the famous 'Boz' of English literature; he is accompanied by his lady. Earl Mulgrave was also on board."[65] The "famous" Boz of English literature, who holds the mere title of "Esquire" of the landed gentry, outranks an "Earl" of the peerage class. Another reporter from the *Aegis* referred to him as "the lion of the day."[66] A more elaborate interview appeared in the Boston *Atlas*. The newsman wrote:

> Among the passengers in the Britannia came Charles Dickens, Esq., the most popular author living. The whole American people will delight to extend a cordial welcome to one who is, in every

> respect, a true man—who combines the highest intellectual endowments with those genial feelings which prompt him to use his great endowments for the good of his race.[67]

The newsman attempts to drum up interest in Dickens's visit by using absolutes, referring to him as "the most" popular author alive, in whom "the whole" of the American people will delight. Dickens is, according to this report, "in every respect…a true man." He is billed not only as the greatest living author but also as a kind of saint who uses his talents to better "his race." The notice continues:

> To no living man is the world more indebted, than to Dickens, for putting down that school of misanthropy and false sentimentality, established by Byron—and which has, until lately, numbered too many pupils. We heartily welcome the man who has so often delighted us with his inimitable humor—who is next only to Shakespeare in the truthfulness of his characters—and who has enlarged the circle of our sympathies and made us feel a greater interest in all that concerns humanity.[68]

Although it may seem as if the extreme language in the first sentence must be ironic, the earnestness in the second sentence makes it clear that the use of hyperbole is intended to convince rather than mockingly deflate. Some rhetoricians see hyperbole as intentional exaggeration and overstatement as non-intentional, but this distinction is difficult to maintain. The hyperbolic intensification of both sentences lies in the phrase "to no living man." Whether or not Dickens's work actually crushed the Byronic school of misanthropy and false sentimentality is less important than the notice's insistence that the world is indebted to Dickens above all other men.

Some journalists and editors disapproved of the "sycophancy" with which Dickens was embraced. The editors of the *Massachusetts Spy* spoke out against the press's tendency to heap praise upon the author: "It is really humiliating to witness the fawning, the sycophancy, the gross adulation, and the toadyism, to which his arrival amongst us has given birth, and which must be as nauseous and unpalatable to him, as it is unworthy of us."[69] The editors asked that he be treated "as a gentleman" without all of the "slavering, the daubing with…mortar, to which he has been subjected," but the majority of papers did not agree.[70]

Occasionally hyperbole was used to express disapproval. In the *Express* interview, the reporter overemphasizes his case when he describes how the crowd "rubbernecked" to get a look at Dickens:

> The people gazed, stared, opened their mouths, stretched their necks until the corks of their necks cracked and the limbs were extended to their utmost tension. This fever was kept up for some thirty or forty minutes, until Boz turned upon his heels to get rid of his two thousand good-natured American friends who had taken the President's house by storm. And there was no peace.

The peoples' necks are described as "stretched" to the point of cracking, their limbs "extended to their utmost tension." It is unlikely that all two thousand people in attendance really behaved this way, but the newsman wants to impart the extremity of the crowd's interest in Dickens. The interview "overshoots" in order to make the point. Later, the reporter wonders whether the crowd actually followed Dickens home. It is here that the interview lapses into hyperbole:

> In the general admiration, too, it is presumed that he found some dozen or two under his bed, in his bedroom closet, and perhaps, unconsciously, a bed-fellow with him. Well, 'Hurrah for Boz,' and 'Hurrah for the Americans.'

The reporter jokingly speculates that the crowd, having been swept up in their "general admiration," may have followed Dickens home and presumes that the author may have found "some dozen or two under his bed, in his bedroom closet, and perhaps, unconsciously, a bed-fellow with him." This is both hyperbolic and absurd. In case the reader missed the reporter's overstatement, the final line strikes a note of cynicism: "Well, 'Hurrah for Boz,' and 'Hurrah for the Americans.'" The reporter clearly disdains the crowd and its adulatory behavior.

Some papers chose not to send a newsman out to the scene or to report "the facts" of Dickens's arrival. The Pittsburgh *Morning Chronicle*, for instance, reported "Boz in Pittsburgh": "Charles Dickens and lady arrived in the city last night about 9:30 on his way to St. Louis, and took lodgings at the Exchange Hotel. We understand the managers have given him an invitation to visit the Theatre to-night." The *Morning Chronicle* could

have published an interview, or vignette, that presented the scene, characters, and incident of Dickens's arrival. Similarly, the Cincinnati *Daily Republican* published a similar report to that of the *Morning Chronicle*'s notice: "Mr. Dickens and Lady arrived in our city yesterday morning and have taken rooms at the Broadway Hotel. We understand that they will be at home to-day from 11 o'clock until 3 o'clock."

Throughout the nineteenth century, newspersons continued to focus on the details in their descriptions in an attempt to communicate a clear picture to readers. They also embraced the vignette technique. These two elements—photographic detail and the vignette—became integral aspects of the written-up interviews published in newspapers throughout the century. These two elements were due in part to the fact that Dickens's 1842 tour coincided with the American public's embrace of the daguerreotype, phrenology, and physiology, and the influence of the literary sketch.

The Trouble with Authorial Celebrity

Antebellum society was centuries away from an American culture so saturated by celebrities that critics like Daniel Boorstin distinguish between fame, greatness, and mere "knownness." Whether or not Boorstin is correct in his assessment that the status of a celebrity has devolved over time—i.e. from a hero to a cultural icon to "a person who is known for his well-knownness"—the newspaper age was one in which people were just beginning to take an interest in other people.[71]

During the 1840s, self-consciousness and spectacle of celebrity culture was not just felt by the famous and renowned but also for an increasingly urban-centered population. The U.S. population had grown from approximately five million people in 1800 to seventeen million in 1840, an increasing number of whom settled in industrialized urban areas in order to secure employment. During the Jacksonian era, many Americans moved from rural areas, where families and neighbors supported each other, to urban areas where strangers lived in proximity to one another.[72] For some

Americans, regardless of their popularity or achievements, urbanization had transformed daily existence from a function lived out amongst one's family and connections to an act performed amidst strangers. As Michael Schudson writes, the new republic was comprised of a population of "new and important human beings" for whom living became "a spectacle" performed amongst strangers.[73]

During this period, the public seemed to welcome the beginnings of celebrity culture. *The Oxford English Dictionary* dates the first appearance of the word celebrity as early as 1612. In 1791, Benjamin Franklin discussed a variation of the celebrity in his concept of the self-made man in his *Autobiography*, originally published as *The Private Life of the late Benjamin Franklin*. As Braudy explains, the American public embraced "celebritization," the process by which a celebrity is actualized because of his or her exceptionality. Celebrity was, as Braudy explains, a kind of new Calvinism. Yet it was a brand of Calvinism in which the public had a say in choosing the elect. As fans, the public felt it has a right to watch and enjoy them and be redeemed by their magnificence. As Richard Schickel and others point out, celebrity served a narrative function. Schickel writes that celebrity is and has been "the principle source of motive power in putting across ideas of every kind—social, political, aesthetic, moral."[74] Celebrity narratives could reinforce a culture's fears and desires or instruct and guide the public.

Despite the interest his tour caused among the reading public, Dickens grew increasingly skeptical of and frustrated with the American press, a view the author eventually expressed in *American Notes* and *Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit*. The press saw Dickens's tour as a chance to record its impressions of the author. Dickens saw it as a trip abroad to oversee one of his investments, the Cairo City and Canal Company, a ponzi scheme orchestrated by Darius B. Holbrook, and survey American prisons and institutions and publish his conclusions in a book he would later title *American Notes*, which had been commissioned by publishers Chapman and Hall prior to his departure.[75]

At the start of his tour, Dickens was delighted with the attention he received from the press and public, but he eventually grew skeptical of it. Initially, in his letters to John Forster (later published as *The Life of Charles Dickens*), he happily wrote about the way that the Americans "fêted and feasted" him and his wife.[76] At his first stop in Boston, the attention flattered Dickens. He wrote to Forster about the number of toasts, or what he refers to as "sentiments," given at the "Boz ball" held in his honor.[77] On an overnight stay in Wallingford, he described how the "whole town" turned out to see him and how, that night, "the choristers of the college turned out in a body, under the window" to serenade him.[78] However, when two men (one a nephew of John Quincy Adams) serenaded him yet again in Hartford, the attention he was receiving struck the Dickens as absurd. Dickens writes to Forster that he became sentimental when they started to sing "in the dead of the night, in a long, musical, echoing passage…in low voices to guitars, about home and absent friends." Then he describes how he remembered the "commonplace appearance" of his boots outside the door and felt that to serenade a man who leaves his dirty boots out for all to see was a ridiculous gesture.

By mid-tour, Dickens was so displeased with the press and the public that he vowed not to accept any more public engagements. It was, of course, a promise he could not keep. In a letter to Forster, he complained, "I can do nothing that I want to do, go nowhere where I want to go, and see nothing that I want to see. If I turn into the street, I am followed by a multitude. If I stay home, the house becomes, with callers, like a fair."[79] One of the first Dickens biographers, Frank Marzials, writes that Dickens began to feel "hemmed in by curious eyes, mobbed in the streets, stared at in his own private rooms, interviewed by the hour, shaken by the hand till his arm must often have been ready to drop off, waylaid at every turn with formal addresses."[80]

Dickens grew increasingly uneasy with the press and developed an even greater need for privacy. Perhaps as a result, he insisted on speaking about international copyright, which he believed acted as a buffer between him and the public. By the end of

his trip, Dickens delivered two international copyright petitions—one to the House of Representatives and one to Henry Clay. Dickens's interest in international copyright was an effort to secure royalties from the sale of his works. Without an international copyright law, publishers could pirate his books, which in turn enhanced Dickens's popularity. Dickens's efforts failed to enact an international copyright law, but the trip did provide the material necessary to complete his book *American Notes*. In it, Dickens criticizes American practices and institutions, such as slavery and the press. Ironically, after its publication, Harper Brothers promptly pirated *American Notes*.

Ultimately, Dickens's relationship with the press "refigured" authorship in America. Michael Newbury defines "figuring authorship" as "a way of defining writing's place within a newly arranged hierarchy of labor as well as a way of ordering the increasingly complex literary profession itself."[81] Post-Dickens, the literary marketplace continued to expand and become an arena in which a successful author could function as a professional within the public sphere. As David Dowling writes, literary entrepreneurship was ripe to produce a native celebrity author, regardless of the displeasure that celebrity may or may not cause the author.[82] The literary marketplace had a new sense of the author as a celebrity, pursued much the way Dickens had been. One New York paper wrote that Dickens risked injury for the number of literary dinners, parties, and speeches he would have to attend: "There are *cliques* of small *litterateurs* in all our large cities, that will almost tear him limb from limb in kindness."[83] As Newbury notes, the tradeoff for being a celebrity author was a dependence on the reading public "for one's livelihood and for a commercially legitimated sense of authorial self."[84]

Conclusion

Despite the ambiguous format of the early interviews published during Dickens's 1842 tour, the 1840s marks the period when the American tradition of the literary interview began. Dickens's first American tour established what would later become

foundational aspects of the literary interview, including a photographic attention to detail, a series of vignettes, and hyperbole. Literary, cultural, and social institutions continued to shape the literary interview throughout the next two centuries.

CHAPTER 2: THE AUTHOR AT HOME, 1882

During his 1882 North American tour, the British poet and essayist Oscar Wilde came to the United States as an adjunct member of the touring company of Gilbert and Sullivan's comic opera *Patience*. Gilbert and Sullivan had parodied Wilde as the character Basil Bunthorne, the consummate aesthete. Wilde had studied with Walter Pater and John Ruskin at Magdalene College at Oxford and at the time of the publication of his first collection of poems in 1881 was associated with the aesthetic movement. The press saw aestheticism as indulgent, effeminate, self-centered, and not an end in and of itself. Despite the fact that aestheticism was harshly criticized in England, Wilde agreed to join Gilbert and Sullivan's touring company and give lectures promoting aestheticism at each stop of theatrical tour.

The many interviews with Wilde published with Wilde resembled the "written-up" interviews—or profiles—published today. According to an interview published in the *Boston Globe*, Wilde said that in New York alone he had been submitted to "a hundred" interviews a day during his 1882 North American tour. Wilde exaggerated, of course, but Matthew Hofer and Gary Scharnhorst estimate that Wilde gave ninety-eight interviews during his ten-month tour.[85] The many interviews published with Wilde were lengthy, often over a dozen paragraphs in length and included long sections of dialogue.

Like the interview-snapshots, or sketches, of Charles Dickens forty years earlier, the literary interviews with Wilde provided photographic descriptions of his physical appearance and vignettes. However, the Wilde interviews emphasized the author's domestic surroundings. In this chapter, In addition, I assert that the interviews published with Wilde contain judgments about his personal appearance and longer narratives because they were influenced by the press's coverage of the popular scandals of the 1870s, during which reporters judged a subject's character according to his or her appearance and behavior during a particular interaction. I also argue that the trope of the

"author at home" in literary interviews published during Wilde's tour began as a result of two events that occurred mid-century: 1) the practice of author readings introduced to the United States during Charles Dickens's second North American tour in 1967, and 2) the cult of domesticity. These developments marked the beginning of the literary interview as a distinct form, one that interviewees could attempt to influence and even write.

The Consummate Aesthete

The 1882 interviews with Wilde exhibit detailed descriptions of his appearance similar to reports published about Dickens's appearance in 1842. Interviewers who met with Wilde remarked on his height (estimated to be anywhere from five-foot-five to six-foot-four), hair, mouth, and other physical features. His mouth was of particular interest to interviewers, including one from the *Sacramento Record-Union* who wrote that Wilde had "a broad mouth, with full lips opening over large, prominent teeth, the upper lip a shade too short."[86] An interviewer from the *Philadelphia Press* noted Wilde's hair: "[He had] very long brown hair, fine and glossy as silk, parted in the middle, and having below his collar a round face essentially English—or Irish—but thoroughly refined, and endowed with a liberal share of the beauty of expression."[87] Unconcerned with Wilde's nationality, the interviewer describes Wilde's face "round face" that is "essentially English—or Irish—but thoroughly refined." The interviewer confirms Wilde's status as a poet by describing his face as the very vehicle of "the beauty of expression."

These details do not reflect the influence of photography, phrenology, and physiognomy—which had changed or fallen out of fashioned by the 1880s—so much as the fact that members of the press had become practiced at the art of the interview. Interviewers had learned to use details to "add color" to an interview. When a journalist added color to an interview or news report, he or she selected specific details and used precise adjectives to communicate or reinforce a certain opinion on or judgment of a subject or topic. Interviews with Wilde evaluated his appearance. In terms of content and

tone, they didn't just include photographic descriptions of Wilde's physical appearance; they judged his appearance. For example, an anonymous interviewer from the *New York World* dismissed Wilde's eyes as being "of a deep blue, but without that faraway expression that is popularly attributed to poets."[88] By noting the way Wilde's eyes lack the "far away expression that is popularly attributed to poets" the interviewer insinuates that Wilde himself may not be a true poet.

Most of the "color" added to interviews with Wilde reinforced his standing as "the apostle of modern aestheticism."[89] One of the many publicity posters for Wilde's lectures depicted Wilde's face in the center of daisy. Although Wilde lectured on Irish literature and the English Renaissance, as well as "the decorative arts" and interior design, nearly every interview with him focused on or illustrated his aestheticism. As one interviewer bluntly put it in "A Man of Culture Rare," published in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, Wilde was in appearance "the typical Bunthorne of *Patience*."[90]

In an interview published in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, the interviewer cheekily described "Oscar Wilde, his knee breeches, his business manager and his colored body servant arrived in the city late yesterday afternoon."[91] According to this interviewer's account, Wilde's signature knee breeches almost have a life of their own. They seem to arrive separately, along with Wilde's manager and servant. The interviewer details the rest of Wilde's clothes: "He was dressed in…black silk stocking marvelously fitted, low patent leather pumps, regulation dress coat, low cut double-breasted white vest, shirt collar turned low with a voluminous white tie, and a broad expanse of shirt bosom, ornamented with a single stud, in which were set two pearls and a diamond." The relevance of this description is in the adjectives and adverbs: marvelously fitted, low-cut, voluminous, broad expanse, and ornamented. The word choice gives an impression of exquisiteness and enticement (marvelously fitted, low-cut), affluence (voluminous, ornamented), and splendor (broad expanse).

Each description of Wilde's clothes reinforced his status as the consummate aesthete. A reporter from the *San Francisco Chronicle* provided a lengthy description of Wilde's boutonniere: "[It is] somewhat withered, made up of heliotropes, a brightly foliated daisy and a tuberose."[92] Although the boutonniere is described as being "somewhat withered," the daisy remains "brightly foliated." In the interviewer's description of Wilde's boutonniere, Wilde is like the daisy that remains bright and beautiful. Wilde is, after all, an aesthete amidst skeptics. An interviewer from the *New York World* proclaimed Wilde "the great English exponent of aestheticism" and went on to describe his shirt as "ultra-Byronic."[93] In this, the interviewer connects Wilde to another decadent poet: Lord Byron.

Popular Scandals and the Narrative Frame

The literary interviews with Wilde established a longer narrative frame, one similar to that expressed in the interviews published during the popular scandals of the 1870s. The popular scandals were an era during which interviewers began to narrate a subject's private behavior and relationship to the press rather than simply transcribe what he or she said. An interview did not just report information; it told the story of the interview.

The scandals of the 1870s fueled the intensity and frequency with which newspapers reported gossip under the guise of human interest stories. Newspapers had been in the practice of publishing human interest stories on subjects once thought taboo since the 1830s. Charles Dana, a later editor of the *Sun*, coined the term *human interest story* to describe a news article that reported on the lives of ordinary people.[94] Originally, Dana intended for the human interest story to intensify and enliven the ordinary and mundane by embodying "the literary quality that made the trifle live." This may account—at least in part—for the shift in meaning in the word *literary*, which originally related to letters of the alphabet or correspondences but by the early nineteenth century

implied a knowledge of literature's textures, structures, and elements in the broadest sense. For Dana, "the literary quality" was description, detail, and expression in writing. He once remarked that he wanted his writers to be as familiar with Horace's odes as they were with the streets. James Gordon Bennett, editor of the *New York Herald*, agreed and added that "the literary quality" could also be narrative, which guaranteed the sale of papers and would draw in new readers. As Weiner explains, "Bennett, Dana…and other American pressmen came to believe that if a story was told well and the lines between fiction and reality conjoined by means of familiar devices, readers would invariably return the following day to find out what happened."[95] During the 1870s, "human interest" became synonymous with gossip. As Leo Braudy notes, the post-bellum press relied on the "incessant highlighting of individuals and events to sell papers" and tended to "translate every situation into the terms of personal will and conflict."[96]

Not every paper approved of this change. The *New York World* and the *New York Times* objected to the saturation coverage that the scandal commanded and to the way the interview was being used. The *New York World* refused to report on the scandal and went bankrupt as a result. (Ironically, the "yellow" publisher Joseph Pulitzer later purchased the paper.) The *Times* continued to report on the scandal but published editorials objecting to the changes taking place, including a commentary stating that it did so only because it had become "merely a slave of the public."[97] The *Times* also complained that interviews were being used for the wrong purpose: "The cardinal principle of interviewing is, of course, that no man has a right to his own time…idle curiosity, or a desire for self-aggrandizement at the expense of others, warrants any species of intrusion at all hours and places."[98] Whereas the *Times* and likely a portion of the American public saw interviews as intrusions triggered by "idle curiosity" and "self-aggrandizement" that caused harm to others, Bennett and other publishers, including those at the *New York Sun*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York Herald*, valued the scandal as pure entertainment.

In addition, they saw the interview as a way to serve the public and give the people what they wanted.

Scandals were aggressively covered in the press for two reasons: 1) the increasing interpenetration of public and private spheres in American life, and 2) publishers needed to meet the demands of a growing readership. As Joel Wiener writes, "As with the reporting of news, American journalism pioneered in gossip principally because, as has been suggested, the line between public and private life was much less sharply demarcated in the United States."[99] In addition, Wiener explains, publishers sensationalized scandals in an effort to meet the demands of an expanded readership.[100]

The most newsworthy scandal of the 1870s involved Henry Ward Beecher, the renowned preacher and brother of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Free-love advocate Victoria Woodhull—an early suffragette, the first woman to run for president, and a woman who was often the subject of scandal and gossip herself—had published an article in *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* claiming that Beecher had been "practicing free love" with a married woman, Elizabeth Tilton. Woodhull had learned this from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had heard it from Theodore Tilton after his wife had confessed the affair to him.

Amidst the coverage of the Beecher-Tilton scandal, the interview started to narrate a subject's behavior or tell the story of the meeting rather than simply document what was said. During the Civil War, journalists had used the interview to report the facts and particulars of battles. After the war, they used it to expose political corruption, such as the *New York Times* investigation of the Tammany Hall ring in 1871. In both cases, reporters used interviews to survey, report, and reveal. However, during the scandals, the interview came to serve as a narrative frame. Interviewers took what was said—or not said—and created a narrative to fit it. An interview might seem to provide information, but its primary aim was to narrate a subject's behavior or the exchange itself.[101]

The scandal made the interview itself into a narrative of pursuit and exposure. Beecher was a respected public figure who risked public defamation and excommunication from the Protestant church if found guilty, but he was patient with the press, which worked to his advantage. Because he responded to interviewers in a friendly manner, journalists published narratives describing their pleasant encounters with him. Beecher also hired an unofficial press secretary, the attorney and church clerk Thomas Shearman. When an interviewer approached Beecher, he would greet him with ease, decline to comment, and then recommend that the interviewer see Mr. Shearman, who might have more information. Mr. Shearman, of course, did not have additional information but the ruse served as a distraction and the resulting interview focused on Beecher's dignified manner or his calm and unfettered way of walking down the street or hailing a carriage.

The scandal also led interviewers to presume knowledge of a subject's motivations and intentions. Theodore Tilton, on the other hand, evaded the press in a way that was perceived as "hostile." As a result, interviews with him tended to be negative. When an interviewer approached Tilton, he would, according to the interviewer, attempt to evade him. Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* described Tilton as having "no little hostility to newspaper representatives."[102] The *Times* reported that he "snatched the paper hastily, became exceedingly nervous, his face flushed, and he evinced much agitation of mind."[103] Since they could not get Tilton to comment on the scandal, interviewers told the story of Tilton's behavior, often describing him in a negative light. In one interview, Bennett's *Herald* reported that Tilton was

> … walking sedately along, as though endeavoring to appear unconscious of the curious glances that were cast at him by the passersby…There was however, an unmistakable twinkle or twitching of his eyes, which, to a close observer, could not fail to indicate the quiet inward satisfaction he felt at being the observed of all observers.[104]

Tilton is revealed as one who secretly likes the attention he gets from the scandal. The interviewer, or "close observer," detects the "unmistakable twinkle or twitching of his eyes" that indicates the "quiet inward satisfaction" he feels at being the object of the observers' attentions. By judging Tilton's behavior, the interviewer exposes Tilton as one who shows a false face to the press and the public.

During the 1870s, the interview became a narrative of intrusion, not merely a means of communicating information. As interviewers began to act as storytellers relating the experience of meeting a subject, interviews published during the 1870s became more narrative. James Phelan, Robert Scholes, and Robert Kellogg define narratives as "those literary works which are distinguished by two characteristics: the presence of a story and a story teller."[105] Mieke Bal (via Russian Formalism) defines a narrative text as "a text in which an agent relates a narrative." As Bal might put it, an interview can contain a fabula, or "series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors."[106] Although narrative theory focuses on fictional texts, particularly the novel, it can be applied to a nonfiction text like the interview. An interview makes truth claims akin to those of other works of nonfiction, particularly journalism. In this, it is experienced as nonfiction or "true," i.e. representative rather than illustrative. But as Richard Walsh and other scholars concede, "all narrative, fictional and nonfictional, is artifice: narratives are constructs, and their meanings are internal to the system of narrative." Phelan, Scholes, and Kellogg explore the difference among nonfictional forms that are "artful," those that are "scientific," and those that are somewhere in between. Like the chronicle, annals, and the biography, an interview may be either "artful" (meaning include story elements like character, setting, and narration) or "scientific" (meaning subordinate narrative to "impersonal considerations").[107] By the last decades of the nineteenth century, it was common practice for interviewers to privilege narrative over the delivery of information.

The popular scandals transformed the way journalists approached and wrote interviews, and the literary interviews published in the 1880s changed as well. They were longer narratives. They not only described the interviewee, but also narrated the *what, where,* and *when* of the situation.

Interviews with Wilde enact similar narratives of meeting the author. "Oscar Wilde," an interview published in the *New York Evening Post*, illustrates the way in which literary interviews published in the 1880s had taken on a narrative bent. The physical descriptions of Wilde do not appear in isolation as static sketches and portraits; instead, they set up a narrative relayed by the interviewer-turned-narrator. The interview "Oscar Wilde" opens the day after Wilde's arrival in New York at the pier of the Williams and Guion steamship on a weekday morning. The opening line could be the beginning of a short story: "Mr. Oscar Wilde stood on the pier of the Williams and Guion steamship line at 11 o'clock this morning when a reporter of the *Evening Post* pushed through the crowed of admirers who surrounded him and asked the poet of the aesthetes what he understood by aestheticism."[108] As in the other interviews, Wilde is identified as the "poet of aesthetes" thronged by a "crowd of admirers" that the interviewer has to break through. The stakes in the narrative—although relatively minor—involve the reporter wishing to obtain a definition of aestheticism from the poet of aesthetes himself. In true narrative fashion, the interviewer's attempt is undermined. Wilde impatiently responds, "'I have defined it about two hundred times since last night.'"[109] In the narrative, Wilde's aim is to retrieve his luggage with the help of a hotel porter. Wilde smiles and says that it is his duty to "diffuse beauty." Wilde is then distracted by the hotel porter who is violently tossing Wilde's luggage on top of the stagecoach: "[A] hotel porter…had seized Mr. Wilde's luggage and was tossing it box after box, up to the roof of the hotel stage, unmindful that the boxes might contain frail objects such as lilies and the like."[110] The interviewer uses the opportunity to humor the reader with an image of

Wilde's suitcases packed with delicate lilies "and the like," which reinforces Wilde's status as the "poet of aesthetes."

Already, there is a conflict: the interviewer is there to get an interview; Wilde is there to pick up his baggage. As Wilde cautions the porter to handle his luggage more carefully, the interviewer takes a moment in the narrative to describe Wilde at length:

> a tall, well-built, blue-eyed, beardless young man, six feet high at least with a large white, flat face surrounded by a sealskin cap many sizes too small for him; irregular and protruding teeth, light long hair flowing over the color of a sort of bottle-green dressing gown extending down to the feet; a manner in which ease and amusement contrasted strangely, with an embarrassed laugh used in lieu of punctuation. Such is Mr. Oscar Wilde at first glance.[111]

The interviewer's portrait of "Mr. Oscar Wilde at first glance" echoes other interviews in which the subject's physical features are judged. Wilde is tall, well built, and blue-eyed, but his large, white face is flat. In terms of his dress, the interviewer uses adjectives and adverbs that evoke Wilde's character, including bottle green and extending. Only an aesthete would wear a dressing gown the color green of which could only come from a bottle, not to mention one that extends to his feet.

The rest of the interview is primarily dialogue. Amidst the bustle and activity of the dock, the interviewer and Wilde attempt to discuss the merits and limitations of aestheticism. The interviewer repeatedly asks Wilde about his intentions on his tour and when Wilde responds he questions him again about his definition of aestheticism. The two men are often interrupted. Ultimately, the interviewer does not understand what Wilde is talking about when he attempts to explain aestheticism.

However, within this tale the attentive reader is provided with a definition of aestheticism. Much like the interviewers attempts to define aestheticism, the aesthetic life is one in which a person dedicates him or herself to *attempt* to find beauty in the ordinary. For the less attentive reader, the interview still serves a purpose other than that which is normally ascribed to interviews and other works of journalism: it entertains them with a narrative of the interviewer's brief and funny encounter with *the* Oscar Wilde.

Author Readings and the Cult of Domesticity

The literary interviews that appeared in newspapers during the 1880s and 1890s included an emblematic depiction of the author at home. The press's growing interest in the emblematic nature of a subject's setting illustrates the influence of the midcentury phenomenon of the cult of domesticity. Literary interviews embraced the idea that an author's domestic surroundings served as a manifestation of the author. This was primarily due to the media's treatment of author readings, a literary practice adopted in the United States after Dickens's 1867 North American tour, and the influence of the cult of domesticity in nineteenth century society and culture.

To understand the influence of author readings on the literary interview of the 1880s, it is helpful to outline the background, circumstances, and influence of Dickens's author readings during his second North American tour. By the time of his second North American tour in 1867, Dickens had made readings financially and professionally advantageous. In 1858, Dickens began to collect a fee for his readings, thereby becoming the first professional reader. He first started to perform his works to benefit charities in England in 1853. At the time, public author readings were not common practice and Dickens's friend, John Forster, had warned him that such performances were beneath his station. Dickens, of course, did not listen.

In reaction to his unpleasant experience with the press in 1842, Dickens refused to grant any interviews during his second North American tour in 1867, and as a result, his visit inaugurated the practice of author readings in the United States. Since his first visit, he had serialized eleven more novels, including *David Copperfield, A Tale of Two Cities*, and *Great Expectations*, and had become the most popular author of his time. The American press and public had long forgotten the criticisms of America that Dickens published in *American Notes* and the *Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit*. Dickens himself, however, had not forgotten. The press and public had to be satisfied with newspaper reports of his readings. Dickens gave seventy-six readings, earning over

19,000 pounds (roughly $250,000 by today's standards), during his second North American tour in 1867, even though his health was in decline. Tickets to his readings were sought-after. In Philadelphia, people lined up in eighteen-degree weather to see him perform at the concert hall.[112] All six readings sold out in just four hours.[113]

Dickens's skilled performances served as a way for him to connect with his American readers. It was as if the author had granted each member of the audience a personal interview with him. As Malcolm Andrews notes, he used public readings "to convert his readership into companionship."[114] Dickens opened each reading by thanking the audience and telling them that he was pleased to read to them that evening. In 1858, Dickens wrote of "that particular relation (personally affectionate and like no other man's) which subsists between me and the public." For those who could not physically attend one of his readings, newspaper accounts provided the public with a sense for what it was like to be in the author's presence. The *North American* wrote that Dickens's readings were "warmed by expression and clothed with the accessories of a direct personal communication."[115] Dickens's ability to cloth his readings in "direct personal communication" made his readings both an intimate and a public affair.[116]

Dickens's readings satisfied the public's need to meet him in person. The press published accounts of Dickens's readings in local and national editions. The *Public Ledger* wrote, "Nearly every one of the hundreds of thousands who have 'read' Dickens want to 'see' Dickens."[117] The *Inquirer* noted the public's "impatient desire to look upon the face of Charles Dickens."[118] The *Evening Bulletin* described Dickens as "a small man, certainly not more than five feet seven inches" and complained of the "sparsely-scattered Cape-Cod vegetation which covers his head by way of hair."[119] The *North American* wrote that Dickens "wears a moustache that would do no discredit to a pasha; indeed, of such dimensions that some of it might well be transplanted, where it is more needed, on top of his head."[120] Other newspapers noted the two flowers he wore in his

buttonhole and the large diamond ring on his finger. The *Press* noted Dickens's "wonderful" eyes.[121]

The press detailed Dickens's lively and entertaining performances. His theatrical experience enabled him to bring his texts to life.[122] Malcolm Andrews observes, "Acting and writing had been partners in Dickens's development from the earliest days." In the late 1850s, Dickens co-wrote, stage managed, and performed in Wilkie Collins's *The Frozen Deep*. During rehearsals, he became involved with Ellen Ternan, his co-star, for whom he would eventually leave his wife, Kate. Although critics often dismissed Dickens's characters as caricatures, Dickens's animated readings revealed their complexity. Andrews writes of Dickens, "[H]e consistently used impersonation as a means of histrionically verifying [his characters'] reality."[123] Whether he performed an excerpt from *A Christmas Carol, Nicholas Nickleby,* or his personal favorite, *David Copperfield*, he acted out every character, infusing each with a different voice and mannerisms, much the way he had during the composition of each novel. In a review of his performance in Philadelphia, the *Evening Bulletin* reported, "One instant he was gruff old Scrooge, the next he was Bob Cratchit with his timid treble; or he was the smiling, bowing, good-humored solicitor of charity, or that hearty nephew of Scrooge's." Edwin Whipple, one of Dickens's early biographers who attended the author's readings wrote, "The great value of Dickens's readings was the proof they afforded that his leading characters were not caricatures…[W]hen [the audience] saw him visibly transform himself into Scrooge or Squeers…the character then seemed not only all alive, but full of individual life…."[124]

Newspaper reports of his reading tour also paid particular attention to the audiences in attendance. The *Daily Sentinel* reported that the audience was "one of the most brilliant ever assembled."[125] The *Press* exclaimed that Dickens's audience was comprised of the "intellectual aristocracy." The *Inquirer* praised the audience, which "could not have been more select."[126] The *Evening Bulletin* wrote that never had "the

same number of persons, representing every department of literature, art, science, and business, and the better class of society, been assembled at a place of amusement in this city."[127]

By the time Harriet Beecher Stowe set out on a reading tour in 1867, author readings were beginning to become *de rigueur* in the United States. As in the case with Dickens, newspapers noted Stowe's physical appearance and the audience in attendance. Although advertisements for Stowe's tour promised that the performance would include "Readings From Her Own Works," the press focused less on the content of the readings than on the thrill of seeing Stowe in person.[128] An article in the *Daily Republican* noted that people would attend Stowe's readings for "the mere delight of seeing her, even if she brought nothing else for entertainment."[129] Newspaper accounts described her appearance and behavior, such as the way she took off her glasses to look at the audience and then put them on again to read. The press compared the quality of the audiences in attendance to that of Stowe herself, as if the press were attempting to establish attendance at author readings as a mark of literary distinction. The *Daily Republican* wrote that the audience represented "the most intelligent of all classes of society."[130]

In contrast, newspaper reports of Stowe's 1872 reading tour rarely mentioned her reading style; instead, they focused almost entirely on her stage set and ability to make her reader feel "at home." The press also remarked on her ability to make the audience feel "at home." The press tended to focus on what it saw as Stowe's comparatively elaborate stage set.[131] Whereas Dickens's set included a desk or a table, a small lamp, a pedestal, his novels, a pitcher of water, and a glass, and was meant to give audiences the impression that they were attending a lyceum-style lecture, Stowe's set also included a sofa, chairs, and a basket of flowers, all of which were set against a colored backdrop. As one article published in the Providence *Daily Journal* demonstrates the press tended to highlight how she made "her audience at home in good New England fashion."[132]

Stowe was the most noted "authoress" in America during her tour and yet the press's interest in her readings was limited to the degree to which her stage set was homey. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had sold three hundred thousand copies in the first year of publication alone. In January 1853, *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* hailed the novel as a "phenomenon":

> Such a phenomenon as its present popularity could have happened only in the present wondrous age. It required all the aid of our new machinery to produce the phenomenon; our steam-presses, steam-ships, steam carriages, iron roads; electric telegraphs. Never since books were first printed has the success of *Uncle Tom* been equaled; the history of literature contains nothing parallel to it, nor approaching it; it is, in fact, the first real success in bookmaking, for all other successes in literature were failures when compared with the success of *Uncle Tom*.[133]

Uncle Tom's Cabin would eventually be the first work of American fiction to sell over a million copies.

The press may also have been reserved in its commendations of her talents as a performer because Stowe had no theatrical experience. However, as the daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher—the most renowned preacher of his day—and the sister of Henry Ward Beecher, who was also a renowned preacher, she was certainly familiar with oratory and performance. During the first half of each performance, she read episodes from *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, such as the dramatic scene when Eliza escapes the Shelby plantation with Harry. During the second half, Stowe read from her New England novels. Although Stowe was occasionally commended for her humor and characterizations—the *Chronicle* noted the "rich humor" of her performances, particularly in her portrayal of the character of Topsy—newspapers like the *Salem Register* wrote that she lacked artistry in her readings.[134] Like Dickens, Stowe had committed most of her works to memory. But the most praise newspapers could muster in regard to her stage presence was that she avoided grandiosity and pretension. The *Evening Journal* reported that there was "no affectation" in her performance.[135]

The press may also have focused on Stowe's set in order to avoid the any controversy surrounding the novel. From the date of its publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was embroiled in controversy. The novel focuses on the fate of two Kentucky farm slaves who have been sold to traders: pious and obedient Uncle Tom, who goes willingly; and five-year-old Harry, with whom his mother attempts to escape to the North. Pro-slavery white Southerners declared the novel libelous and denounced Stowe as a liar. Elizabeth Ammons explains that some abolitionists at the time endorsed the novel while others vocalized their reservations about Stowe's racial stereotypes.[136] Ammons points out that despite later accusations of racism, Stowe claimed to have written *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in response to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required Northern whites to turn over escaped slaves to the authorities, and which Stowe saw as making her and other Northern abolitionists complicit in the practice of slavery. In 1853, Stowe went so far as to publish *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* in defense of the novel. Sarah Robbins makes a similar claim. While Robbins acknowledges that the novel was first serialized in the moderate newspaper the *National Era* rather than the *Liberator* and is, by today's standards, racist, she reminds us that the Stowe family aided fugitive slaves, and Stowe taught the children of escaped slaves and prided herself on her support of abolition. Regardless of the centuries of controversy that would continue to surround any discussion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by the time Stowe embarked on her reading tour, the social repercussions of the Civil War made it possible for critics to celebrate her in ways that she could not have been at the time of the novel's initial publication.

Although it is possible that the props made the set appear to be an actual home, the connection between Stowe's performances and the domestic realm likely arose out of associations among her work and the so-called cult of domesticity. By mid-century, the cult of domesticity had evolved into a source of social influence for white, middle-class Northern women. In the Colonial Era, men and women shared household duties, but as many Americans moved from agrarian to urban areas and American society transitioned

from one based on production to one based on consumption, those duties increasingly fell to women, whose place, as Barbara Welter notes, was in the home.[137] Many feminist critics emphasize the disadvantages of the cult of "True Womanhood," which prescribed for women a culture of discipline, morality, and purity in opposition to the male sphere of activity, politics, and military involvement. Women in the nineteenth century had no legal rights, including the right to divorce, own property, and obtain custody of their children; no access to the professions, including medicine and law; no right to their bodies, including the use of birth control; and of course no political rights, including the right to vote. Welter writes that even as "the True Woman evolved into the New Woman," "the stereotype, the 'mystique'…of what a woman was and ought to be persisted, bringing guilt and confusion in the midst of opportunity." Mary Kelley and Karen Halttunen discuss the number of nineteenth-century women writers who expressed anxiety over the cult of "True Womanhood" and the demands it placed on women in the 1820s and 1830s.[138] As Welter, Catherine Lavender, and others have noted, the "cult of domesticity" prescribed both a passive and central role to women. When it extolled the "homey" virtues of her stage set and reading style, the press tapped into Stowe's involvement in the cult of domesticity.

Stowe helped develop the domestic model of personhood in various essays and the books she published with her sister, Catherine Beecher. Stowe and Beecher's *The American Woman's Home* (1869) emphasized that the home was a manifestation of one's physical, mental, and spiritual health.[139] Stowe's essays on domesticity, published in *Godey's Lady's Book* and other magazines and eventually collected in *House and Home Papers* (1872), counseled American women on everything from diet and exercise to the difference between merely housekeeping and "home-keeping." In one essay, she writes, "There is no one fact of our existence that has a stronger influence upon us than the house we dwell in."[140] Sarah Robbins writes, domesticity was part of Stowe's public appeal,

one she and her family cultivated: "During her lifetime, family members and friends worked hard to create an image that would appeal to her reading audience."[141]

The media's focus on Stowe's stage set and the press's depiction of her as a woman who can make her audience feel at home evoke contemporary feminist critics who question the gendered assumptions inherent in the idea that the home is necessarily an inferior space. Nancy Cott explains that women's culture in the nineteenth century "contained within itself the preconditions for organized feminism, by allotting a 'separate' sphere for women and engendering sisterhood within that sphere."[142] By the time Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and others held the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848, Stowe and other women were taking a different approach to women's rights, one in which the home embodied one's identity and the cult of domesticity was a source of strength.[143] As the cult of domesticity evolved, the literature that endorsed it helped women solidify their position in society and create a sense of solidarity with other women.[144] As Jane Tompkins argues, the domestic literature published during that time "represents a monumental effort to reorganize culture from the woman's point of view…."[145]

In her feminist poetics of interiors, Susan Fraiman draws on Gaston Bachelard in order recuperate "shelter" or domestic space from its delineation as a subjugated space. Glenna Matthews writes: "[W]hile American women were relegated to a separate domestic sphere in 1850, it was a sphere that was central to the culture."[146] Matthews also makes the point that the very fact that there was a "cult of domesticity," even if it did not go by that name at the time, is evidence of its significance to society. "The extent to which men, too, entered into the ideology of domesticity, helping to create and perpetuate it," Matthews writes, expanded "the boundaries of the 'woman's sphere'…into the national arena."[147] Matthews notes that Henry Ward Beecher (Stowe's brother) and Ralph Waldo Emerson were proponents of an ideology of domesticity that called for the

democratization of household tasks and for the home to embody the virtues of charity and hospitality in a way that would influence both the public and private spheres.[148]

In many ways, Stowe's reading tour illustrates the way a middle-class woman that was the emblem of the "cult of true womanhood" could influence public opinion. Stowe publicly voiced her ideas through her readings while literally remaining in the private sphere of her domestic stage set.[149] As Lisa Watt Macfarlane writes, "…Stowe used the politics of domestic order both to reflect and to transform the national order."[150]

Stowe's reading tour and the cult of domesticity sparked the practice of equating an author's surroundings with the author. The advent of author readings and the cult of domesticity shaped other literary interviews published during the second half of the nineteenth century. For instance, a single published interview with Charles Dickens appeared in print during his second American tour. It was an "unofficial interview" conducted by John D. Sherwood in 1840 but not published until 1867, as part of Sherwood's book *Hours at Home*. Sherwood, a New York journalist, met with Dickens in July 1840 prior to his departure for the author's first North American tour. In the interview, Sherwood describes Dickens's physical appearance in detail. More importantly, he shows an interest in the author's surroundings that earlier interview-snapshots and interview-sketches with Dickens did not exhibit. Sherwood describes Dickens's London home at length, particularly his study "piled high" with books.[151] The interview augurs the tendency for literary interviews to focus on an author's environment and surroundings.

The Author at Home

Due to the influence of author reading tours and the cult of domesticity, setting became a common trope in literary interviews published during the late nineteenth century. Later collected in book form under the apt title *Authors at Home* (1888), literary interviews published in the *Critic* described the homes of Mark Twain, Walt Whitman,

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Julia Ward Howe, and William Dean Howells, among others.[152] Similarly, the *New York Times* and the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art* started publishing literary interviews that focused specifically on an author and his or her home.

In these interviews, the author's home functioned as the embodiment of the author. For instance, descriptions of the Boston home and summer retreat of *Atlantic Monthly* editor Thomas Bailey Aldrich serve to illustrate his editorial acumen: "The most pervading trait of the interior is a sense of a discriminating judgment and ardor in household decoration."[153] His home demonstrates Aldrich's "discriminating judgment," an important quality in an editor. In contrast, Walt Whitman's house in Camden is described as a "'shanty'…with all the rudeness, simplicity, and free-and-easy character of the quarters of some old sailor."[154] Whitman's Camden house is as rude and simple, "free-and-easy" as Whitman and his work were often thought to be at the time. Twain is declared to be a hard worker based on the papers piled high on the writing table in his workroom.

Ironically, Stowe's *Authors at Home* interview depicts her as failing to live up to the ideal of domesticity she purported in her "home nest" essays.[155] As in all of the *Authors at Home* interviews, the interview opens with a biographical account of the author and a description of the interior of the house. The interviewer is surprised to find that the house does not reflect Stowe's devotion to domesticity or any aesthetic sensibility at all: "[T]he interior of the house is plain, and of an ordinary plain."[156] The interviewer stresses that Stowe's house is not just "plain" but "ordinary plain." The interviewer has trouble reconciling the incongruity of the house's plainness with Stowe's standing as one of the most successful American writers of the era.[157] As in the other interviews, the interviewer pays special attention to the library and workroom.[158] In Stowe's house, there are few books (except those kept in a glass cabinet that's rarely opened) and the most frequently used piece of furniture in the house is the piano rather

than the writing desk. Stowe's home does not equal her professional reputation the way the other authors' homes in the collection do.

Ironically, Stowe's interview in the *Critic* illustrates how the author's pursuit of domestic happiness essentially bankrupted her. By the time the interviewer visited Stowe in 1888, Stowe was seventy-seven, in failing health, and living in a modest cottage in Hartford next door to Mark Twain's 5,000 square-foot Victorian Gothic mansion. She lived in the cottage after she lost her beloved estate, Oakholm.[159] Stowe had earned an estimated $10,000, the equivalent of approximately $250,000 today, from the sales of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. She spent a good portion of that income building "Oakholm," her dream house. After spending the rest of what she had earned collecting possessions and completing the house, Stowe had to sell Oakholm in 1869 when the upkeep became too costly. Although Stowe also wrote for magazines when writers' fees had tripled and published many books after *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, including her "New England novels" and travelogues of Maine and Florida, none were as successful as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the metonymic relationship between an author and his home became a firmly established trope of the literary interview both in the United States and in England.[160] Many of the same literary figures that appeared in *Authors at Home*, including John Burroughs, Thomas Baily Aldrich, William Dean Howells, George W. Cable, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, appeared in the literary interviews published in the *New York Times* and the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art*, which were later published in book form under the title *American Authors and their Homes* (1901).[161] In England during the 1890s, the author's domestic space also became a central feature of the literary interview. Journalists and editors such as W.T. Stead and W.E. Forster would popularize the practice of interviewing celebrities at home in English magazines like the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *The Idler,* and the *Strand*. The *Strand*'s "Illustrated Interviews" vividly described the setting and physical presence of the subject. "Lions in their Dens," which ran in the *Idler*, was a

series of gossip columns about the private lives and homes of socialites and writers. "Celebrities at Home," which ran in London's the *World* for over six years, gave readers an inside peek into the homes and private lives of celebrities, such as Charles Darwin and the Pope. As Richard Salmon writes, "The 'scene of an author's labors' did indeed come to represent one of the most visible cultural signs by which the public status of the literary celebrity was ratified."[162]

The Aesthete at Home

In interviews with Wilde, the author's surroundings functioned metonymically as a reflection of Wilde's aestheticism. Although the interviews often took place in various hotel rooms, interviewers depicted it as a mise-en-scéne rather than a temporary place Wilde happened to be staying. Mary Watson, a reporter for the *San Francisco Examiner*, met with Wilde in his room at the Palace Hotel, yet wrote of finding Wilde, "the lion," "in his lair."[163] Watson even went so far as to title the interview "Oscar Wilde at Home."

The majority of interviews with Wilde create an elaborate scene. In "With Mr. Oscar Wilde," an interviewer from the *Cincinnati Gazette* visits "the great apostle of aestheticism" in his room at the Burnet hotel. The interviewer describes his first glimpse of Wilde:

> The poet and aesthete was found rather languidly reclining upon a couch, over which was thrown in careless grace, a rich fur-lined railway traveling rug, smoking a cigarette in a thoughtful mood. There was a litter of letters upon the table, in the midst of which was a magnificent basket of roses, pink and red, which Mr. Wilde explained were a rest and comfort to his soul after the horrors of a railway journey. Against the side of the room stands a battered, but substantial English leather 'box,' which the *Gazette* representative gazed at reverently in the pauses of the conversation, knowing that it was the casket that contained the silken raiment which has excited the rage of the heathen in two continents.[164]

The interviewer arrives to find "the poet and aesthete…rather languidly reclining upon a couch." The adverb "languidly" epitomizes Wilde the aesthete, for whom beauty should be one's sole preoccupation and work a distant occupation. The interviewer describes a

"fur-lined railway traveling rug" that is "thrown, in a careless grace" over the arm or back of the couch. Via his surroundings, Wilde, the visiting aesthete, is portrayed careless yet graceful. The description unravels one parenthetical clause to the next so that the aesthete, the couch, and the rug all seem to be "smoking a cigarette in a thoughtful mood." The other items in the room—the "litter" of letters and basket of red and pink roses—evoke the melancholy life of the aesthete-poet, one upon whom social and professional demands are made and for whom the only soulful consolation is the comfort of flowers. Wilde is portrayed as someone who suffers the "horrors" of railway travel. Meanwhile, the interviewer cannot help stealing glances at the "battered" box. Presumably, this is a reference to Walter Pater's essay "Deny's l'Auxerrois" in *Imaginary Portraits*. In Pater's essay, he recounts the story of Deny, a Dionysian character who stirs within people a new lust for life. In Pater's mythological tale, Deny is "a flaxen and flowery creature, sometimes wellnigh naked among the vine-leaves."[165] During one of the Easter celebrations, the pagan Deny appears riding an elephant and wearing "soft silken raiment."[166] The essay lurks in a battered box at the edge of the room. It is a vestige of the essay, the casket of the ideas contained in the essay. Even though the essay exists solely in the interviewer's imagination, its mention in the interview implies that Wilde himself is just such a character, a Dionysian figure capable of corrupting those around him.

Similarly, in "Truly Aesthetic," an interview published in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, Wilde's surroundings at the Grand Pacific hotel epitomize the author's aestheticism. In the second of a two-part interview, the interviewer arrives at Wilde's room and begins to describe the environment:

> A large center-table was heaped with choice old books, some of them rare old curios, with precious broken binding and soulful mediaeval dog's ears. In the window's embrasure was a beautifully intense writing desk, all inlaid with pearl, quite Japanese and early English, heaped with letters answered and unanswered. The bright coal blazed in the grate. The sofa, with its covering of skins of wild beasts and its further curtain of the old-gold silk shawl, with netted

> fringe, was drawn up to a comfortable angle with the fire, and upon the couch thus made reclined the aesthetic young man, this time smoking a cigarette.[167]

This initial description evokes many of the same images as the interview published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, including the pile of letters and the sofa covered with shawls, skins, and fringe. The interviewer describes Wilde's hotel room as being "made bright and artistic with beautiful things" and presents it to the reader as evidence of Wilde's aestheticism. The interviewer's description of other objects and furniture such as the books and writing desk serve to confirm Wilde's status as an author. He notes the "choice old books, some of them rare old curios, with precious broken binding and soulful mediaeval dog's ears," which presumes that the books have been read to the point that they are worn out. Although the seemingly Japanese-yet-somehow-also-English writing desk does not belong to Wilde, it too validates Wilde as an author. The first glimpse of Wilde is that of an "aesthetic young man" who fits into, or disappears into the extravagant scene around him. Rather than simply state that Wilde reclined on the couch, the interviewer inverts the syntax of the second half of the sentence so that it echoes the passive voice. Upon the couch "thus made" (i.e., made up of shawls, skins, and fringe) receives the reclining young man. Amidst the "skins of wild beasts," curtain of "old-gold silk shawl," and "netted fringe," the aesthete rises up in a cloud of smoke.

Performativity and the Self-Interview

Whereas the flâneur depicted in Charles Baudelaire's "Parisian Sketches" had created a sensation amongst French men after its publication in 1861, Wilde's dandyism inspired sixty students from Harvard's freshman class to attend the poet's Boston lecture wearing knee britches, wigs, and flowing green scarves. The students insulted and jeered Wilde, clapping every time the poet took a drink of water.[168] Wilde endured ridicule and a lack of appreciation from the American public and press, much the way Dickens had on his first North American tour forty years earlier. *Harper's Weekly* ran a reproduction of W.H. Beard's "The Aesthetic Monkey," in which a well-dressed monkey inspired by

Wilde sits with its hands folded at a table staring dreamily at a sunflower. Interviews with Wilde reveal how the literary interview became a more structured form, one that interviewees could attempt to shade, influence, and even write.

Wilde was savvy and quickly learned how to maintain tight control over the interview process. Regenia Gagnier writes that Wilde entered the literary climate in London at a time when "product advertising was matched by the ability of persons to advertise themselves."[169] As Hofer and Scharnhorst write, Wilde saw interviewers as "his collaborators in the creation of his public image."

Wilde also *performed* his interviews. Like Sir Henry in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde could be "brilliant, fantastic, irresponsible" and charm "his listeners out of themselves" until "they followed his pipe laughing."[170] Walter Pater described Wilde as "something of an excellent talker," in whose hands "as happens so rarely with those who practice it, the form of dialogue is justified by its being really alive."[171] However, when Wilde tired of interviewers, he willingly played on the stereotype of himself as "the aesthete." He was known to cue bellhops and servants to end an interview after a set amount of time. As Wilde explains via the character of Gilbert in one of his dialogic essays, "When people talk to us about others they are usually dull. When they talk to us about themselves they are nearly always interesting, and if one could shut them up, when they become wearisome, as easily as one can shut up a book of which one has grown wearied, they would be perfect absolutely."[172] He delivered rehearsed responses and often provided his own questions to interviewers.[173] Not long after he arrived in America, he wrote to a friend that he was "weary of being asked by gloomy reporters 'which was the most beautiful colour' and what is the meaning of the word 'aesthetic.'"[174]

Clearly, there was an element of performance—and *performativity*—in Wilde's interactions with the press. The performativity and power dynamics of the literary interview is similar to that of other "as-told-to narratives."[175] In his book-length study

Performing the Literary Interview: How Writers Craft Their Public Selves, John Rodden doesn't address Wilde specifically, but he does describe the literary interview as a "rhetorical craft of artistic self-fashioning through…performance."[176] Performativity in a literary interview arises out of the interviewee's lack of control over the final published product. He or she tries to influence or wield power through performative self-fashioning. Although the parallels between the literary interview and a Roman Catholic confessional are relatively few, Michel Foucault's description of the power-knowledge relationship of the Roman Catholic confessional is similar to the power imbalance inherent in the literary interview: "[T]he agency of domination does not reside in the one who speaks (for it is he who is constrained), but in the one who listens and says nothing; not in the one who knows and answers, but in the one who questions and is not supposed to know."[177] Ultimately, the interviewer has power over the interviewee as a listener and as the author of the final published interview.

Still, it is difficult to classify Wilde's predilection for theatricality, lying, and experimenting with appearances—not to mention his use of puns and other linguistic devices—in terms of any one theory of performance or performativity in the Austinian or post-Austinian sense. Many philosophers and theorists have examined performance theory and the performative. J.L. Austin first distinguished and made connections among utterance, action, and social context. John Searle expanded on Austin's claims and elucidated the notion that an utterance is not an isolated event with a single, pointed meaning. Theorists such as Jacques Derrida, J. Hillis Miller, Judith Butler, and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick further examined how language, actions, performers, audiences, texts, contexts, and identities combine, recombine, produce, and counteract. Certainly, there were two sides to Wilde's work, such as in the plots of his society plays, which were "trivial" comedies for serious people; his politics, including his seemingly contradictory beliefs in aestheticism and socialism; and in his sexual identity, played out in his marriage to Constance Lloyd and relationships with male lovers, including Lord

Alfred Douglas. Wilde was perhaps the first interviewee to view the literary interview as a distinct form that he could attempt to use to his advantage.

Wilde's boldest attempt to correct the power imbalances inherent in a literary interview was the publication of his self-interview, which appeared in the *St. James's Gazette* in 1895 shortly before his trial and arrest. The interview was published anonymously under the telling title "Mr. Oscar Wilde on Mr. Oscar Wilde; An Interview." With the help of his friend and later literary executor Robbie Ross, Wilde enacted the roles of interviewer and interviewee. The narrative in the interview consists of a beginning (the interviewer finds Mr. Wilde), middle (the interviewer gets Mr. Wilde to answer questions), and end (the interviewer reveals to Mr. Wilde that his name is "Pitman," a British term for a type of shorthand, and takes his leave).

The setting is Paris, midday. The interviewer, or "representative," finds Wilde reading a review of *An Ideal Husband* in a French newspaper "making ready to depart on a seaport visit to Algiers."[178] The interview proceeds as a dialogue—a question asked and answer given—very much like (not surprisingly) a scene in a play. The interviewer's questions are sincere—or serious—whereas Wilde's responses are cheeky, curt, and sarcastic. Early on, the interviewer informs us that Wilde considers "'the interview already at an end.'" The interviewer asks Wilde if he enjoys being "in front of the curtain" after the production of his plays, referring to the opening night of *An Ideal Husband* when Wilde came on stage and thanked the audience for playing their part so well.

As with Wilde's society plays and dialogic essays, events are incidental; the dialogue is all that matters. The majority of the interview is devoted to giving Wilde ample room to expound on his theories of art and to reveal his criticisms of the press. Eventually, the interviewer becomes giddy with Wilde's charm and "gets carried away by Mr. Wilde's aphorisms." Then the interviewer ironically asks Wilde, "Have you heard it said that all the characters in your play talk as you do?"[179] Wilde does not respond. As

John Stokes writes, the "self-interview technique" protected Wilde from "mediocrity, intrusion, and neglect" and afforded him the opportunity to "mock journalists."[180]

During the twentieth century, other authors published self-interviews. Sir James Barrie, the Scottish playwright who wrote *Peter Pan*, satirized the interview in his self-interview "Barrie at Bay: Which Was Brown," published in the *New York Times* (1914). An interviewer, hungry for gossip about the playwright, meets Barrie's bodyguard of sorts, a "very truthful man" by the name of Brown, who tells the interviewer wild lies about Barrie. F. Scott Fitzgerald attempted to publish a self-interview to announce the publication of his first novel *This Side of Paradise*, but his publisher warned him against it because he felt that no one wanted to read an interview with an unknown author (1920). Evelyn Waugh published a self-interview entitled "The Gentle Art of Being Interviewed" in the American edition of *Vogue* (1948). Waugh's self-interview is both an appeal to the reader to stop indulging in celebrity gossip and an acerbic depiction of a fictionalized interview in which Waugh is visited by an apparition who proceeds to question him about his writing habits and lifestyle. Vladimir Nabokov wrote the questions and answers to all of his interviews, including those published in *Playboy* (1964) and the *Paris Review* (1967). Norman Mailer's many self-interviews, which appeared in various magazines and newspapers, including the *Paris Review* (1961) and the *New York Times Book Review* (1967), are a mix of satire and seriousness, the standout feature being that the "interviewer" always ends up being as belligerent as Mailer himself. Truman Capote's "Self-Portrait" appeared in *The Dogs Bark: Public People and Private Places* (1972), and Gore Vidal published a self-interview in *Views from a Window* (1981). A self-interview is an act of self-promotion; however, it is also a corrective and creative endeavor, one that attempts to give the author control of the interview.[181]

Conclusion

During the 1880s, the literary interview became an established form, one that included a longer narrative of the interviewer's interaction with the subject and relied on physical description and setting as its primary modes of authorial valuation. During the first decade of the 1900s, physical description, setting, and narrative continued to be foundational aspects of the literary interview. In addition, the turn of the century would see the publication of the first literary conversations with American authors, which were the result of widespread acceptance of a national literature in the United States.

CHAPTER 3: THE INVASIVE INTERVIEW AND THE *BOSWELLIAN* TREATMENT, 1908

Technological innovations in printing—including the web press, linotype, and stereotype—marked the first decade of the twentieth century. American society continued to urbanize, a social change that also buoyed the newspaper revolution and ushered in the mass publication of magazines. Readers of newspapers and magazines began to enjoy *written-up* interviews, and the press could not publish them fast enough. These interviews appeared in paragraph form, like those published during the late nineteenth century, and gave readers a sense that they were gaining personal information about a celebrity or public figure. As Christopher Silvester writes, they created "an illusion of intimacy."[182] In the hands of yellow and muckraking journalists, the result was an even more aggressive style of interviewing. Literary interviews continued to depict a subject's physical appearance, domestic space, and enact a narrative, but they also pressed for confidential details about the subject's life.

At the same time, critics and the public were beginning to recognize the presence of a national American literature. The literary climate at the turn of the twentieth century seemed to respond to the question posed by Sidney Smith in 1820, "Who in the four corners of the globe reads an American book?" The answer: Americans and even Europeans. Daniel Webster and the editors of the *North American Review* had attempted to define American literature; however, it was not until the Berne Convention of 1896 that the country's domestic literature became of greater value than or equal to European literature. The Berne Convention instituted a worldwide policy of "national treatment," which held that international authors were entitled to the same copyright privileges as domestic authors. This policy tempered the damage done to American authors due to the sale of cheap, pirated editions of books by European authors.

One result of developments in the popular press and the new attitude toward American literature was the publication of two texts that serve as the earliest examples of published literary conversations with American authors: the final volume of Alfred Bigelow Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography* and Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. A literary conversation differs from a literary interview in terms of its breadth, length, and approach. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson define a life narrative as the story of the narrator's involvement with a subject "simultaneously from externalized and internal points of view."[183] A life narrator writes his or her personal experience of that subject, not just the social, historical, and personal subject.[184] In addition, a life narrator relies primarily on personal memory as an archival source.[185]

Whitman and Twain were the first authors to be the subjects of published literary conversations. Following a tradition of literary conversations that stretches back to James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) and Johann Peter Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* (1836), the final volume of Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography* and Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden* provide intimate portraits of Twain and Whitman. In these texts, the authors receive what I call *the Boswellian treatment*, in which a narrator writes of his or her experience of an author at length and in depth.

The American Tradition of Lyceums and Conversations

Like the publication of literary conversations with figures like Johnson and Goethe, which were a result of the popularity of European salons and "teas," the literary conversations with Twain and Whitman arose out of the American tradition of lyceums and conversations, an American version of the European salon. As early as the 1830s, elite literary circles in America promoted the use of dialogue and conversation as a mode of self-education and self-culture. Without the influence of lyceums and literary soirees, the lengthy literary conversations with Twain and Whitman likely would not have been published.

A lyceum primarily refers to the popular lecture circuit that promoted speakers and public figures like Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Ellery Channing, and Frederick Douglass, among many others. During the early part of the nineteenth century, the lecture lyceum functioned as a political or literary event through which the transmission of knowledge could be gained via conversation or speech and listening. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, it evolved into a form of entertainment, due in part to the widespread popularity of P.T. Barnum's famed circus. Angela Ray traces the lyceum's trajectory from community gatherings intended to promote public education and self-improvement during the 1820s and 1830s to political lectures and entertainments in the 1860s and later.[186] The early lyceum began as an educational network. It furthered the notion that each individual was responsible for his or her own education, which could be obtained at community gatherings held in lecture halls.

The lecture lyceum served as a political or literary event, one that fostered authors' careers and ultimately influenced the changing nature of authorship in America. As Newbury writes, "We know…that the move from avocation to profession is intertwined with authorship's conceptual evolution from teaching or public service to entertainment for an increasingly leisured middle class of readers."[187] Scholars such as Nina Baym, Cathy Davidson, and Ann Douglas have noted the way that the didacticism of the New Colonial Era remained an integral part of antebellum literature and the aura of authorship through the lyceum. As a result, readers came to see authors as wisemen, mentors, and guides.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, community lyceums were educational societies that promoted the idea that knowledge was best obtained through dialogue and conversation. Josiah Holbrook's weekly journal, the *Family Lyceum*, reveals the pedagogical approach of the American lyceum. First published in 1832, the *Family Lyceum* instructed local lyceums to conduct themselves properly and explored various subjects, including geometry, geology, natural history, and biography, which

were of interest to readers. Each article on a particular subject included short scenes of dialogue between a knowledgeable member of the community and a less knowledgeable. These dialogues enacted what Holbrook called the need for "universal education."[188] One article about astronomy depicts a scene between a clergyman and a young woman. The dialogue illustrates the young woman's inability to grasp that the earth revolves around the sun until the clergyman illustrates the point using an apple. Through their discussion, the young woman gains true knowledge of the topic at hand. She says that their dialogue provided her with knowing rather than mere learning.

During this period, the tradition of literary salons began in America. Literary and intellectual soirees held in Boston and elsewhere were more reminiscent of British "teas" than European salons. As Jessica Kross notes, the eighteenth-century American version of the German salon thrived mainly on chitchat and gossip. American men and women mingled and discussed various topics.

An exception was Margaret Fuller's conversations series. German salons were the primary inspiration for her conversations. She admired *salonniéres*, such as Henrietta Herz, Rahel Levin Varnhagen, and Sara Levy. These *salonniéres* developed a less aristocratic version of the French salon, one that included a modest tea table, lively discussion, a charming hostess, and, often, an enthusiasm for Goethe.[189]

Despite Fuller's association with the Transcendentalists, she felt more of a kinship with German romanticism and with Goethe, whom she believed embodied "perfect wisdom and merciless nature."[190] She had attended Amos Bronson Alcott's literary conversations, which served as a center for self-education, and had been a teaching assistant at Alcott's Temple School, which stressed dialogue rather than rote memorization. Eventually, Fuller became an essayist, an activist, a translator, a reporter, a literary reviewer, and one of the fixtures of early nineteenth-century intellectual life in the United States. She associated with the Transcendentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. However, as she wrote in a letter to Thomas Wentworth

Higginson, "I am merely 'Germanico,' not 'transcendental.'"[191] Fuller had learned about the German Romantic ideal of self-education and self-culture during her early studies of the German language, German Romanticism, and the Goethe's works. In 1839, at the age of nineteen, Fuller set about translating Johann Peter Eckermann's biography *Conversations with Goethe*. In *Conversations with Goethe*, Eckermann reveals Goethe's views on writing, including the importance of "pure individuality," "'direct representation of the subject,'" and innate talent.[192]

In her conversations, Fuller relied on techniques she learned while translating *Conversations with Goethe*. In *Conversations with Goethe*, Eckermann obtains the ideal of self-education and self-culture via his discussions with Goethe. Fuller notes how Goethe "'never comes to impose or make a point…He will not let you stay in your own place but draws you…[out], for the very nature of his genius forbids your mingling in his stream to himself "und fortund fort" [and onward and onward]….'"[193] Fuller wanted to have same effect on the participants in her conversations. As Amanda Ritchie explains, Fuller used conversation "as a way to develop the German sensibility that would allow the participants in her conversational circle to deepen their understandings of themselves."[194] Fuller structured her conversations in a similar fashion. In Fuller's first women-only conversations, a group of twenty to twenty-five women met on weekdays in the late morning.[195] Fuller introduced a variety of topics ranging from Goethe to mythology. There was no assigned reading, but attendees were expected to prepare questions and occasionally bring in responses to written exercises, which Fuller read aloud and commented on. Although Fuller was at the center of these conversations, according to Elisabeth Peabody's accounts she conducted the meetings almost as question-and-answer sessions. Rather than impose or make a point, Fuller drew out the attendees and tried to make them aware of their own ideas.

Fuller was, perhaps, the most pivotal figure to influence the American tradition of literary conversations. Her conversations elevated American "teas" and eventually

became one of the centers of Boston's elite intellectual life. The few critics who have paid attention to the literary interview mistakenly trace it to Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* and Eckermann's *Conversations with Eckermann* without recognizing the intermediary influence of American lyceums and conversations. American lyceums employed dialogue as way to test and question one's assumptions in a philosophical sense. Fuller's conversations emphasized self-education and self-culture, which one obtained by being in the community and creating interpersonal relationships.

The Invasive Interview

A more direct influence on the first published literary conversations with American authors was the rise of yellow and "muckraking" journalism. The yellow press, which included William Randolph Hearst's *New York Morning Journal* and Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, referred to papers that featured sensational headlines, published graphic pictures and illustrations, and thrived on gossip about the personal lives of public figures. It was named after the comic strip "The Yellow Kid." The strip featured Mickey Dugan, a gap-toothed child with a guileless disposition who wore a yellow nightshirt and spent his time in alleys and dirty doorways. Dugan came to symbolize the way that "yellow" publishers "slummed" for violent crime stories and other news. As Upton Sinclair wrote in *The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism* (1919), Hearst's reporters published "deliberate and shameful lies, made out of whole cloth."[196]

"Yellow" publishers used interviews to fabricate and embellish human interest stories. They encouraged their reporters to interview forcefully and interview often. Pulitzer encouraged his reporters to hound celebrities and interview witnesses and victims at crime scenes. James McGrath Morris notes that Pulitzer required "his staff…[to] aggressively seek out interviews."[197] As a cub reporter, Pulitzer himself had

obtained an interview from former the former mayor of New York, Oakey Hall, by trapping him in the men's bathroom at the Manhattan Club.

Although Pulitzer famously offended Henry James by hiring him to write a short story for the *New York World* yet instructing him to avoid writing "anything literary," he also had a belletristic side and believed in enhancing journalistic integrity. Pulitzer sought to promote a type of journalism that placed a stronger emphasis on description and narrative. He taught his reporters to use interviews as a way to relay the physical details and to narrate their reports more fully.[198] As Brian Denis points out, he had "a passion for accurate detail" and an interest in improving journalism's reputation.[199] In the late 1880s, Pulitzer sent the first full-time correspondent to Washington D.C. to cover political events and was responsible for sponsoring reporter "Nellie Bly" (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane), who feigned insanity in order to gain entrance to the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island. Bly's exposé, later published in book form as *Ten Days in a Madhouse*, prompted a grand jury investigation and a budget increase to improve conditions in New York's prisons and asylums. In 1902, he tried to donate money to Columbia University to start a journalism school and was initially rebuffed. He increased the gift to $2 million and further sweetened the deal to include an annual series of prizes, which he promised would raise the standards of journalism.[200]

A small group of newspapers saw yellow journalism as a blight the news industry's potential to serve as a neutral transmitter of information. In reaction to the biases of yellow and muckraking journalism, the *New York Times* began to structure their articles on an inverted-pyramid model to emphasize journalistic ethics and neutrality.[201] Although the advent of the telegraph and the Associated Press in 1848 relayed a more objective form of the news, as Michael Schudson notes, most papers still used story and conversation models, which attempted to spark interest in the reading public. The information model employed the inverted pyramid structure which provided readers with the facts of a news story in the first paragraph or two without additional commentary or

literary embellishment, essentially the *Who, What, Where, When, Why*, and sometimes the *How* of the issue or event. The goal was to communicate information rather than create a sensation. However, the inverted-pyramid structure did not correct all journalistic biases. It still allowed for the privileging some facts over others and for a reporter to color a news report or human interest story with descriptions and narrative.

At the tail end of the rise of the yellow press, "muckraking" journalists for magazines like *McClure's* relied on interviews to discover the truth behind society's social ills. President Roosevelt coined the term muckraking in reference to the Sisyphean character in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* who rakes muck all day. These journalists pursued news stories to expose the corruption of public figures and emphasize the injustices in society. The January 1903 issue of *McClure's* ran three exposés on the flaws in American business, government, and society: Ida Tarbell on John D. Rockefeller, Ray Stannard Baker on the coal mining industry, and Lincoln Steffens on the city government of Minneapolis.[202] Hard-hitting investigative reports became the norm, and the interview became the primary instrument with which to write a reformist exposé. [203]

Albeit with different intentions, both yellow and muckraking journalism used the interview as a weapon. In this, the interview worked against the individual's privacy, which was not yet a legal right. In "The Right to Privacy" (1890), Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis argued that individuals should be able to control access to representations of themselves, including works of art and photographs, and ultimately argued in favor of the individual's right to privacy. However, the yellow press's use of the interview created a climate in which celebrities were viewed as public property. For their part, the muckrakers' investigative approach to interviewing made anyone the potential target of an interview. Joel Wiener writes, "…American reporters, it seemed, were chasing after people of almost every social level in pursuit of interviews."[204]

The effect on the literary interview was two-fold. On the one hand, it resulted in an increase in the number of literary interviews published. These interviews paid even

greater attention to an author's physical appearance and setting and provided a series of vignettes, or mini-narratives, in which the interviewer visits the author and finds him in different moods and conditions, as illustrated in the interviews with Twain and Whitman published during their lifetimes. On the other hand, it resulted in a new, aggressive approach to the literary interview. Interviews—including literary interviews—became more invasive, as exemplified by the final interview conducted with Twain in 1908.

Courting the First Professional Interviewee

During his career, Twain gave over 258 interviews. Louis J. Budd explains that he became a celebrity author—perhaps the first native writer to assume the role—when editors figured out that "personalities sold newspapers better than civic facts did," and small town and provincial papers had learned to "play up" interviews.[205] Gary Scharnhorst calls Twain "a pioneer" in the "'celebrity interview.'"[206] Christopher Silvester dubs him the first "professional interviewee."[207]

However, Twain famously criticized interviews and their accuracy.[208] In his essay "Concerning the Interview," Twain concluded that the interview was "not a happy invention."[209] Later he explained that for a politician or other type of celebrity, interviews are necessary, but for a writer they are akin to giving away his income. "'The whole theory of interviews is wrong so far as it concerns a writer. For a politician an interview is something of inestimable value. But to ask a man who writes for his livelihood to talk for publication without recompense is an injustice.'"[210] Twain was also unhappy with the way interviewers embellished his statements. It was common practice for interviewers to expand a short sentence to fill an entire column of quotation. He insisted, "I have never yet met a man who attempted to interview me whose report of the process did not try very hard to make me out an idiot."[211] Twain once said that the mismatch between the printed interview and what he had said was "equal to the loaves

and fishes."[212] For his daughter Clara's wedding, he went so far as to write out comments to be quoted.

Twain was skeptical of effectiveness of transcription to relay speech on any level. It may seem strange for Twain, the "father" of American literature per H.L. Mencken and master of dialogue and dialect per Hemingway and others, to proclaim the limitations of transcribed speech, but Twain had reservations about the ability of anyone—including himself—to capture the essence of "talk" on paper. As he wrote to *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Edward Bok,

> The moment 'talk' is put into print you recognize that it is not what it was when you heard it; you perceive that an immense something has disappeared from it. That is its soul. You have nothing but a carcass left in your hands. Color, play of feature, the varying modulations of the voice, the laugh, the smile, the informing inflections, everything that gave the body warmth, grace, friendliness and charm and commended it to your affections—or, at least, to your tolerance—is gone and nothing is left but a pallid, stiff and repulsive cadaver.[213]

Twain acknowledges the flattening effect of the spoken word on the page. No matter how much one tries to vary the modulations of voice and draw out inflections, it was, he thought, difficult to render in speech what gives a person "warmth, grace, friendliness and charm."

Given Twain's dislike of interviews and skepticism about documenting speech, there are several possible explanations for why he gave so many interviews in his later years. The most obvious is that he was trying to curb the increasing loneliness he felt after the deaths of his daughters Susy (1897) and Jean (1909), his wife Olivia Langdon Clemens, known as "Livy" (1904), and his friend Henry Rogers (1909). Another explanation is that Twain was savvy about the media and well aware of its less credible aspects, and so used interviews as a way to toy with the press. However, the most convincing is that he wanted ensure his posthumous fame. Loren Glass points out that Twain was intensely interested in controlling his literary legacy and attempted to trademark his own name to profit from and manage his celebrity.[214] Twain likely saw

interviews as another form of "autobiographical dictation"—a term he used to describe his autobiography—and another way to administer his public image.[215]

Twain was every interviewer's favorite interviewee because he extemporized, offered his opinion on issues, and told funny anecdotes. Twain became such a master of the interview that he may be credited with having perfected the art of the interview. As one interviewer recalled: "Every subject Mark Twain touched on was illuminated by some anecdote or experience or by some caustic observation which usually hit 'the nail on the head.'"[216]

Twain may very well have invented the interview-response one-liner. When an interviewer asked Twain's opinion on simplified spelling, he responded that he writes magazine articles on the topic and is paid thirty cents a word and doubts that the Boston paper the interviewer works for will pay him the same to comment.[217] In another example, an interviewer asked him about his health, to which Twain responded, "'The trouble was confined exclusively to my throat. I hope it will be a long time before I get it in the neck.'"[218]

The many interviews published with Twain during his lifetime offer physical descriptions of the author and his surroundings and enact a narrative of *meeting Mark Twain*. Physical descriptions focus on his "twinkling" or "sparkling" eyes, which were seen as emblematic of his status as "Dean of Humorists."[219] In interviews, Twain was typically portrayed as "the great humorist" who greeted interviewers with a "hearty smile."[220] Headlines began with a joke or referred to his good cheer, such as "Twain Off Shooting Shafts of Humor," "Mark Twain Sails; Last Word a Joke," or "Twain in Sympathy with Father Noah."[221] In a 1903 interview, the interviewer refers to Twain as "the humorist" whose eyes are "twinkling with merriment."[222] A *Boston Sunday Post* interviewer calls him the man who has made "every American laugh" and observes the "merry twinkles in [his] eyes."[223] In an interview published in the *Evening Journal*, Twain is described as "bubbling over with good spirits and with his blue eyes

twinkling…."[224] An interviewer from the *Baltimore Sun* reassures readers that the aging Twain's eyes are still "twinkling," meaning that Twain is still the jovial author readers know and love.[225] An interviewer from the *New York Times* concurred. He wrote of Twain's lively manner in his old age, "One must see this big, boisterous man, with the…little gray-blue eyes sparkling with the light of laughter, half hidden under the drooping bristles of his eyebrows, to appreciate why can he can afford to joke even with death."[226] In a sense, these repetitive anecdotes became Twain's trademark features, particularly his twinkling eyes.

Although scholars and biographers have described the last fifteen years of Twain's life as "dark," there is much to suggest that his humor and ability to joke with interviewers never left him.[227] As late as 1907, Twain and his dearest friend—Standard Oil tycoon Henry Rogers—continued to toy with the press as they'd always done by spreading rumors about each other in the papers. After a visit to Norfolk, Virginia, Twain returned to New York on Rogers's yacht whereas Rogers returned by train. When Twain arrived safely in New York, interviewers told him that he had been lost at sea. Twain believed that Rogers had started the rumor, which sparked a flurry of humorous headlines, including "Mark Twain Investigating," "'I'm Not Lost at Sea,' Says Twain," "Not Lost, Says Twain," and "Twain Hesitates to Admit He's Dead."[228] An interview in Pulitzer's *New York World* once ran the headline, "Mark Twain Actually Earnest," as if such an occurrence were a scandal.[229]

Part of the reason that Twain may be perceived as "dark" in his final days was the disconnect between Twain-the-man (Samuel Clemens) and the press's incessant portrayal of Twain-the-author as the "prince of American humorists."[230] As biographer Michael Shelden writes, "The press eagerly reported even the slightest events of his life."[231] Even when Twain's health was in decline or he was mourning for the death of a loved one, the press communicated it in terms of his identity as a humorist. In "Mark Twain Feeling Blue," an interview published in the *New York Sun,* the interviewer wrote that Twain was

"somewhat out of sorts physically and even disinclined to jest. He was amiably sad and his familiar drawl lacked the humorous note."[232] Twain could be—one could argue he had the *right* to be— as cranky, depressed, and sick as anyone else, but he was under pressure to conform to the public image crafted by him and by the press. Twain tried to push back against the insistence on relentless good humor in interviews a few times. In a 1908 interview entitled "Mark Twain Cannot 'Bubble Humor,' He Says, as Demanded," Twain is quoted as saying, "'Now when a humorist rises to speak he is expected to simply bubble humor, and there are times when one does not feel the bubbling process as strongly as others.'"[233]

In terms of setting, later interviews with Twain routinely sketched him in bed. From bed, Twain frequently met with people and held meeting. One famous photograph depicted the author in his bed having a conversation with reporters in the Hotel Vancouver while recuperating from a cold he contracted during his 1895 world lecture tour. A 1907 interview published in the *New York World* documents finding Twain "a perfect picture" in bed: "On either side of his bed was a large window, looking out on the green trees, the sunny sky, the smooth lawns and flowers of Tuxedo Park."[234] Twain is framed within the prosaic view outside the window, the generically "green trees," "sunny sky," "smooth lawns," and "flowers" in Tuxedo Park.

Interviews with Twain often enacted a narrative of violating the author's personal space. In an interview published during his 1902 visit to Missouri, the interviewer happens upon "the great son of Hannibal" in his dressing gown in bed but not asleep. The interviewer thinks that he should leave "the great man to his memories," but then he remembers that Twain was once a reporter and would never have "retreated from an opportunity to observe the most famous humorist in the world lying up on his back in a hotel bedroom."[235] The interviewer takes the image of Twain in bed as an invitation to approach the professional interviewee rather than a potential violation of the author's personal space.

The American Romance writer Mildred Champagne conducted the interview during Twain's final stay in Bermuda in 1909. Much of the interview is devoted to descriptions of the lush setting of where Twain is "in retirement."[236] After learning that Twain is staying at Bay House, the home of the Allens, Champagne feels a momentary pang of conscience before she sets out to intrude upon the author. She describes the "bright, sunshiny morning" when she guided her pony down "the cedar-lined path."[237] The passage has many of the hallmarks of a Romance novel, including florid descriptions. Champagne writes: "But for the chirping of the scarlet songsters among the branches and the soft lapping of the sapphire sea on the coral reefs, Nature's sweet stillness enveloped the scene." Champagne notes the "beds of Easter lilies" along the path and "the white stone walls" of the place, which seems ideal "for a sorrow-stricken soul to find comfort and rest."[238]

Twain's final interview illustrates the invasive nature of some literary interviews at the time. The author's angina pectoris, a symptom of congestive heart failure, had worsened, and he hoped that the tropical climate would restore his health. Nevertheless, Champagne's interview presents a narrative of intrusion. When she arrives at the front door, the servants are off-duty. She goes to the side veranda, where she peers through the window and sees Twain in bed: "A white iron bed stood within three feet of the door, and upon it, full length and face downward, lay a familiar figure in a white linen suit, with a band of black crepe around his arm [for Jean]."[239] Champagne admits that Twain tries to ignore her but portrays him as smiling and humorous despite his bent frame and unsteady walk. He supposedly gives her "a joyous welcome" after opening the veranda door to let her in.[240] When he learns that she is there to hound him, his mood abruptly changes. Champagne writes, "Mark Twain's smile faded into a look of reserve and sadness, with perhaps a shade of annoyance." He then becomes ill: "[H]e started to cough, a miserable, nerve-racking cough that shook the whole of his slight frame and left him nervous and trembling and a trifle irritated. He held his hand on his chest." Champagne describes how

Twain begs her to leave: "'I don't see anybody,' he said. 'Nobody, nobody. I'm not—er—extravagantly well. I—er—I bark, bark, bark all the time. I can't talk to anybody." He tries to distract her by asking if she has seen other tourist attractions, such as the crystal cave or the aquarium. Twain musters a bit of humor when he tells her that he is going to start charging admission just to see him: "'But don't recommend me to sightseers. I'm too old a bird to be caught. Besides, I'm going to charge an admission fee. It's a shilling a look.'"[241] Then Champagne, as if oblivious to Twain's suffering and discomfort, asks him if he would be willing to visit a Professor on the island that she knows. Twain becomes enraged and again succumbs to a fit of coughing. Finally, Mrs. Allen rushes in—presumably after returning home and hearing an intruder in her houseguest's room—and rescues Twain.

Champagne's interview exemplifies the aggressive style of interviewing that was being practiced at the time. She later published it with her byline in the aptly titled *Human Life: The Magazine about People*, a precursor to celebrity and human interest magazines like *Life* and *People*. Although many elements, such as description, setting, and narrative remained in the published version (Champagne also alludes to Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard" and Alexander Pope's "Eloisa to Abelard"), the nature of the interview is that of a "scoop," even though there was really no scoop to be had. In addition, Champagne figures prominently in the interview, providing the reader with her reactions and emotional responses:

> And to the creator of Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer and all the other people who have made me and so many others glad, my heart went out in love and sympathy. For just as no human being can read Mark Twain without laughing with him, so none can see him without loving him. For Mark Twain is intensely, vividly, lovingly human.[242]

Although she may have wished to provide readers with a picture of Twain as "intensely, vividly, lovingly human," Champagne confuses exposure with intimacy. She chose to

publish the details of her intrusion without any indication that she violated Twain's personal space and possibly compromised his health.

Over his long career, Twain's behavior in interviews contributed to his burgeoning status as America's greatest living author. As Budd writes, Twain "used so well the subtly changing cues the press fed to him that he came to be acclaimed as the quintessence of Americanism."[243] Twain's flourishing reputation may have given his biographer, Alfred Bigelow Paine, the confidence to transform what had been a standard biography about Twain into a literary conversation, or life narrative.

The Final Volume of Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography*

As one of the first published literary conversations with an American author, Paine's voluminous *Mark Twain: A Biography* (1912) follows in a tradition of literary conversations that stretches back to James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) and Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*. Twain biographers such as Hamlin Hill have stated that Paine compromised his role as a biographer by being overtly devoted to preserving the traditional image of Twain and often shading "the facts,"[244] but this judgment fails to recognize that *Mark Twain: A Biography* is two different books: three-parts biography and one-part literary conversation.

The final volume of *Mark Twain: A Biography* offers readers a truly intimate glimpse of Mark Twain's life and relationships. The first three volumes of Paine's biography are written in the third person and rely on documents, letters, and commentary to document Twain's life before Paine met him in 1906. However, in the final volume, Paine writes in the first person and draws on personal recollections and diary entries to recount his experiences with Twain from 1906 until the author's death in 1909. Paine acknowledges the moment of transition in the text: "We have reached a point in this history where the narrative becomes mainly personal, and where, at the risk of inviting the charge of egotism, the form of the telling must change."[245]

When Twain initially requested that Paine sit in on the autobiography-dictation sessions he held, Paine could not believe his luck. He had found an author as famous as Twain who was willing to reveal himself as a subject. However, he quickly realized that the reminiscences Twain recalled were, he wrote, "built largely—sometimes wholly—from an imagination that, with age, had dominated memory, creating details, even reversing them, yet with perfect sincerity of purpose on the part of the narrator to set down the literal and unvarnished truth."[246]

According to Paine, Twain's imagination made history and facts "difficult."[247] Twain had not had much success with his first attempt at autobiography, *Mark Twain's (Burlesque) Autobiography and First Romance* (1871), and was struggling through his second attempt at an autobiography, which he was dictating in order to extend the copyright of his books after his death. He admitted that he had trouble revealing the shameful parts of his life: "I have not gotten one of them to consent to go on paper yet," he said. What appeared to be a stroke of luck for a biographer—a willing subject allowing him to sit in on the verbal recordings of his autobiography—had complicated Paine's project.

Paine resolved to continue to fill in the details and facts with his biographical research but soon found that he and Twain had developed a friendship, primarily as a result of their billiards games and Paine's overnight stays at Twain's apartment, 21 Fifth Avenue. Paine was privy to more than a biographer typically gets to see of his subject. By the time he convinced Twain to build a home in Redding on property adjoining his own, Paine was a trusted member of the Clemens family.[248] Because he was in close contact with Twain, he could portray the author as he mixed in high society, corresponded with his "Angel Fish" girls, and spent time with his remaining daughters.

This ability to relate a more intimate portrait of Twain is most striking in Paine's account of author's 1906 visit to Congress to lobby for a copyright law that would extend beyond 42 years. Because Twain donned his famous white suit in order to attract

publicity, the majority of interviews depicted Twain as a heroic figure, a "white knight."[249] In the press, Twain was portrayed as an alien presence among statesmen, "a very vision from the equator," the antithesis to the "wintry wind" that nips at the legs of statesmen.[250] The *New York Times* reported, "Mark Twain has the copyright law beaten to a frazzle."[251] Paine, surprisingly, writes of the moments before and after Twain created a hullabaloo on the Congressional floor. He describes how the gallery started to liven up from a day of boring speeches when saw they would be rewarded with a speech delivered by Twain. Paine writes, "Every listener was as if standing on tiptoe."[252] He does not mention the moment Twain took off his coat to reveal his white suit, or his speech; instead, he quotes William Dean Howells's account from *My Mark Twain*. In Paine's biography, he quotes Howells describing "the gesture with which he flung off his long, loose overcoat and stood forth in which from his feet to the crown of his silvery head." The effect is that Paine is somehow one with Twain, and is too taken up in the moment to actually remember it and must instead rely on others. Paine describes how the two of them left quickly after the speech, shaking a few hands and escaping to the Willard Hotel to talk, smoke, and get ready for dinner, where Twain makes yet another grand entrance.

Paine knew Twain's moods, which volleyed between profound humorlessness and sprightly optimism and could detail how the author occasionally succumbed to bouts of "remorse [that] seemed to overwhelm him at times."[253] He understood Twain's guilt over not being present at Livy's death, his obsession with determinism, and his extreme competitiveness, particularly when it came to writing and billiards. According to Paine, the billiards games often started after lunch and continued until midnight. Paine writes, "I sometimes thought of his inner consciousness as a pool darkened by his tragedies, its glassy surface, when calm, reflecting all the joy and sunlight and merriment of the world, but easily—so easily—troubled and stirred even to violence."[254]

As a literary conversation, the final volume of *Mark Twain: A Biography* bears many similarities to Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe*. In 1823, Eckermann—an aspiring young poet from the country—sought out the eminent poet Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who was seventy-four at the time. He recorded their conversations and published the first two volumes just after Goethe's death and a third volume years later. Paine's tone and approach resembles Eckermann's in three ways. Each published a personal account of his subject who was a potential mentor and might help further the career of a fledgling writer. They both admit to their admiration for their subjects and detail the genuine companionship that arose. They both relied on notes taken by a third-party stenographer and included their own diary entries in the final volumes.

Both Eckermann and Paine describe how they sought out their subjects as literary mentors but ultimately became their subjects' literary executors. In *Conversations with Goethe*, Eckermann recalls first hearing Goethe's name and reading his poems, songs, plays, and novels. He tells the story of sending Goethe his work and receiving a supportive note in return. Encouraged by his praise, Eckermann relates how he traveled to see Goethe because he felt "the need of instruction." According to Eckermann, Goethe saw his potential as a personal secretary and upon his arrival asked him to sort through a few volumes of his "little critiques" (Frankfort criticisms 1772-1773). Eckermann remembers being thrilled: "I loved to seize on the import of his words, and to note it down, that I might possess them for the rest of my life."[255] Although Eckermann admits he had plans for innumerable poems of his own, he willingly resigns himself to Goethe's will, feeling "in the very depths" of his soul "the good fortune of meeting with a true master."[256] Later Eckermann writes, "My relation to him was peculiar, and of a very intimate kind: it was that of the scholar to the master; of the son to the father; of the poor in culture to the rich in culture."[257] Eckermann had soon dedicated himself to the task of compiling Goethe's complete works.

Paine describes his experience in a similar manner. Like Eckermann, Paine recalls the first time he heard of Twain: "Lit by the glow of the shaded candles, relieved against the dusk richness of the walls, he made a picture of striking beauty…I suddenly saw the interior of a farm-house sitting-room in the Middle West, where I had first heard the name of Mark Twain."[258] Having learned through a mutual friend that Twain had praised his biography of the cartoonist Thomas Nast, Paine describes how he approached Twain first at the Player's Club and then met him a few days later at Twain's apartment on 21 Fifth Avenue. Twain greets Paine from his bed and quickly agrees to hire him as his biographer. Although Paine clearly wished to become Twain's official biographer, there is also a sense that he wanted Twain's approval as a writer and mentor. He writes, "He had been my literary idol from childhood, as he had been of so many others...." Twain shows Paine to his study and gives his new biographer access to his private papers. Within a few weeks, Paine has a key to the house. By the end of year, he has his own room.

Both Eckermann and Paine acknowledge their unabashed admiration of their subjects and detail the genuine companionship they found in their subjects. To Eckermann, Goethe was an "infallible polar star."[259] Early on, he compares his mind to "a many-sided diamond…which in each direction shines with a different hue."[260] Paine similarly delights in Twain's intelligence and talent. He writes, "It was absorbingly interesting; his quaint, unhurried fashion of speech, the unconscious movement of his hands, the play of his features as his fancies and phrases passed in mental review and were accepted or waved aside."[261] Goethe's every "utterance" harmonizes with Eckermann's thoughts and leads him "to a higher and higher point of view."[262] He and Goethe often look at art together; Paine and Twain play billiards. Eckermann writes that in conversation Goethe was always different, which makes him a difficult man to describe. Similarly, Paine declares of Twain, "It is absolutely impossible, of course, to preserve that atmosphere and personality of such talks as this—the delicacies of his

speech and manner which carried an ineffable charm. It was difficult, indeed, to record the substance."[263]

Finally, both men relied on stenographers and used their personal accounts as documentation. In *Conversations*, Eckermann and Goethe are often in the company of Frédéric Soret, who transcribed their interviews. Eckermann writes, "[Soret] was kind enough to give me a small manuscript compiled from this source [Soret's journals], in order that I might, if I pleased, take what was best and most interesting…."[264] For his part, Paine hired Josephine Hobby to act as Twain's stenographer. The majority of *Conversations with Goethe* reads as series of Eckermann's diary entries. Paine also drew from his diary to enrich his account: "In my notebook, under date of September 16th, appears this entry: Windy in valleys but not cold. This veranda is protected. It is peaceful here and perfect, but we are at the summer's end."[265]

Critics and scholars have said that Eckermann's *Conversations* is as strong as anything Goethe wrote. Later editions of *Conversations with Goethe* by J.P. Eckermann are titled *Conversations with Eckermann* by J.W. Goethe. However, Paine's final volume of his biography of Twain has not been noted as such. In 1912, the first year there was a nonfiction bestseller list, *Mark Twain: A Biography* was on it. In 1918, *Mark Twain's Letters*, also edited by Paine, appeared on the list. In 1924, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, which saw its way into print with Paine's help, also made the list—along with *Fanny Farmer, The Boston Cooking School Cook Book*, Lulu Hunt Peters's *Diet and Health*, Emily Post's book of *Etiquette*, George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, and Giovanni Papini's *The Life of Christ*. Still, Paine is most often remembered as Twain's devoted literary executor. The neglect of *Mark Twain: A Biography* is due in part to the categorization of the text as a biography and no thorough study of American literary conversations exists. Perhaps such a study would show how Paine's rendering of his relationship with Twain in the final volume of *Mark Twain: A Biography* made an impact on the literary interview as a form.

Pilgrimages to Meet the Good Gray Poet

During his lifetime, Whitman was hailed as one of the great American poets.[266] The *New York World* (1876) and the *Philadelphia Press* (1880) emphasized his status as the quintessential American poet, likening him to Dante, Shakespeare, and Homer. However, in the years preceding his death, Whitman had achieved celebrity but not monetary success. In addition, celebrity did not arrive until late in the poet's life and did not come from the masses as he had hoped and expected.[267] The earliest interviews with Whitman appeared during the 1870s, nearly twenty years after the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* in 1855. They provided a description of the poet and his house on Mickle Street in Camden and a narrative of going to meet the good gray poet.[268]

These interviews typically focused on Whitman's physical weakness, the result of the stroke he suffered in 1873. They often compare him to the photograph included in the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* that showed him as a vigorous man in his mid-thirties. In 1892, an interviewer from *The Evening Telegram* describes how Whitman's "once powerful body" is now "so helpless that it must be turned from one side to the other every hour to keep the blood from stagnating in the veins and arteries."[269] Whitman no longer sings the body electric; instead, he is a mass of bones, blood, veins, and arteries.

Another such interview was titled "The Athletic Bard Paralyzed and in a Rocking Chair: His Explanation of His Verse and His Condition" published in Pulitzer's *New York World* in 1876. The title likely alludes to the poem renamed "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" that had been published just five years earlier. It appeared under the title "A Child's Reminiscence" in the New York *Saturday Press* in 1859, then as "A Word out of the Sea" in the 1867 edition, and finally as "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" in the 1871 edition. The interviewer describes Whitman as "a diseased Druid:"[270]

> The Walt Whitman, whose gray mane I had seen swishing in the wind against the cheeks of Washington car-drivers and Broadway omnibus-drivers in the old days when that rough companionship was most natural to him, was not wholly undistinguishable, but sadly broken. Long white hair, a long white beard and moustache,

> a florid face with spirited blue eyes, a gigantic frame withered with paralysis and encased in a shirt thrown open clear below his corded neck, a gray coat and trowsers *[sic]*, a black vest and shoes tied with leathern strings—this was the Walt Whitman who now excused himself from rising. On a distant sofa lay the broad-brimmed white hat which he has worn for nearly a quarter of a century.[271]

The Walt Whitman of omnibus drivers has been replaced by one with "long white" hair and beard, whose "spirited blue eyes" suffer under the weight of his "gigantic frame withered with paralysis." He is still the good gray poet in gray coat and trousers, but gone is his irreverent "barbaric yawp;" instead, he excuses himself when he rises, and his hat—Whitman's signature accessory—has been laid aside.

Interviews depict the Mickle Street house with which Whitman is so often associated as equally broken-down and battered. Whitman had lived with his brother but purchased the house with the money earned from the royalties from the 1882 edition of *Leaves of Grass* and a partial loan. Earlier interviews describe George Whitman's house as a "cosy *[sic]* home." An interviewer of the *New York World* paints a picture of Whitman spending his time in "a pleasant parlor at the corner of West and Stevens streets" in a seat "by the window" surrounded by "scrawled half-sheets of note-paper, freshly opened letters and torn envelopes…a pocket ink-bottle and a pen."[272] The Mickle Street house, on the other hand, is portrayed as decrepit. In an 1890 *New York Tribune* interview, the interviewer describes the house as dilapidated: "It needs paint on its weather-beaten boards, it needs new blinds at the dingy windows, but, more than all, it needs condemnation and destruction at the hands of the city authorities."[273] Of Whitman's house on Mickle Street, an 1892 interview published in *The Evening Telegram* wrote that the house is not in keeping with a "personality" like Whitman: "It is scarcely twenty feet wide and stands like a big wooden box directly on the sidewalk, without garden room in front for a single blade of grass. It is two stories high, without a basement, and the poet's bedchamber is on the second story, and does not seem large enough to shelter a personality so great and original as that of its prostrate occupant."[274]

In interviews, Whitman's house in Camden is symbolic of the public's neglect of his work. In 1885, William H. Ballou, an interviewer from the *Cleveland Leader and Herald*, remarked that "the old paint on the clapboards" of the house "might have been olive-colored when put on in the silurian age…."[275] Ballou insinuates that the house is so in need of care that the siding has faded to a murky, unrecognizable hue. Like Whitman's poetry, the house is in a state of neglect. In 1886, an interviewer from the *Evening Post* openly declared that given the state Whitman lived he in, the poet must be in need of financial assistance.[276]

The narrative in the majority of interviews with Whitman is that of a pilgrimage taken by an interviewer to visit the good gray poet of Camden. Occasionally, these interviews used the pilgrimage as a device by which to mock Whitman. An 1876 interview was titled, "Walt Whitman: A Glimpse of the Poet in His Lair: What the Author of 'Blades of Grass' Says about Newspapers and Publishers." Whitman was never combative with the press, but here the interviewer flippantly refers to *Leaves of Grass* as "Blades of Grass." The interviewer describes his Camden pilgrimage as a perilous journey. He writes that he has taken "his life in his hands, with a recklessness known only to men who are looking for news" and boarded a ferry for West Jersey, also known as "the Brooklyn of Philadelphia."[277]

Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*

Unlike the interviews published with Whitman during his lifetime, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* offers a type of literary interview based on witnessing and establishing a relationship rather than on judgment and mockery. *With Walt Whitman in Camden* is an exhaustive look at the poet that, as Traubel hoped, reveals Whitman's "best and worst truths."[278] The nine-volume work catalogues conversations with Whitman recorded by "Whitmaniac" Horace Traubel during the last four years of Whitman's life (1888-1892).[279] As Gary Schmidgall writes, "…[N]othing on the wide shelf of

Whitman's own writings and all the commentary on him gives a more vivid sense of the poet's actual, personal voice than Traubel's nine volumes."[280] Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden* resembles Boswell's fifteen-hundred-page study of the literary critic, novelist, and scholar Samuel Johnson. *The Life of Samuel Johnson* includes over thirty sections of transcribed conversations. Boswell intended it to be a biography, but it is also a literary conversation. According to Leo Braudy, Boswell's study of Johnson embodies "the…urge to make the most fleeting fame—the fame of voices spoken into ears, the fame of *talk*, so long considered impermanent—into something permanent and even artistic."[281] Boswell's and Traubel's accounts are life narratives written in the first person that attempt to portray balanced yet candid portraitist of their subjects, are as much about their personal experiences with their subjects as the subjects themselves, and rely on diary entries and, in Boswell's case, fabricated material.

Both Boswell and Traubel wanted to create full studies of their subjects. Critic Adam Sisman writes that Boswell's ambition was "nothing less than to resuscitate his dead friend in print," but he did not wish to write a hagiography. In Boswell's portrait, Johnson often responds acerbically, blithely stating, for instance, that he wrote over half of his biography *The Life of Richard Savage* in one night, and his novel *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* in just one week. However, Boswell shows Johnson's humbler side, quoting him as saying that he "'should have done nothing'" if his teachers had not whipped him and that he engaged in an "irregular mode of study" as a student at Oxford, "'hardly ever reading any poem to an end.'"[282]

Traubel also wanted to provide a balanced portrait of Whitman.[283] He writes that he wanted to "tell the truth about [Whitman]. The worst truth no less than the best truth."[284] In order to ensure a portrayal of Whitman that was, as Traubel notes in the preface to the first volume, honest and full, he writes, "I have done nothing negatively to disguise any poverty in the portrait and nothing affirmatively to falsely enrich it."[285] Traubel demonstrates Whitman's profound egotism, such as when he described a

Matthew Brady photograph of him circa 1862 as having "'a sort of Moses-in-the-burning-bush look,'" or his delight at learning that a line of cigars had been named for him.[286] However, Traubel also reveals how the poet had grown weary of notoriety: "'I have been photographed, photographed, photographed, until the camera themselves are tired of me.'"[287] As evidence of his fair portrayal of Whitman, Traubel wrote that he did nothing "to sophisticate the text."[288] He tried neither to flatter nor find fault: "The record begs no questions. Never makes worse of better or better of worse. Tries to explain away no sin. Tries to lug in no virtue."[289]

Just as Boswell includes Johnson's many peccadillos in his account, Traubel records candid moments that reveal Whitman's peculiarities. For his part, Boswell reveals Johnson as lazy and learned, as indulgent as he is abstemious, and as charismatic as he is physically repulsive (his palsy at one point prevented him from being a teacher because he frightened the children). Traubel documents Whitman's many neologisms, such as "idiocrities" (mistakes) and "autobiographicality" (of a self-revealing and personal nature). He writes of learning to navigate Whitman's moods and finding the best hour in the day to consult with him. In one comical episode, he describes the strangeness of watching Whitman seated at the dinner table waxing poetic about *Leaves of Grass* while a piece of chicken dangled from the poet's fork.[290]

Similar to the way that Boswell tried to distinguish himself from Johnson and show himself in the best light, Traubel makes an effort to portray himself as more than a mere sycophant. Traubel describes how he once told Whitman, "'I don't worship the ground you tread on or kiss the hem of your garment or discover something oracular in everything you say.'"[291] He criticizes the poet's embrace of Andrew Carnegie—who was generous to Whitman but was, to Traubel, a robber baron—and for not supporting John Brown. At one point, he asks Whitman why he exaggerates the public's inattention to his work: "'Walt, don't you sometimes put that American neglect business a bit too strong?'"[292] At another point, he questions Whitman about the gratuitous nature of his

self-reviews and self-interviews. He inquires whether the "'puffs on yourself—sort of attitudinized and called attention to yourself.'"[293] He even razzes Whitman about being "'one-idea'd.'"[294] Whitman responds to all of these critiques by noting his belief in self-questioning, self-awareness, self-attention, and a "'certain amount of egotism.'"[295] Whitman also remarks to Traubel, "'Cross-examinations are not in the terms of our contract but you do certainly sometimes put me through the fire in great shape.'"[296]

Like Boswell, who said that he wanted to write Johnson's life "in scene," Traubel portrayed his life with Whitman in scene. At Whitman's seventieth testimonial dinner at Morgan's Hall in Camden, Traubel describes the banquet and one attendee's recollection of watching Whitman shake hands with a cook whose husband Whitman had nursed in the hospital during the Civil War.[297] In a scene recalled two years later, he watches Whitman eat an ear of corn and asks about his health, to which Whitman responds, "'No—not that—but this corn'—munching a little for an instant—'This corn is the cause of it and you can put it down in your notes.' Laughingly….'Now you put this down for me—say that Walt Whitman likes nothing on this earth in the way of eating better than good, genuine, sweet corn.'"[298] Although Whitman does not answer his question, Traubel chose not to cut the exchange from the manuscript. The interaction reveals Whitman's penchant for taking pleasure, even in an ear of corn, and the level of familiarity between the two men. It also points to the imperfections of human communication, such as how we talk with our mouths full or fail to respond to the question asked and instead say what is on our minds.

In addition to the historical and cultural differences between Boswell and Traubel, the two men varied in terms of how they approached the interview process. Scholars such as Sisman and Donald Greene note that Boswell fabricated some of his account of Johnson. Sisman notes that recent publications of manuscripts of Boswell's journals reveal that passages from *The Life of Samuel Johnson* came not from Boswell's memoranda and transcripts but from his private journal.[299] The implication is that

Boswell took creative license in his documentation of his conversations with Johnson and may have invented some or all of the dialogue and descriptions.

Traubel, on the other hand, describes his interviewing method as getting "out of the way" of himself.[300] According to Traubel's wife, he jotted notes on slips of paper that he stuffed in his pockets and transcribed them within an hour of returning home.[301] Traubel's daughter notes that he ensured the veracity of his jottings by transcribing them immediately upon arriving home after one of his meetings with Whitman: "Within the hour of the words spoken, the material was put into the complete form with which you are familiar….There was no vacuum of time or emotion, thus preserving the vitality of the original conversation."[302] In many ways, he followed Whitman's prescription to know humanity and "write in the gush, the throb, the flood, of the moment—to put things down without deliberation—without worrying about their style—without waiting for a fit time or place."[303] Traubel believed in this method: "I have had only one anxiety. To set down the record. Then to get out of the way myself."[304]

In addition, Traubel refused to invade Whitman's privacy even though Whitman himself sometimes did. As Schmidgall points out, in letters written toward the end of his life Whitman often noted the minutiae of his days, including the number of bowel movements he had.[305] Traubel was Whitman's personal secretary. He took care of the poet's correspondence, sometimes writing as many as thirty letters in a day. He also helped with the publications of *November Boughs* (1888), *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman* (1888), and the "deathbed edition" of *Leaves of Grass* (1892). After Whitman's death, Traubel served as one of Whitman's literary executors and edited *The Conservator*, a literary magazine that championed Whitman and his work, for nearly a quarter-century. Despite the access he had to Whitman's most private thoughts, Traubel was protective of the poet's privacy because, he wrote, Whitman "did not ask to have his failings paraded."[306]

With Walt Whitman in Camden is often read in terms of the supposed secret, or "big story" that Whitman promises to tell Traubel over the course of their conversations yet never reveals. Schmidgall, for instance, considers whether the secret serves as a plot device to lend a sense of suspense and delay to the voluminous text.[307] However, early on, Whitman remarks that "his last secret" is his estimation of Traubel, who he sees as "an exceptional person."[308] Traubel cared for Whitman during a time when the poet felt "physically helpless" and was in ill health.[309] At one point, Whitman asks Traubel, "'I wonder whether you understand at all the functions you have come to fulfill here! That you're the only thing between me and death?—that but for your readiness to abet me I'd be stranded beyond rescue?'"[310] Just before his death, Whitman tells him, "'I can die easier, seeing these things all in order.'"[311]

Traubel makes a big story out of his conversations with Whitman but never at the poet's expense. When Traubel asks Whitman questions he does so with deference and tact: "W. not in good talking mood. In such cases I never linger."[312] He tells the reader that he never badgered him: "My method all along has been to not trespass and not ply him too closely with questions necessary or unnecessary. When a lull occurs I sometimes get him going again by making a remark that is not a question."[313] At one point, the aging Whitman thanks Traubel for not bothering him with questions. He tells Traubel that he is the only person "in the world" whose questions he can tolerate: "'[Q]uestions are my *bête noir*: even you at times, damn you, try me: but I answer your questions because you seem to me to have a superior right to ask them.'"[314] Traubel's genuine interest in and connection to Whitman gives him "a superior right" to ask questions. Later, Whitman says, "'You have an odd effect on me—you don't ask me questions, you have learned that I hate to be asked questions, yet I seem to be answering questions all the time whenever you happen in.'"[315]

Traubel offers a pacific approach to the literary interview. He writes that he wants to secure the "data," "the essential things," "the things that make history," which are

enmeshed in his conversations with Whitman.[316] He describes how, after an evening where he and Whitman just sat together, the poet said, "'We have had a beautiful talk—a beautiful talk,'" even though no words were spoken.[317] Traubel refers to their later sessions as "séances of silence": "[W]e sit together for long séances of silence, neither saying anything."[318]

After Whitman finished *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, he said, "'I read it through, looked it through, rather—persisted in spite of fifty temptations to throw it down. I don't know who tried me most—Johnson or Boswell… The more I see of the book the more I realize what a roaring bull the Doctor was and what a braying ass Boswell was.'"[319] Just as Boswell used the interview to communicate his relationship with Johnson, Traubel achieved similar results in his published conversations with Whitman. In comparison to other recollections, tributes, and biographies—including those by J.W. Wallace, Whitman's nurse Elizabeth Keller, John Addington Symonds, William Clarke, Oscar Lovell Triggs, William Sloane Kennedy, John Burroughs, Thomas Donaldson, Edward Carpenter, Edmund Holmes, Sadakichi Hartmann, Alexander Gardner, Anne Gilchrist, Richard Bucke, and Whitman himself—*With Walt Whitman in Camden* is a tender account of the relationship between a young man and his idol. As the first literary conversation published with an American author, Traubel's work serves as an intimate portrait of a poet in the last years of his life.

Conclusion

The final volume of Paine's *Mark Twain: A Biography* and Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden* illustrate the difference between interviews that seek to report on a subject, which thrive on intrusion, and those that attempt to relate a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee, which rely on interaction. As literary conversations, Paine's and Traubel's works exhibit an approach to interviewing in which the interviewer doesn't need to produce an "illusion of intimacy" because the intimacy is genuine. They

also indicate a period when it seemed as though a national literature had finally arrived and American authors were worthy of the Boswellian treatment.

CHAPTER 4: LADY INTERVIEWERS, QUESTIONNAIRES, AND THE LITERARY GOSSIP COLUMN, 1920 & 1935

During the first decades of the twentieth century, literary and commercial success comingled in a way that Walt Whitman could not have imagined. Perhaps the best evidence was the advent of the Walt Whitman grocery store chain, which had 44 stores in South Jersey by 1920. America's literary marketplace continued to expand. This period saw the emergence of literary agents; advertising firms; *Publisher's Weekly's* best-seller lists; newsreels; the Book-of-the-Month Club; radio broadcasting; new publishing houses, such as Simon and Schuster, Random House, Alfred A. Knopf, and Viking Press; and the publication of "little" modernist magazines. By the 1920s, the best-seller list and the Book-of-the-Month Club were mainstays of the publishing world, as were publicists, agents, and large publishing houses.

America's modern print culture was also in full swing. As Daniel Boorstin notes, the modern newspaper industry changed the very speed of life and "meaning of the moment" in America.[320] Perhaps most notably, general-interest and fan magazines began to attract readers en masse. Frank Luther Mott estimates that between 1885 and 1905, 7500 new periodicals were published.[321] The invention of the cylinder press and the growth of an urban, educated class contributed to the massive growth of general-interest magazines during the 1890s and throughout the early 1900s. This period saw the publication of *Cosmopolitan* (1886), *Collier's* (1888), *McClure's* (1893), *Everybody's* (1899), *Vanity Fair* (1913), the *New Republic* (1914), *Time* (1923), *American Mercury* (1924), the *New Yorker* (1925), *Esquire* and *Newsweek* (1933), and *Life* (1934). With the rise of silent films in the 1910s and "talkies" in the 1920s, fan magazines, like *Motion Picture Story Magazine* and *Photoplay* (1911) were founded, as were *Picture-Play Weekly* (1915) and *Shadowland: Expressing the Arts* (1919). By the 1940s, the top-selling fan magazines had a circulation close to one million copies.

General interest and fan magazines relied on advertisements and human interest stories to attract readers. According to Mott, this period saw an increase in advertisements, sometimes as much as a hundred pages in a single magazine.[322] Consumers became the modern media's point of interest. To ensure each magazine's tone, editors hired staff writers and selected topics to cover, including current events, science, travel, entertainment, and literature. The top-selling fan magazines depended on profiles of movie stars, contests, and photoplays to draw in readers.[323]

On the other side of the mass-market spectrum, "little magazines" tended to emphasize graphic aestheticism over consumer culture. According to David Moss's "Bibliography of Little Magazines," in 1923 there were 376 little magazines in circulation, such as the *Little Review* (1914), *Contact* (1920), *Broom* (1921), and the *Dial* (1840, 1860, 1880, 1920). These literary magazines emerged as part of literary high modernism. They published manifestos embracing "the new" rather than what was most popular. However, as Aaron Jaffe, Loren Glass, Lawrence Rainey, Mark Morrison, Alan Golding, and others have shown, modernist magazines did not exist in isolation of the mass market.[324]

Whether a magazine or newspaper was devoted to advertising or aesthetics, the proliferation of print media caused the literary interview to flourish during the first half of the twentieth century. At no other time had so many interviews with and by authors appeared in so many publications, such as the *New York Herald Tribune*, *Vogue*, the *Little Review*, *Photoplay*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York Times*. It became commonplace for the details of an author's private life to appear in gossip columns, alongside news of what Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford liked to do on the weekends. This period in the American tradition of the literary interview marks the moment when women, or "lady interviewers," transformed the interview. Women writers and editors, such as "Kate Carew" (Mary Williams), Djuna Barnes, Jean Heap, and Fanny Butcher played instrumental roles in reshaping the form. These women advanced

the literary interview in newspapers, "little" modernist magazines, and literary gossip columns. They cultivated three varieties of the literary interview: the written-up interview, the literary questionnaire, and the literary gossip column.

Reportage: The Legacy of Margaret Fuller

As the literary editor and a reporter for Greeley's *New York Tribune* from 1844 until her death in 1850, Margaret Fuller was perhaps the first lady interviewer. Fuller was the first full-time woman journalist whose interviews or profiles tried to educate the public about the troubling social conditions of many Americans. She examined the Five Points district of Manhattan (the same neighborhood that Dickens had visited and wrote about); gave detailed accounts of women in asylums like Bellevue Alms House; and reported on schools for immigrant children, hospitals for the poor, prisons for prostitutes, and homes for discharged convicts. As a result, she can be seen as a seminal figure in the development of what would become known as reportage, which relied on the interview and influenced the literary interview.

Originally, Fuller did not have a relationship to the interview as a form. During the years she served as the literary editor of the Transcendentalist magazine the *Dial*, she wrote essays peppered with quotations, many of them in Latin, and reasoned in a circular manner that often obscured her arguments rather than clarified them. The *Dial* was a philosophical-literary magazine with a circulation in the hundreds. Geared toward a select audience, her literary reviews recommended canonized continental writers, and her political essays painted a bleak picture of cultural and artistic life in the United States.

Fuller's position at the *Tribune* required that she tailor her writing to meet the needs of the public by writing in a more concise and direct manner. It also afforded her a wider readership and greater influence on journalistic methods like the interview. Being a newspaperwoman enabled her to reach more readers. The *Tribune* had a circulation between thirty thousand and fifty thousand when Fuller joined it and would amass a

national circulation of one hundred fifty thousand by 1850.[325] As Fuller wrote shortly after accepting her new position, "The life of intellect is becoming more and more determined by the weekly and daily papers, whose light leaves fly so rapidly and profusely over the land."[326] At the *Tribune*, Fuller published reportage, essays, translations, reviews, and dispatches that might be seen as early examples of the literary interview as a form.

As a reporter, Fuller used the interview to portray her subjects and create a sense of intimacy between them and the reader. As Ann Douglas writes, "…[A]s a journalist Fuller took on a kind of muckraking role: her desire and her claim was to have seen for herself, to be able authoritatively to separate hard 'facts' from self-serving 'talk.'"[327] On a visit to Sing Sing prison, Fuller interviewed a number of female inmates and compared the women to Boston's elite who had attended her Boston conversations series. In a letter, she writes, "These women were all from the lowest haunts of vice, yet nothing could have been more decorous than their conduct, while it was also frank. All passed, indeed, much as in one of my Boston classes."[328] In "St. Valentine's Day—Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane," she describes a Valentine's day dance held at the institution about which she writes, "People who, half a century ago, would have been chained in solitary cells, screaming out their anguish till silenced by threats or blows" instead appear well dressed and ready to dance.[329]

Toward the end of her career, Fuller wrote a number of dispatches from Europe for the *Tribune* that read as a kind of literary pilgrimage, although in some the authors have died and she visits the last vestiges of their homes and remnants of their work. As she writes of visiting Sir Walter Scott's home: "This pilgrimage [is] so common that there is nothing left for me to say."[330] In one, she recalls touching Rousseau's manuscripts. In another, she briefly describes visiting various literary sites in England. In yet another, she relates her encounters with the literati of England and France, including Harriet Martineau, William Wordsworth, Thomas De Quincy, and Thomas Carlyle. She

tried to find Balzac but reports that she could not because he frequented only the lowest cafes.[331]

Forerunners like Fuller helped create the conditions for women to seek and find employment in the print industry nearly a century later. Her reportage marks the first journalism produced by an American woman. Her reliance on interviews to create her works of reportage and her publication of literary dispatches likely shaped the literary interview as well.

Lady Interviewers

The character of Henrietta Stackpole in Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lad*y (1881) embodies the negative and positive aspects of the first wave of lady interviews that populated the newspaper industry during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Championed as intrepid and self-assured one moment, disdained as cloying and uncultured the next, Henrietta Stackpole is an overbearing reporter that preys on those around her for interviews. She travels to Europe not to absorb European culture, rather to gather quips and snippets about the European elite for her column in the *New York Interviewer*. In the languid gentility of Gardencourt, she is blunt and uncouth.

However, she admits to following her journalistic credo, as when she explains to the Countess Gemini that she is "a strictly veracious reporter," and by the end of the novel, she becomes a "literary" person—a Besantine "authoress" who writes popular novels of the sort James disdained. Nevertheless, she is an authoress. She spends time at the Uffizi, where she admires a painting by the Renaissance painter Correggio. She is also the only character who attempts to save Isabel Archer, and the person to whom Ralph Touchett bequeaths his entire library for her "service to literature" and advises that she sell it in order to start, of all things, a newspaper.

In his preface to the New York Edition, James wrote that he had "suffered Henrietta (of whom we have indubitably too much) so officiously, so strangely, so almost

inexplicably, to pervade."[332] However, the word "suffered" may be misleading. After all, James did not excise her from the text; instead, he permitted her to pervade the novel, which demonstrates his interest in her.

Given Henry James's supposed aversion to the press, it would be easy to read Henrietta Stackpole as evidence of his disapproval of lady interviewers. James famously avoided the press and interviewers—male and female. In "Mr. James at Home," which ran in *Harper's Weekly* in 1904, Sydney Brooks describes the remoteness of James's home in Rye as evidence of his "refusal to court celebrity."[333] In another interview published in the *New York Herald* in 1904, Florence Brooks quotes James's defense of his reluctance to appear in the press: "'One's craft,'" James says, "'one's art, is his expression…not one's person, as that of a great actress or singer is hers.'"[334] James was so consistently unwilling that the *New York Times* ran the headline, "Henry James's First Interview/Noted Critic and Novelist Breaks his Rule of Years to Tell of the Good Work of the American Ambulance Corps" for one of his final interviews.[335] Before he started on the New York Edition, James made one last attempt to collaborate on an interview with Witter Bynner, permitting publication of the interview on the condition that Bynner send it to him for approval. According to Richard Salmon, James finally decided not to get involved because he realized the interview was, as James wrote, Bynner's "'little affair exclusively.'"[336] James also tended to portray authors as mistreated or misunderstood in such works as "The Author of Bel Traffio" (1884), and "The Death of the Lion" (1894), *The Reverberator* (1888), "The Lesson of the Master" (1888), and *The Aspern Papers* (1888). He disliked publicity—even the idea of giving public readings of his work.

However, it may be more appropriate to read Henrietta Stackpole, lady interviewer, as an indication of James's complicated interest in publicity and the press.[337] In his autobiography *Notes of a Son and Brother* (1914), James recalls feeling awestruck after meeting Charles Dickens's presence in Boston in 1867, when James was

just twenty-four. James describes Dickens's ineffable brightness and charm, which, he writes, stems from the fact that the man standing before him is very much like "the author of Pickwick and Copperfield" that James imagined. James experiences an "aftersense" of pity for Dickens the performer "committed to his *monstrous* 'readings' [emphasis James's]." A meeting with Dickens "the master" instills in James both a "diffused, public" feeling of admiration and a separate sense of disgust.[338] Critics such as James Miller, Richard Salmon, and Michael Anesko agree that the press and publicity intrigued James as much as they made him uneasy. In his seminal article "Henry James in Reality," Miller dispels the myth that James was inured to the desire for popular success. Salmon and Anesko have made similar claims, discounting the notion that James went into artistic isolation after the commercial failure of "Guy Domville." As Salmon writes, James was "concerned with the modern phenomenon of 'publicity.'"[339]

Henrietta Stackpole is emblematic of the first wave of lady interviewers, an unprecedented group of professionally employed women—over one thousand—who gained access to the public and to publicity as journalists at the turn of the twentieth century. The newspaper boom and demand for coverage of *women's issues* for a readership predominantly comprised of women created a situation in which editors were desperate to meet the demands of their papers' circulation. Even the most conservative male editor or publisher who believed a woman's place was in the home willingly hired a woman who could write good copy.[340] These girl reporters included "Nellie Bly" (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane) and the "sob sisters," who gushily covered the 1907–1908 Harry K. Thaw trials. It also included Margherita Arlina Hamm, who wrote a column about women journalists for the New York *Journalist*; Elizabeth Jordan, who eventually became editor of the woman's page of the *New York World*; Margaret H. Welch, who wrote the "Her Point of View" column for the *New York Times*; and the columnist "Fanny Fern" (Sara Parton). As Alice Fahs writes, these women journalists "created a new public space for women within the world of print culture."[341]

Occasionally, these newspaperwomen became celebrities, such as when the *World* sponsored Nellie Bly's trip to circle the globe in 1888 in an attempt to emulate the journey of Phileas Fogg in Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873). In the years following Bly's feat (she made it in 72 days), her traveling outfit—a smart tweed jacket, skirt, and cap—became a fashion sensation amongst American woman.[342] Fahs points out, "Newspaperwomen's work…extended women's presence in public life. It gave them a form of virtual representation in print that…is essential to both creating and belonging to the public sphere."[343]

Still, women did not yet have the right to vote and certainly did not have equal access to the professions. As a result, lady interviewers and girl reporters were limited in the topics they could cover. In Nellie Bly's first article published in the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, she interviewed male editors about their attitudes toward women entering the newspaper profession. Most responded that the majority of their readers wanted the kinds of articles that women were good at writing, such as fashion and society news. Said to have a knack for the human-interest story, women were restricted to writing gossip or advice columns, feature stories for the women's page, and the occasional short story or book review. However, girl reporters often wrote these "fluff" pieces so that they had an edge to them. Fahs notes that human interest journalism "[w]ith its catholic interest in all phases of human life, with its openness to fresh styles of writing,…allowed women a new altitude in both subject matter and expression, permitting them to move beyond the maternal and domestic into realms of wit, satire, and sarcasm."[344] Editors of the yellow press also delighted in sending newspaperwomen into compromising situations, which gave rise to sensational "stunt" reports, such as Bly's infiltration of the asylum at Blackwell's Island in order to expose the mistreatment of its women patients. It is telling that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries men were called "investigative reporters" whereas women were deemed "stunt journalists."

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Women were also thought to be particularly good at interviews, which were seen by many to be "fluff" pieces. In "The Art of Interviewing," the late nineteenth-century columnist Jessie Wood jeered at the practice of interviewing, likening the task of reading them to "eating a pot of honey without any bread."[345] However, some lady interviewers, including Kate Carew and Djuna Barnes, defied the formal conventions of the literary interview and pushed the boundaries of the form.

Carew and Barnes were part of the second wave of women interviewers. As in earlier literary interviews, Carew's and Barnes's interviews account for the physical appearance and surroundings of their subjects and contain narratives. However, their contributions to the interview as form—including the use of parody, self-deprecating narrative, direct address, metaphor, and experimentation—complicate the very definition of a literary interview.

Kate Carew, whose real name was Mary Williams, once referred to herself as "pseudonymously famous."[346] Yet even by her pseudonym, she has not been studied—aside from a profile entitled "Celebrity's Midwife" published in the *New Yorker* (1998) and a short film made about her. As recently as 1963, some still attributed the creation of "Kate Carew" to Carew's first husband, Harry Kellett Chambers, who was, Carew said, her rewrite man.[347]

Carew started as an illustrator and a drama critic for the *San Francisco Examiner*. When the photogravure made her job obsolete, she went to New York City, sent sketches to Joseph Pulitzer at the *World*, and was hired on the spot as an interviewer and theater reviewer. Carew continued to use her talents as an illustrator by including caricatures of herself and her subjects in each interview, which became known as *Carewcatures*. (Pulitzer often billed her as "The Only Woman Caricaturist.") During the first decade of the twentieth century, she published interviews with Mark Twain, Pablo Picasso, the Wright Brothers, Ethel Barrymore, and Jack Johnson in the *New York World*, the *New York World Magazine*, and later in the *New York Tribune*. Carew's name was almost

always featured in the headline and as early as 1904, *Pearson's Magazine* referred to her as "the only prominent lady interviewer in the world." Her contributions transformed the literary interview by adding and experimenting with parody, narration, and direct address.

Carew's interviews lampoon the journalistic convention of the deck, or sub-headline. Decks were also referred to as "summary leads" and were said to have begun during the Civil War when news was often transmitted via telegraph wires. They also appeared as chapter summaries in Victorian novels. Most decks tended to be generic or sentimental, such as "Yesterday in Philadelphia" or "A Terrible Tragedy."[348] The journalistic technique of the deck is burlesqued by lengthy sub-headlines. In 1913, Pulitzer sent Carew to Europe to conduct a series of interviews entitled "Kate Carew Abroad." Beneath the headline of her interview with Pablo Picasso, which read "Kate Carew Gazes Her Ecstatic Fill on a Post-Cubist," was the following deck, in which the interviewer refers to herself as "The American":

> The American Studies 'Sublime Elementalism' in the Presence of No Less Lofty a Post-Impressionist than Picasso, Follower of Matisse, Forerunner of Heaven Alone Knows What in the Field of 'Advanced Art' w The Youthful, Attractive Spaniard Proves Shy and Retiring, but Prolific of 'Ohs!' and Irritable Only When his Pictures Are Discussed—His Visitor Proves Lucky in Guessing Meaning of Certain Paintings.[349]

The interview spoofs the deck by providing a detailed summary of the entire interview. Ultimately, the summary deck serves as a teaching text, signaling to the reader that the interview is a parody of sorts, first with the description of Picasso as "No Less Lofty a Post-Impressionist" and then as the "Forerunner of Heaven Alone Knows What In the Field of 'Advanced Art.'" The earnest account of Picasso as "youthful," "attractive," "shy," and "retiring" is undercut by the idea that he is "Prolific of 'Ohs!'" (The exclamation point alone seems uncharacteristic of a supposedly shy, retiring post-impressionist/post-cubist.) The deck also alludes to the central narrative that plays out in the interview: the interviewer is unable to "get" or understand Picasso's paintings.

Similarly, Carew's 1900 interview with Mark Twain includes a prolix deck that could have been communicated more concisely. The interview offers the following lengthy "summary":

> And Kate Carew's Impressions of the Great Humorist ◆ An Interview in Which He Refuses to Be Interviewed ◆ Eluding the Subject Proposed, He Talks About Almost Everything Else, Including Truth, Waiters, Early Breakfasts, Wisdom and Noise.[350]

The word "and" attaches the deck to the title of the interview, "'My Impressions of America'…Mark Twain." By doing so, the interview switches from a first person account to a third person account. The deck also admits to the fact that Twain refused to be interviewed but then lists the topics Twain proceeded to discuss.

In Carew's 1910 interview with the Wright Brothers, which the interviewer refers to as "a flying talk with the flying men," she writes of the Brothers' togetherness and lets herself play the odd-one-out. She asks: "Would they speak together or separately? Should I look at one as I asked a question of the other?" She wonders if they'll sit on "ONE *[sic]* chair" "for moral support." Yet the interviewer never ridicules her subjects and always shifts the focus back to her own supposed inexperience, such as when she writes that she can't remember which brother is Wilbur and which is Orville and refers to them instead as "the Left Mr. Wright and the Right Mr. Wright."[351]

In her interviews, Carew, the interviewer, is the protagonist. Her early interviews featured the fictional character Reginald Delancy, but she soon dispensed with him and made herself the interviewer and protagonist in her columns. Fahs writes that in "Carew's closely observed and perceptive interviews, written in a playful, humorous style," Carew *herself* is the "subject of each interview."[352] Each interview includes a self-deprecating narrative in which the interviewer appears as a bungling girl reporter on her way to meet one or another "lion" of the day. Each interview also included an illustration of Carew, lady interviewer. In her self-*Carewcatures*, the interviewer is plain looking, typically wearing an absurdly wide-brimmed hat and thick, round glasses that make her look

perpetually wide-eyed. These amusing self-representations put the reader at ease with Kate Carew, lady interviewer. In them, the interviewer is naïve and never properly intimidated when meeting celebrities, even one as famous as Sarah Bernhardt, whose handshake Carew describes as "a work of genius."[353]

In this, Carew's interviews exemplify the trend toward personal journalism and written-up interviews during this period. The majority of her interview with Picasso takes place before he returns to his studio, leaving her time to reveal her ignorance of the "Post-Impressionism, Cubism, and Futurism, with which Paris is saturated."[354] The focus is on the interviewer's impressions of Picasso and his paintings. Even when Carew writes, "I should so like to know what [his paintings] mean to him," the focus is on the interviewer. She is confused about *high art* yet cannot ask a question about it without looking foolish. When she makes the mistake of asking Picasso's assistant about his work, the woman advises her not to speak of his paintings. The interviewer wonders what will happen: "Will he attack her?" No, the hostess says, but it "irritates him." The narrative question for the remainder of the interview is, *Will the interviewer ask Picasso about his art?* When Picasso finally arrives at the end of the interview, she gives a description of his "Grecian nose, beautifully formed mouth, eyes set rather wide apart under well arched brows, and thick black hair cut short except for one lock which will come straggling down over his forehead." She determines that Picasso does not have the face of a fanatic, a dreamer, a humorist, or a businessman who is trying to "spoof" a "guileless public;" rather, it is "the very handsome face of a simple, sincere artist." Although the interviewer wants to ask, "How he can ever paint such ugly figures as he does, when he has only to look in a mirror, copy what he sees, and turn out something worth the trouble..." she resists the urge. The interview concludes, "Not a word is said."[355]

In Carew's interview with Twain, the center of the interview is the interviewer, not Twain, the interviewee. As the title suggests, he "Refuses to Be Interviewed," eludes

"the Subject Proposed," and "Talks About Almost Everything Else."[356] As a result, the interviewer must step in and take center stage. In flashback, she describes how she approached him for an interview, which he refused because each word would have cost her fifty cents, and then invited her to join him for breakfast. The interviewer describes how she tries to take notes under the table while he talks. The question then arises: *Will the interviewer be able to take notes during the interview without Twain knowing it*? The interview in which Twain discusses "everything else" becomes less about Twain than the interviewer's experience of the interview and the various incidents that occur during it, such as when Twain's breakfast order is botched.

Carew's interviews feature the narrative device of direct address to involve her reader. As Garrett Stewart writes of direct address, "The mentioned reader, whether addressed in the second person or ascribed in the third, marks the site of an implicated response, however minimal, by which the reading subject is gradually taken for granted in the narrative text, granted to it and so assumed by it, assumed and presumed upon."[357] Carew's interviewer assumes and presumes upon the reader. In her interview with Picasso, she writes:

> Come a little nearer and look very intelligent and soulful, dear ones, for we are going to talk somewhat of the return to 'Sublime Elementalism.' Rolls out rather well, doesn't it? By this time, you are busy discussing it amongst yourselves, anyhow, I imagine, and you're having heated arguments as to whether 'It' is really the 'heart of painting' or an 'Insult to the intelligence.'[358]

The use of direct address not only implicates the reader, but also puts him or her at ease with their own confusion or distaste for post-impressionism or cubism by referring to them as "intelligent and soulful, dear ones." The use of the second person relieves the reader of the burden of discussing or "having heated arguments" about art. When the interviewer concludes, "Post-Impressionists ought to live up to their pictures. It is not fair that they should go around looking quite normal and natural when they are trying to make us see things in abnormal fashion," she speaks to and for her reader.

Carew's interviews reflect the trend toward personal journalism during this period. They also expand the interview as a form through their use parody and self-deprecating narrative techniques. Finally, Carew's written-up interviews relate the story of the interview by focusing on the interviewer rather than the interviewee.

Like Carew, Barnes started out as an illustrator and found employment at Pulitzer's *New York World*. She became an established newspaperwoman whose work was accompanied by her byline. Although she also included illustrations in her interviews, her "illustrations" are more like Giacometti drawings rather than *Carewcatures*. Much the way that Carew's interviews featured a *Carewcature* of herself, Barnes's displayed her photograph. Similar to Carew, she made herself the focus of her literary interviews.

Unlike Carew, Barnes referred to herself as a "newspaperman" during the eight years she worked for magazines and New York newspapers between 1913 and the end of World War I.[359] She wrote news reports, human interest stories, a monthly gossip column for *Theater Guild Magazine*, "stunt" journalism like that of Nellie Bly, and interviews. Barnes penned features about chorus girls, Coney Island, Chinatown, and fashion shows. For her most famous piece of stunt journalism, published in the *New York World* in 1914, she allowed herself to be forcibly fed to report on what the English suffragists were experiencing at the time. She published interviews with Alfred Stieglitz, Jess Willard, Lillian Russell, Coco Chanel, the labor-union activist "Mother Jones" (Mary Jones), James Joyce, Frank Harris, and many others.

Today, Barnes is best known as the dark, aesthetically minded modernist author of the novel *Nightwood* (1936). T.S. Eliot famously praised *Nightwood* as "so good a novel that only sensibilities trained in poetry can wholly appreciate it."[360] But these traits were first cultivated during the time Barnes spent as a lady interviewer. Katherine Biers and others have noted the propensity for "dark jokes and criminality" in her fiction,

poetry, and plays.[361] Cheryl Plumb notes Barnes's penchant for aestheticism, and many critics have noted her fascination with the grotesque.[362]

However, Barnes's fascination with underside of life may have come out of the material and experience she gathered as an interviewer. Fahs explains that *girl reporters* were in and out of every part of the city, interviewing people from all classes and professions.[363] One *girl reporter*, Elizabeth Jordan, wrote that she spent most of her time as a journalist trolling the police courts, insane asylums, and city prisons—the city's "underworld"—where she said she found most of her stories.[364] Barnes likely had similar experiences. As Nancy Levine writes, "[I]n almost every one of her light and engaging…interviews the real subject is the unexpected presence of the bizarre embedded in the everyday."[365] As Douglas Messerli writes, each interview is "a fabricated space, where nearly any kind of statement or behavior is possible."[366]

A Barnes interview exists as a "fabricated space," one that features quirky headlines, striking leads, metaphors, and innovative formats. Whether or not Djuna Barnes was familiar with Carew's work is uncertain, but her interviews resemble Carew's in appearance and approach. Like Carew, Barnes's interviews feature a main character, the interviewer, which Barnes called the "Pen Performer." In her interviews with comedienne May Volks and the actor Lou Tellegen, the interviewer appears as a character named the Pen Performer. The Pen Performer is an interviewer "from a downtown journal." Barnes's interviewer is avant-garde, an interviewer more comfortable downtown than uptown. In her interview with Volks, Barnes describes the interviewer as "a young woman in black—in other words, the original Pen Performer."[367]

The quirky headlines in Barnes's interviews draw in the reader and immediately establish the interview's offbeat nature. Barnes's interview with stage actress Mimi Aguglia who played the lead in Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, is titled "The Wild Aguglia and Her Monkeys." Her interview with the dancing team Vernon Castle and Irene Foot ran

the headline, "Yes, the Vernon Castles Have a Home and They Occasionally Tango Past it." Her interview with Flo Ziegfeld, founder of the *Ziegfeld Follies*, declared, "Flo Ziegfeld Is Tired of Buying Hosiery." Her interview with theater producer Arthur Voegtlin humorously announced, "Interviewing Arthur Voegtlin Is Something Like Having a Nightmare."[368] These headlines indicate the unusual—though never mocking—tone of her interviews.

In Barnes's interviews, a striking lead follows each title. Her interviews dispense with the typical beginning of a literary interview in which the subject's biography was recited at length. Often, the lead matches the literary reputation of the subject and sometimes mocked or emulated their literary conventions. Just as a modernist novel might open with an ordinary moment, such as Bloom preparing breakfast or Mrs. Dalloway deciding to buy the flowers, Barnes's interview with the biographer and memoirist Frank Harris opens on the mundane. The interview begins with the interviewer dining at a friend's house when her host introduces her to "'Frank, you know.'"[369] Similarly, the way a realist novel might begin with a long description of the setting, her interview with the French intellectual, novelist, and poet Valentine de Saint-Point begins, "Silence—dusk. The sound of tapestries swinging against the darkness; an odor of incense; a sense of rest but lately motion; the moan of water dropping far away in some lonely chamber."[370] Her interview with Mother Jones, on the other hand, begins, "Mother Jones stood up in front of me and demanded, 'What do you want?'"[371]

Barnes's interviews also explored the use of metaphor. Although metaphors typically ring false in journalistic work like interviews, in Barnes's work they balance the occasional harsh observation of a subject and create character. In her interview with Mother Jones, the interviewer notes that Mother Jones's "clothes ceased to be in fashion when her body ceased to interest her…exactly eighty-two years ago" and quotes her as she describes her experiences with "the workers" and "the vermin" at length. Then she writes, "Her black dress leaning about her and the ruffles of her bodice curling and

welling over her breast—a small Niagara upon the bosom of a torrent."[372] The interviewer balances her initial critique of "old" Mother Jones's fashion sense by capturing the very real the intensity of Mother Jones's experiences in the ruffles that gather upon her "bosom of a torrent," which wells like "a small Niagara." In Barnes's interview with Frank Harris, who later became famous for his sexually explicit memoir, the interviewer likens him to "a favorite corridor where life had loved to stroll."[373]

Finally, Barnes's interviews are formatted in ways that had never been done before, including reprinting the author's work in the interview, formatting the interview as a script, and relaying the majority of an interview in dialogue form. In her interview with de Saint-Point, she reprints two of the de Saint-Point's poems. Her interviews with comedienne May Volks and the actor Lou Tellegen are written as scripts, complete with a description of the scene and stage directions. In her interview with the humorist Irvin Cobb, the interviewer waits until Cobb leaves the room and then addresses the reader directly.[374] The rest of the interview appears in dialogue form.

Barnes clearly felt comfortable taking liberties with the interviews she published, but scholars have questioned and even dismissed her interviews because of the creative license she took in them. Fahs explains that few, if any, reporters took notes. Fahs writes that it was actually a source of pride "*not* to take extensive notes, but to re-create an interview from memory."[375] Yet it was common practice for both newspapermen and women to make up conversations and publish them as if they had been recorded word-for-word.

Barnes, however, acknowledged her loose journalistic practice. In her interview with the actress Helen Westley, she let readers in on the Pen Performer's interview process. At the end of the lengthy interview, Westley asks, "'Have you been making notes?'" to which the Pen Performer responds, "'I don't have to. My memory always makes a paragraph out of a note automatically.'"[376]

Barnes also chose not to excise the aspects of the interview that did not show the Pen Performer (or her subject) in the best light. In her interview with Mother Jones, the Pen Performer comes across as an inexperienced interviewer who asks all of the wrong questions. After she asks Mother Jones what started her in her work, Mother Jones responds, "'And you ask me that?' she said. 'That is the questions that forty million other fools before you have asked. How does thunder or lightning have its start? How does the world start—it has its birth in the struggle.'"[377]

Barnes famously disliked her own journalism, referring to it as "rubbish" as early as 1922.[378] It is tempting to read this as evidence of her status as one of the high modernists and assume that it supports the supposed "Great Divide" between modernists and mass culture. As Nancy Levine writes, popular journalism was a secure source of income for Barnes, subsidizing her publication of fiction and poetry in relatively low-paying outlets such as the *Little Review* and the *Dial*.[379] Levine and Phillip Herring take this and Barnes's unsuccessful attempted to use the pseudonym Lydia Steptoe for her journalistic work as indications that Barnes wanted to be known for her literary work rather than her journalistic writing. Herring concludes that her journalistic successes were disappointments to her: "That which she valued little sold well; that into which she poured her soul was often seen by editors to be a less valuable commodity."[380]

However, Barnes's career is an example of the way in which modernist writers catered to both elite and popular audiences and occasionally disdained both as well. Frederic Jameson and Andreas Huyssen are perhaps the most visible critics to complicate what Huyssen called "the Great Divide" between literary modernist writers and the mass market.[381] In a 1971 interview published in the *New York Times*, Barnes relates that she disapproved of her literary and journalistic publications equally. In the interview, Barnes explains that she had been living in complete silence as a kind of "Trappist" for thirty years because as a newspaperwoman and member of the avant-garde she had become known as the "'life-of-the-party.'"[382] In a 1924 issue of the *Transatlantic Review*, Ernest

Hemingway wrote of her, "[T]hat legendary personality that has dominated the intellectual night-life of Europe…is in town."[383] Between the 1930s and 1958, during which she had been a journalist and a darling of European modernist salons, Barnes became a recluse, retreating to her small apartment in Greenwich Village. Barnes said that she did so because she found journalistic work and the literary life terribly "'desperate'" and abandoned both.[384]

One might argue that Carew's and Barnes's interviews were literary in a new way. Regardless of whether the interviewee is an author, each interview exhibits a certain literariness that comes from the fact that the interviewer is an author. Their interviews demonstrate "literariness" in various ways. Carew parodied the journalistic convention of the "deck," or "bank" as it was called in the 1880s, which ran just beneath the headline and summarized the content of the article, and wrote self-deprecating narratives that create tension and often directly address the reader. Barnes used tongue-in-cheek headlines, sharp leads, figurative language, and experimented with the interview format. Given the many parameters of "literariness," it may not be necessary to extend the definition of a literary interview quite this much. Carew's and Barnes's literary interviews are striking in their respective use of a protagonist, a lady interviewer, upon which the interview focused and the many ways that their interviews helped enriched the form.

The Literary Questionnaire

At the time, "little" magazines did not feature literary interviews; however, Jane Heap, who had become sole editor of the *Little Review* in 1925, published an open-ended questionnaire in 1929. Heap had moved to Paris after becoming disillusioned with the American literary marketplace and publishing industry. Whereas she and Margaret Anderson had coined the motto "Making No Compromise with the Public Taste" for the magazine, she felt that modern art had degenerated into "advertising." Heap wrote that it

had reached a point where "even the artist [didn't] know what he [was] talking about."[385] Heap wrote the questionnaire and sent it, with the poet Ezra Pound's assistance, to every artist, intellectual, and public figure with whom the magazine had been in contact. The purpose of the questionnaire was to establish unity amongst those Heap views as the literary and artistic avant-garde.

Often a questionnaire functioned as a way to define a clique writ large. Cole writes that a questionnaire was "a means of gathering a dispersed community under the banner of a shared project."[386] Its primary function was to offer "a composite portrait of a community comprised of multiple voices."[387] Cole writes: "Artists and writers take stock of themselves and their peers through their responses to questionnaires, at once declaring their singularity and self-consciously positioning themselves in an international field."[388]

The origins of the literary questionnaire can be traced back to the nineteenth-century French salons, literary magazines, and newspaper *enquêtes*. Lori Cole notes that it originated during the Italian Renaissance, when it was called a *paragone* and served as a way to gather artists' opinions; however, it was popularized by Antoinette Faure, daughter of the nineteenth-century French president, who held salons and recorded her guests' responses to questions—such as, *What is your favorite virtue?* or *What is your present state of mind*—in her embossed leather journal. In 1890, a young friend of Faure's named Marcel Proust filled out two of her questionnaires, one of which was posthumously titled "Salon Confidences Written by Marcel" and published in *La Revue Illustrée XV* in 1924.

A famous example of a questionnaire that doubled as early examples of the literary interview was French journalist Jules Huret's "Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire" (Enquiry on literary evolution), which focused on the merits of French literature. In 1891, Huret, then an unknown journalist, began his investigation into the evolutionary nature of literature. Swept up by the Darwinian fervor at the fin de siècle, Huret interviewed the

foremost writers of the age in an effort to prove that literature was subject to the laws of survival of the fittest. For Huret, competition existed not between individual writers but between schools of writing. In his introduction, he writes, "I wanted to put these schools on trial…and get at their theories of the self and of art."[389] For four months, he interviewed sixty-four writers, including Emile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, Stephen Mallarme, and Paul Verlaine, each of whom was asked, early on in the interview, to agree to the premise that literature was a battlefield, one in which a particular school of writing was always on top. The result was what Huret saw as battles: the Psychologists versus the Naturalists and the Symbolists versus the Parnassians.[390] Huret's *enquête* was a way to assemble authors into schools. Huret included a few interviews with "aesthetes" and "independents," but his intention was to stir up animosity between the prevailing schools of literature.

During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, various groups used the questionnaire first as a political statement and then more commonly as a public personality test or talk show conversation-starter. In 1928, *transition* magazine published two *enquêtes*, one entitled, "Inquiry Among European Writers into the Spirit of America," in which Dadaist poet Tristan Tzara wrote, "It is with great pleasure that I respond to your inquiry," and then bracketed the list of questions and wrote a single response: "What the hell do you care?" The Surrealists and W.E.B. Dubois's NAACP magazine *The Crisis* distributed and published questionnaire results primarily as political statements during the 1920s, as did the Situationists during the 1950s and 1960s. Between the 1970s and 2000s, the questionnaire became a trope on television talk shows and in magazines, such as "Apostrophes" (1970s and 1980s), *Vanity Fair* (1990s), and "Inside the Actors Studio" (2000s).[391]

As Robert Scholes points out, modernism "began in the magazines."[392] The typical modernist magazine—if there was such a thing—was, according to Susan Churchill and Adam McKible, "intent upon publishing the experimental works or radical

opinions of untried, unpopular, or under-represented writers."[393] In *Poetry*, editor Harriet Monroe famously called the "little" magazine a "revolutionary organ." In its manifesto, *Broom* stated that its artists would be "path-breaking."[394] The *transatlantic review [sic]* stated its purpose as "widening the field in which the younger writers of the day can find publication." In the first issue of the rebirth of the *Dial* in 1920, editors James Watson and Scofield Thayer announce that the magazine's "choice of material will be independent of the conventional considerations."[395] The typical "little" magazine also had a limited circulation, usually under 500 copies, and short lifespan, were inexpensive to produce, featured in-kind advertisements and "worthwhile" ads, and paid special attention to aesthetic presentation. Of course, little magazines exhibited other qualities—an antagonism toward the mainstream, a devotion to aesthetics, a dedication to an elite readership, a small audience, a tiny budget, a short life span, etc.

The questionnaire published in the modernist magazine the *Little Review* was an attempt to coalesce the dwindling avant-garde. Heap and Anderson had declared in the first issue of the *Little Review* that their editorial aim was to be creative, fresh, and constructive.[396] The *Little Review* was known for embracing American cultural nationalism and internationalism; allying with Pound, Amy Lowell, and the Imagist movement; championing feminism and anarchism; supporting writers and artists as diverse as Walt Whitman (posthumously), Dadaists and Surrealists, Mina Loy, Edgar Lee Masters, William Carlos Williams, and Theodore Dreiser; and, of course, publishing excerpts of Joyce's *Ulysses*.

If the purpose of the questionnaire was to establish unity, then the *Little Review* questionnaire may be said to have failed. The ten questions were reminiscent of a personality test:

1. What should you most like to do, to know, to be? (In case you are not satisfied.)
2. Why wouldn't you change places with any other human being?
3. What do you look forward to?

4. What do you fear most from the future?
5. What has been the happiest moment of your life? The unhappiest? (If you care to tell.)
6. What do you consider your weakest characteristic? Your strongest? What do you like most about yourself? Dislike most?
7. What things do you really like? Dislike? (Nature, people, ideas, objects, etc. Answer in a phrase or a page, as you will.)
8. What is your attitude toward art to-day?
9. What is your world view? (Are you a reasonable being in a reasonable scheme?)
10. Why do you go on living?

Heap was disappointed in the responses she received. Barnes replied, "I am sorry but the list of questions does not interest me to answer. Nor have I that *[sic]* respect for the public."[397] Joyce wrote that he had nothing to say. Picasso was too busy. Pound refused to respond and told Heap to publish something she had from him on file. Although William Carlos Williams responded, as did Joseph Stella and others, the questionnaire demonstrates the lack of unity amongst modernist writers.

However, the questionnaire and the *enquête* would influence the literary interviews published after World War II, particularly those that attempted to build community amongst writers as well as those that helped establish the question-and-answer format as the dominant form during the second half of the twentieth century.

The Literary Gossip Column

In the 1920s, tabloids and fan magazines helped shape a strand of the literary interview that was essentially a literary gossip column. Fanny Butcher wrote a literary gossip column that was a mix of the book review, the fan magazine, the tabloid, and the celebrity interview. Butcher, who referred to herself as "the Tabloid's mamma," graduated from the University of Chicago and after serving as a high school principle and secretary for several years, began contributing a regular column entitled "How to Earn Money from Home" for the *Chicago Tribune*'s women's page. She wrote on music, fashion, theatre, society, and maintained a regular books column under the title "Tabloid Book Review" for the paper before assuming the role of literary editor in 1923. She kept her position at the *Tribune* for forty years, during which time her literary gossip column

took shape. Butcher's column developed a strain of the literary interview that blended reviews, written-up interviews, and gossip.

At first glance, Butcher's literary gossip column appeared to be books and book review column. It included a list of the bestselling books at "a leading Chicago book store" that went unnamed, which was most likely Butcher's own. She maintained a bookstore in downtown Chicago called Fanny Butcher Books from 1919 until 1927, when the responsibilities of owning a shop and being a journalist became too much for her. Her recommendations and reviews included books that Chicagoans could relate to in some way, from Rand McNally's *Guide to Where Chicago Eats* to books by *Tribune* writers, including John T. McCutcheon or ex-*Tribune* writer Ring Lardner. She promoted and reviewed works of fiction and nonfiction and geared her recommendations to female readers: "This is, by the way the very sort of book which 'he' would enjoy."

However, the section of her column entitled "Personages and Personalities" included notices of authors' visits to Chicago and abroad. In one titled "'And Clouds of Glory in Her Smile'—Some Smile" Butcher reports on her friend Willa Cather's visit to Chicago en route from New York to Nebraska. In another, she remarks on her friend Edna Ferber's return from Estes Park. Butcher assures readers that Ferber's *The Girls* "is going to be such a best seller that a lot of grumpy readers are going to read a really good book by accident."[398] In yet another, she informs readers of Sherwood Anderson's return from Europe "looking like the successful young author whose book has just been read by his permanent best girl."[399] Butcher includes a line or two about Anderson's wife, Tennis C. Mitchell, who, she notes is "one of the realest and nicest and everythingest wives in the literary business. She's something that doesn't happen often."[400]

Butcher was not the first to create a hybrid from of the gossip column, the book review, and the interview. In 1845, after his literary magazine the *Broadway Journal* folded, Edgar Allan Poe published a series entitled "The Literati of New York City" in *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book,* a popular magazine that had a circulation of over

one-hundred thousand. Poe was a proofreader, an editor, a reviewer, a magazine proprietor, an essayist, a short story writer, a poet, and a journalist, but he never achieved financial success. For the period of his life during which he wrote for *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*, he was the author of a wildly successful newspaper column and at the center of literary society.[401] "The Literati of New York City" was a mixture of literary reviews, literary interviews, and gossip. Each column focused on a member of New York's literati.

Poe's column described the author's work and then measured that work against the personal characteristics of the author. For example, the column on Lydia Maria Child measures the author's personal qualities against her talents as a writer. Initially, the column praises the grace and brilliance of Child's works but ends by describing the author's lackluster personal appearance. The review refers to Child as a plain dresser, which tempers his initial praise for her work.[402]

Poe's "Literati" column on Margaret Fuller creates a similar effect. In the review of Fuller's early *Dial* essays, the column promises to address "both the woman and the authoress."[403] At first, the review praises Fuller's work, noting her naturalness and conversational writing style. It invites the reader to imagine Fuller reading her books out loud: "To get the conversational woman in the mind's eye, all that is needed is to imagine her reciting the paragraph just quoted."[404] Then it takes "the personal woman" into account. It describes her as being "of medium height" with "nothing remarkable about the figure."[405] It notes her blue-grey eyes, which are "full of fire," and her mouth, which "indicates a profound sensibility [and] capacity for affection, for love—when moved by a slight smile, it becomes even beautiful in the intensity of this expression."[406] The review then mitigates these adulations by a single observation of the way Fuller's "upper lip, as if impelled by the action of involuntary muscles, habitually uplifts itself, conveying the impression of a sneer."[407] The insinuation is that Fuller's writing is as snobbish as her

sneer. Poe and Fuller had a personal relationship. Fuller had fallen out of favor with Poe when she became involved in love triangle between the author and two women.

Poe's reviews admittedly address the author's writing and personal character as if they were one in the same. As Poe writes in an earlier review, Fuller's "personal character and her printed book are merely one and the same thing...Her literary and her conversational manner are identical."[408] Poe's "Literati" column combined book reviewing with literary gossip, a trend that would become prevalent in literary interviews like those published by Butcher during the twentieth century.

The success of Butcher's column was also the result of the waning influence of yellow and muckraking journalism and the rise of gossip columns. A sense of complacency, even antagonism arose after many of these journalists were exposed as corrupt, in the service of their publisher's financial interests, or unable to institute permanent reform. In a 1914 article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, H.L. Mencken wrote that muckrakers were crusading "for their own profit only, when their one motive was to make the public read their paper." Reports, he wrote, were "gothic, melodramatic" and even those that led to reforms were eventually reversed. (Later in his life Mencken would look back fondly on the muckraking era.) Similarly, Upton Sinclair self-published *The Brass Check*, which lambasted "American Journalism" as "a class institution, serving the rich and spurning the poor."[409] A brass check was a ticket given to patrons of brothels. Sinclair likened journalists to prostitutes serving their publishers/Johns.

Nationally syndicated columns ranged in topic and focus from Walter Lippmann's politically minded "Today and Tomorrow" column, published in the *New Republic*, to Walter Winchell's "On-Broadway" gossip column published in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Daily Mirror*. Other columnists and tabloids included Sheilah Graham, who had a relationship with F. Scott Fitzgerald and wrote "Hollywood Today" for over thirty-five years; Hearst-columnist Louella Parsons; and later Hedda Hopper, who wrote "Hedda Hopper's Hollywood." Tabloid papers included Joseph Medill

Patterson's the *New York Daily News* and Bernard Macfadden's *New York Evening Graphic*, which was referred to as the "porno-graphic."

Newspapers were less editorial organs than vehicles of gossip. By the turn of the century, the number of newspapers had declined as the circulation and production costs of the remaining papers increased transforming them into products of corporations and big business rather than the "'personal organs'" of editors as they had been during the late nineteenth century.[410] The remaining newspapers continued to attract readers primarily because of the increased publication of columns and tabloids after World War I.

Tabloid magazines, such as the *New York Enquire*r (which eventually became the *National Enquirer*), *Suppressed*, *Hush-Hush*, *Top Secret*, *Inside Story*, and *Behind the Scenes* published profiles and interviews that encouraged the belief that celebrities had secret lives that could—and should—be exposed by the press. Gene Pope claimed that he started the *New York Enquirer* in order to feed the public's desire to "gawk at auto accidents." By the 1940's, most newspapers carried gossip columns. In 1952, Robert Harrison started *Confidential*, a magazine dedicated to exposing "secret lives" of celebrities.

Butcher's column was also influenced by the celebrity profiles that ran in fan magazines. This period marked the beginning of the film industry's star system and the establishment of public relation firms. Celebrity profiles ran in magazines, such as *Munsey's, Everybody's*, *McClure's*, *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *New Yorker*, and *Vanity Fair.* Actors and actresses in the Hollywood star system submitted to scripted interviews in fan magazines like *Photoplay* and *Motion Picture Story*, which promised to reveal the "real" Norma Talmage or Carol Dempster.

Fan magazines had close ties to literary world, particularly during the 1920s. Vachel Lindsey contributed a poem about Mary Pickford to a 1914 issue of *Photoplay*. Katherine Anne Porter interviewed the silent film star Charles Ray for a 1920 issue of *Motion Picture Magazine* and worked as a publicity agent for the Arthur S. Kane Pictures

Corporation. Somerset Maugham published essays in *Motion Picture News* during his 1921 visit to Hollywood. Janet Flanner, the critic and essayist who would later become known as "Genet," the Paris correspondent for the *New Yorker* contributed to *Photoplay* in 1920 and *Filmplay Journal* in 1922. Theodore Dreiser published essays and interviews in *Shadowland* in 1921 and 1922 and in *Photoplay* in 1928. Even Sinclair Lewis added commentary to the *New Movie Magazine* in 1935.

The voice in Butcher's column is similar to that of gossip columns and fan magazines. The voice includes parenthetical asides, refers to itself in the third person, and often lapses into the royal *we*. In reference to a man whose name she couldn't print because it might anger some Texans, the interviewer explains,"(they just lo-o-ove him)."[411] In trying to explain her appreciation of Cather—whom she calls her "lady Buddha"—and her work, Butcher refers to herself the third person:

> She thinks that no American woman has ever done a finer and a realer piece of work than *My Antonia*. She thinks that Willa Cather is a person so real and so fine as to be like nobody else. She thinks a lot more things which she isn't going to say, because it'll sound sentimental.[412]

The device is an odd one but is intended to make the column more accessible to many readers. Writing of Knut Hamsun's fourth novel, Butcher uses the royal *we*: "We read 'Hunger' first, a stark, cruel, autobiographical clinic of the ravages of hunger on a sensitive man, an artist."[413] Again, the technique is meant to invite the reader in.

Butcher's started publishing her column under the title "The Literary Spotlight" in the 1940s. The trend in celebrity interviews and profiles was to emphasize the close relationship or even friendship between the interviewer and interviewee, whether there was one or not. Butcher maintained close friendships with Cather, Ferber, Sinclair Lewis, and H.L. Mencken and published interviews with authors she knew. In her 1943 interview with Sinclair Lewis, she writes, "We had a luncheon at a chic spot…and, after luncheon, exactly like two tourists with part of an afternoon to spend at the Louvre, we went to the Art Institute."[414] In her 1953 interview with Ferber, Butcher recounts the

first time the two women met: "I was like an aspen leaf in a stiff breeze as I approached her…When I left, after a couple of hours, I realized that I had neglected to ask all the questions I had planned—and that I had answered more questions about myself than anyone had ever asked before."[415]

During the 1930s and 1940s, gossip columns and book reviews were instrumental to the success of an author and his or her work. Timothy Galow writes, "Gossip columns and literary reviews were so important in the years after the First World War that press agents who could develop relationships with columnists, and occasionally influence copy, often received significant advances for their services."[416] Newspapers and magazines ran gossip columns with titles such as "Gossip" and "Chit Chat" that reported on the private lives of authors. As Leo Braudy explains, by this point "the conditions of modern celebrity…[began] to press recognition upon [writers] as a goal—the portrait, the caricature, the photograph, the speech, the interview."[417]

In the mid-1930s, F. Scott Fitzgerald tried to change his image into that of a sober, "serious" writer, but the gossipy nature of literary interviews harped on his alcoholism and reputation as a lazy writer. Just three weeks after the publication of his first novel *This Side of Paradise* in 1920, Fitzgerald put forth the idea that writing came easily and quickly to him. Critics then harped on his laziness and inability to work hard to account for the failures they saw in *The Beautiful and the Damned* (1922). In interviews and autobiographical sketches, Fitzgerald didn't hide his alcoholism as if he was intentionally trying to use the publications to support the idea that he was, in fact, a struggling writer. He also chronicled his descent into alcoholism and detailed his inability to write in a series of three essays known today as "The Crack-Up," published in *Esquire* in 1936. As a result, an interview with Matthew Mok that ran in the *New York Post* shortly after the publication of the essays paints Fitzgerald as an insincere alcoholic. Mok's interview describes Fitzgerald as drunk and "rambling."[418] It dwells on Fitzgerald's pathetic state, writing that the days when he was "young, cock-sure" and

"drunk with success" are over.[419] It even uses Fitzgerald's *Esquire* essays as evidence of the author's decline.

At times, literary interviews could function as a more playful form of gossip. During the coverage of Gertrude Stein's visit to America in 1934, literary interviews joked about her reputation as a modernist writer. One headline in the *New York Times* ran, "Gertrude Stein Arrives and Baffles Reporters by Making Herself Clear."[420] The deck that followed the headline explained, "Expatriate Declines to Be Abstruse in Explaining Why Most of Her Writings Are—Does Not Wish to Influence Others, Saying, 'It Is Enough if You Influence Yourself.'" In the interview, Stein's appearance is described in terms of her poetry: "The hat was a Stein hat, a hat as persistent as the repetitions which are a feature of her abstruse writings."[421] Her hat gives her "the appearance of having just sprung from Robin Hood's forest to enunciate another word pattern of her own literature—literature which she said must await the reverence of our grandchildren."[422] Yet the interviewer is playful about Stein's abstruseness: "Miss Stein surprised interviewers by speaking a language every one could understand."

The interviewer never mocks Stein. The interviewer reassures readers, "No one enjoyed that interview more than Miss Stein, unless it might have been Miss Alice B. Toklas, her secretary and companion, who sat, dark and small on the periphery of the attentive circle."[423] The interviewer makes it clear that Stein did not lapse into gibberish, such as "It makes it well fish" or "I was then at the ending of my beginning being in living." He tells readers that Stein answered questions about her work and tried to show that she was "normal and intelligent, and 'born of two respectable parents.'" When the interviewer asks why she does not write the way she talks, Stein responds that she does. The interviewer writes that he sighed in despair, after which Stein elaborated, "'It's a matter of perception.'"

Conclusion

Unlike Henrietta Stackpole in *The Portrait of a Lady* or Bartley Hubbard in *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, during the 1920s and 1930s many interviewers were novelists, poets, or artists in their own right. As a result, these interviewers complicated the very definition of a literary interview. Was a literary interview classified as such because of the profession of the interviewee or the literary techniques and devices it employed? Kate Carew and Djuna Barnes infused new techniques and tropes into what had been an ambiguous and nascent form. Fanny Butcher, on the other hand, cultivated a version of the literary interview that thrived on gossip and publicity.

CHAPTER 5: THE LITERARY INTERVIEW BRANCHES OFF INTO TWO DISTINCT FORMS: THE PROFILE AND THE Q & A, 1956

The year was 1953. The place: Paris. The people: Peter Matthiessen, Harold "Doc" Humes, William Péne du Bois, Tom Guinzburg, and George Plimpton. The occasion: the launch of a new literary magazine.

Five men gathered in an apartment on the Left Bank. They drank absinthe. They smoked. (After all, this was Paris in the fifties, not Paris in the twenties.) They argued about the name of their new magazine. Matthiessen and Humes wanted it to be called *The American-Paris Review*, a revision of the *Paris News-Post*, Humes's first attempt at a literary magazine.

Someone said something about "new" poetry and fiction. Someone brought up Harriet Monroe and the word "organ." Someone mentioned young writers and literary magazines that published "engaged" literature. Alexander Trocchi's *Merlin* and Sinbad Vail's *Points* had already been publishing new and experimental fiction and poetry.[424] *Merlin* was *engagé* because of its association with Sartre's *Les Temps Modernes*, and *Points* was avant-garde and referred to itself as "a magazine for new writers." Trocchi earned money for *Merlin* from his dirty books and had a girl who supported him, and Vail kept *Points* afloat thanks to mommy Guggenheim.[425]

Then everyone talked at once. First, of plastering *Paris Review* posters on the bathroom ceiling at the Café du Dome and peddling subscriptions door to door. About distributing *Paris Review* calling cards throughout the city and employing street salesmen—*Camelots*—to entice patrons at outdoor cafes with issues of the magazine. About waving away old, stuffy illusions about "pure" literature.

Eventually, they decided to call the magazine the *Paris Review.* Someone brought up Randall Jarrell, and Plimpton bemoaned the state of literary criticism: "Ten pages of reviews rarely done with distinction is the dreariest sort of thing." He suggested they run

interviews: "Instead of getting critic A to write about B, why don't [we] bypass A and go straight to B?"[426] After much absinthe, the editors agreed: no avant-garde poetry and fiction, no political commentary, and no reviews; instead, they would publish "literary" interviews with Forster and Papa, and Shaw and Greene.

This dramatization is meant to illustrate how a literary magazine—which was neither big enough to be mainstream nor cutting edge in the poetry and fiction it published—became the most influential publication of literary interviews published during the second half of the twentieth century. Since the *Paris Review*'s founding in 1953, the magazine's literary interviews have been widely recognized as the apotheosis of the form. As early as 1958, *Time* magazine hailed the *Paris Review* as the "bright new light" amidst the "dimming constellation" of "little" magazines because of its interviews, which first ran under the title "The Art of Fiction" and then "The Art of Poetry." Van Wyck Brooks praised the interviews as "pointed and the most revealing."[427] As John Wain wrote, the interviews were so well known that the magazine would be remembered "not for the literary careers it has launched…but for these interviews."[428] Donald Hall said that the magazine "'invented the contemporary literary interview, printed in dialogue form, which…has become a cliché of literary quarterlies.'"[429]

Long before anyone had traced the history of the American tradition of the literary interview, Alfred Kazin declared that the magazine "changed the format of the literary interview and left a clear imprint on the genre,"[430] and he was right. During the postwar period, the literary interview branched off into two distinct forms: the written-up interview, which focused on the interviewer as a central narrator that approaches a celebrity author; and the long-form Q & A, which presented question-and-answer sessions with established authors. The written-up interview had been the dominant mode of the literary interview for nearly one hundred years, and the *New Yorker* magazine continued to perfect the form. For its part, the *Paris Review* transformed the literary interview by publishing interviews with authors in question-and-answer format, a format

that would dominate print, radio, and television interviews during the second half of the twentieth century.

Plimpton and the *Paris Review* Interview

Plimpton was a celebrity editor who made the *Paris Review* more than just a literary journal. He was at once patrician and hip, simultaneously progressive and, as a friend once described him, "antique." He was a WASP whose genealogy dated back to the Mayflower, an Ames of the East coast Ameses, a graduate of St. Bernard's, Harvard, and Cambridge who spoke in a privileged drawl which he himself once described as "eastern seaboard cosmopolitanism."[431] At Harvard, he was a member of the Porcellian Club, the oldest social club in continuous existence in America; friendly with faculty members like I.A. Richards, F.O. Matthiessen, and Archibald MacLeish; and wrote for the Harvard *Lampoon*.

As the celebrity editor of the *Paris Review*, Plimpton seemed to know everyone, and anyone he did not know personally knew him. He was a distant relation of the Kennedys. At one of the famous *Paris Review* parties—known as Revels, which took place at the *Paris Review* offices housed in Plimpton's brownstone on East 72nd Street—Jackie Kennedy attended.[432] Although Plimpton never wrote about it, he was with Robert Kennedy when he was shot and helped wrestle his assassin, Sirhan Sirhan, to the ground. He did voiceovers, including the promotional video for the 25th anniversary of *Playboy*, and acted in movies, such as *Reds* and *Good Will Hunting*. He influenced an entire generation of literary journalists with his works of participatory journalism, including *Shadow Box: an Amateur in the Ring*, *Paper Lion*, and *Out of My League*.[433] Plimpton never took a salary and housed the *Paris Review* offices in his townhouse on East 72nd Street when the magazine moved to New York in the 1960s.

As the editor of a literary magazine, Plimpton was often described as being out of touch with literary trends. He relied on *Paris Review* interns for advice and was

notoriously unable to recognize undiscovered talent.[434] As Christopher Sawyer-Laucanno writes, "The *Paris Review* was quite adept at publishing not the real avant-garde, but the mainstream avant-garde."[435] The magazine famously missed out on publishing Richard Wright, even though he was in their social circle in Paris. They rejected stories by Cynthia Ozick, William Kennedy, Edward Hoagland, Alice Walker, and famously returned an excerpt of *The World According to Garp* to John Irving with a letter claiming that it was "derivative of Thomas Pynchon." The magazine did publish an excerpt of Samuel Beckett's *Molloy* (issue 5, 1954); early Philip Roth stories including "Epstein" (issue 19, 19, 1958); "The Conversion of the Jews" (issue 18, 1958); and "Goodbye Columbus" (issue 20, 1959); and an excerpt from Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (issue 11); but these were exceptions rather than the rule. Plimpton famously wanted to pass on Denis Johnson's "Car Crash While Hitchhiking" and had never heard of Toni Morrison until two editors suggested the magazine interview her in 1992.

Still, nepotism and elitism were common complaints against the magazine's publishing practices. Most of the editors had known each other since Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, or St. Bernard's and were from affluent East Coast families. Plimpton and Matthiessen first met when they were eight years old and attending the prestigious St. Bernard School on the Upper East Side in Manhattan. Plimpton met Humes at Harvard. Guinzburg and Matthiessen were roommates at Yale. John Train, the first managing editor, and Donald Hall, the first poetry editor, were both friends of Plimpton's from Harvard. As Plimpton admitted in the "*Paris Review* Sketchbook," "The *Review* had begun by publishing writers who were known to its editors. How else can good things be found to publish for little or no money in a new and obscure journal?" Elitism was another gripe. Mona Simpson notes that she was the first middle-class editor (or intern) ever to work at the *Review*. Lorrie Moore recalls that while Plimpton was editing one of her stories he questioned the concept of "garbage night" because he did not know such a thing existed.[436]

In his "Letter to an Editor," which ran in the first issue of the magazine, William Styron wrote that the interviews were an attempt to counter literary criticism. He writes that the intention of the *Paris Review* is to remove "criticism from the dominating place it holds in most literary magazines."[437] None of the editors of the *Paris Review* had written or published a book, so they asked Styron, whose first novel *Lay Down in Darkness* had been a critical and popular success in the United States, to write an essay laying out the magazine's intention for the maiden issue. However, when managing editor John Train read what Styron had submitted, he found that it was a little too stuffy, too jargon-laden—too much like criticism. The editors sent it back to Styron "so marvelously changed and re-worded" that Styron said it no longer seemed like his writing. Train specifically asked Styron to rewrite it with "a little less theory." Styron responded in an angry "letter to the editor," which outlined the magazine's goal to remove criticism and political content from its pages and establish an art-for-arts-sake literary quarterly with "no axe to grind."[438] Styron's letter is a manifesto of sorts, a statement of the magazine's stance against literary criticism, particularly the New Criticism, which was all the rage in American universities at the time.

Styron's letter is also a kind of mock manifesto. Train and the other editors reflected that they liked the fierce tone of the letter and published it as the magazine's "mock manifesto."[439] Although it is often assumed that the literary interviews were intended solely to replace criticism in the magazine's pages, Styron later admitted that the interviews were also a way to link young writers like himself to the "cloudbank of gods," master writers such as Hemingway and William Faulkner.[440]

Whether the impetus behind the inclusion of literary interviews was to counter the influence of literary reviews, it served as a way for Plimpton to create a literary network. As the playwright John Guare once said, when Plimpton asked him to do a *Paris Review* interview he felt he had been canonized.[441] By lionizing certain authors, many of whom

were not canonized by academic English departments, he gave creative writers their own pantheon.

However, as much as Plimpton may have seen literary interviews as a way to establish the magazine a tastemaker in literary circles, he also used them as a way to keep the magazine financially solvent. By end of the first decade, the *Paris Review* had sold subscriptions to most American universities. But subscriptions and donations were not the magazine's bread-and-butter; its interview series was. The magazine's circulation started at five thousand; peaked at fifteen thousand; and finally plateaued at around eight thousand. Simpson said she often wondered how a magazine with such a small circulation could sustain itself, let alone be seen as "high profile." She finally decided, "It was the right eight thousand," meaning issues of the magazine went to the New York cultural elite. The magazine's poster series and revels also helped raise money. Plimpton and other editors commissioned covers and posters designed by Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Willem de Kooning, Richard Lindner, Robert Motherwell, and Robert Rauschenberg. For the magazine's twenty-fifth-year anniversary, Plimpton held a show at Elaine Benson's Bridgehampton gallery to publicize and sell prints of the poster series.

However, the *Paris Review* interview became the magazine's hallmark, boosted sales, and essentially kept the magazine afloat. Plimpton made it clear that literary interviews enabled the magazine to use the names of big-name authors without having to pay them: "While it would be difficult to elicit original material from established authors—the magazine could hardly afford to pay their work—it might be possible to get them to talk about writing in an interview. Their names would appear on the cover. That would help sales and subscriptions."[442] The high-profile nature of the interviews attracted advertisements from corporations, such as Christian Dior, that would otherwise not have taken ad space in a quarterly. The editors were also able to sell reprints of interviews to other magazines. As Wilbers notes, between 1953 and 1973, the magazine increased the space devoted to its interview series from 8 pages to 46.[443]

The financial incentive of publishing an interview with Hemingway, for instance, was so enticing that Plimpton pursued him for three years before finally getting "Papa" to consent to an interview. In a 1953 letter to Matthiessen, Plimpton wrote that an interview with Hemingway would bankroll an entire issue: "I wouldn't be surprised if we got enough money to put it out without dipping into the funds of the *Paris Review*."[444] Such an interview, he wrote was a "sure-fire money-maker," a "better investment than the *Paris Review* itself."

It is unclear as to which of the editors came up with the idea of running interviews with famous writers, but Plimpton was responsible for the development of the *Paris Review* interview. Each original editor, except Doc Humes, invested $500 in the magazine, but Peter Matthiessen notes that Plimpton ran the *Paris Review* "alone."[445] The other editors went on to pursue careers in writing (Matthiessen), the counterculture (Humes), art (Pene du Bois), and publishing (Guinzberg). During his tenure at the *Paris Review,* Plimpton interviewed William Styron, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Tom Wolf, and John le Carré, among many others.[446] He also played an editorial role in nearly every other interview published by magazine before 2003. As Christopher Lehmann-Haupt wrote in his review of the *Writers at Work* series *The New York Times*:

> How do they do it, the editors of the *Paris Review*? How do they make John Dos Passos, who is supposed to have been quite shy, speak with such confident volubility?...One senses a single intelligence presiding over this entire volume, over the complete series, and one would like to know how this intelligence operates. But perhaps that's a subject for some future book, 'Editors at Work,' or perhaps 'George Plimpton at Work.'[447]

Plimpton was known for his ability to interview anyone about anything. As one colleague said, "He'd have gotten a good interview out of a rock."[448]

Plimpton's approach to interviewing is evident in his books of participatory journalism. In *Shadow Box*, he went three rounds with Archie Moore at Stillman's Gym. (After a left-hook from Moore in the first round, Plimpton's nose started to bleed and

tears streamed down his cheeks.) For *Paper Lion*, he played with the Detroit Lions during a scrimmage game and lost almost thirty yards in five plays, fell to the ground without anyone tackling him, had the ball stolen, and threw a pass ten feet over the receiver's head. For *Out of My League*, Plimpton pitched an all-star game with the Yankees. He also played with the Boston Celtics and the Boston Bruins, traveled with the PGA Tour with Jack Nicklaus and Arnold Palmer, and performed the triangle with the New York Philharmonic under Leonard Bernstein's direction. In these works, he played the devoted but ungainly amateur. His interviewing technique relied on quiet engagement and self-effacement. Plimpton's interviewing technique illustrates a point made by Joyce Carol Oates fifty years after he began to cultivate the *Paris Review* interview. Oates said, "'If the interview as an art form emerges as a predominant prose genre in the twenty-first century, it will be the result of interviewers who manage to be both invisible and yet subtly dominating.'"[449]

Plimpton's approach to interviewing clearly influenced other *Paris Review* interviewers, who became known as the key to the magazine's literary interviews. As John Leonard bluntly put it, "The *Paris Review* interview succeeds because of the interviewer…."[450] *Paris Review* interviewers were not professional journalists. Usha Wilbers observes, "Not one of the interviewers who contributed an interview between 1953 and 1973 had any professional experience in the field of interviewing." They relied on the amateur/silent-engagement/self-effacement approach that Plimpton used. According to Wilbers, Plimpton "advised them to be as invisible as possible and let the author take center stage."[451] *Paris Review* interviewers were also told to contribute minimal prompting and backchannel responses (e.g., "uh-huh" and "yes") so as not to hinder the interviewee.[452] The interviewer could follow up with questions but not in the form of an interrogation.

The Written-Up Interview and the *New Yorker* Profile

After World War II, cynicism about the veracity of *written-up* interviews increased. As Charles Ponce de Leon writes, the press had begun to admit to the "self-promotional stratagems of celebrities and their hired representatives" and how it "made celebrity journalism all the more complex and difficult to evaluate."[453] Interviews were seen as the product of a complicit journalist who had succumbed to the pressure of publicists who acted as "Machiavellian masterminds responsible for creating the public images of celebrities."[454] An exception to this belief was the *New Yorker* profile. By the 1940s the *New Yorker* had completely reinvented the written-up interview and given it a new name: the profile.

The *New Yorker*'s coverage of people of interest soon became known as the *New Yorker* profile, a term coined by staff writer James Kevin McGuinness. The *New Yorker* was a "smart magazine," which, as Daniel Tracy writes, "attempted to be distinctly modern but not distinctly modernist."[455] When Harold Ross founded the weekly in 1925, he wrote that the magazine would "'devote several pages a week to a covering…people of interest…done by writers capable of appreciating the elements of the situation.'"[456] Originally, the magazine's profiles were biographical sketches comprised primarily of anecdotes, not unlike the literary interview snapshots and sketches published in the penny papers.[457] But as newspaper writers like John K. Winkler, Alva Johnston, and Henry F. Pringle went to work for the magazine, they incorporated the use of the interview into the form and transformed the profile into a hybrid form that was part exposé, part interview, and part essay.

Although each staff writer approached the profile slightly differently, by the 1950s the *New Yorker* profile was a firmly established form. In the 1940s, Joseph Mitchell changed the profile so that it closely resembled what current *New Yorker* editor David Remnick defines as "a biographical piece—a concise rendering of a life through anecdote, incident, interview, and description."[458] In 1946, the magazine published John

Hersey's one-hundred-fifty-page "Hiroshima," which profiled six "survivors" of the atomic bomb in Hiroshima. Hersey's profile was so affecting that *New Yorker* editor Harold Ross chose to dedicate an entire issue to it. The *New Yorker* profile is clearly mediated by a narrator or interviewer. The interviewer/narrator provides both depth and commentary. Essentially, a profile is a monologue.

It is a subjective account of a subject written by the interviewer/narrator that often includes mediated dialogue in the forms of direct and indirect speech. Often, the dialogue is reported as if it had been recorded, even when it was not. Truman Capote did not use a tape recorder, nor did he take notes because he believed that doing so destroyed naturalness of the profile. Capote saw the profile as a literary experiment: "'What is the lowest level of journalistic art, the one most difficult to turn from a sow's ear into a silk purse? The movie star 'interview,' *Silver Screen* stuff: surely nothing could be less easily elevated than that!'"[459] Capote had worked as clerk in the *New Yorker* art department but was fired in 1944 for saying he was a *New Yorker* staff writer when he was not and for insulting Robert Frost at the prestigious Bread Loaf Writers' Conference. After Capote had success with *Other Voices, Other Rooms*, he wrote a profile about the American tour of *Porgy and Bess* in the Soviet Union for the magazine in 1955. The result was "The Muses Are Heard," a profile in which Capote never conceals his presence and instead concentrates on his impressions of what occurred during the tour. As Ben Yagoda points out, Capote was more concerned with what was off the record rather than on and made up encounters with drunken Russians for effect.[460] Capote took a similar approach to his profile of Marlon Brando during the filming of *Sayonara* in Kyoto, Japan. Director Joshua Logan would not let Capote on the set of the film, likely because of Capote's "Muses" profile. As a result, the entire interview took place in Brando's hotel room. In the published profile, titled "The Duke in His Domain," Brando-via-Capote reveals that he was raised by an alcoholic mother. Brando later said, "'The little bastard spent half the

night telling me all his problems. I figured the least I could do was tell him a few of mine.'"[461]

The subjective nature of a profile can lead to controversy, such as in the case of Lillian Ross's 1950 *New Yorker* profile of Hemingway, "How Do You Like It Now, Gentlemen?" In the profile, Ross-as-narrator meets Hemingway and his wife Mary and spends time with them during their three-day stay in New York en route from Cuba to Italy. The profile unfolds in four locations: 1) the airport; 2) the Hemingway's hotel suite at the Sherry-Netherland; 3) the streets of New York and Abercrombie and Fitch, where Hemingway has gone to buy a new coat; and 4) the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Much of the profile is laudatory and flattering. The first line of the profile introduces readers to Hemingway's celebrity-author status: "Ernest Hemingway, who may well be the greatest American novelist and short-story writer of our day, rarely came to New York."[462] By positioning Ross's assessment of Hemingway as the "greatest novelist and short-story writer of our day" in parenthetical commas, Ross diminishes the boldness of the claim and brackets it as an agreed-upon fact. Although Hemingway had not yet won the Nobel Prize for literature, he was one of the most well known writers of the period. Throughout the profile, Hemingway is moody and often argumentative, such as when they first arrive at Abercrombie's and later at the Met. However, Ross primarily shows him in the company of family, friends, and admirers, including his wife Mary, Myers (a man Hemingway sits next to on the airplane), Marlene Dietrich (referred to lovingly as "the Kraut"), an old friend Winston Guest, Hemingway's son Patrick, and his editor Charles Scribner.

Readers and critics, however, reacted negatively to the profile's depiction of Hemingway. Many readers felt it portrayed him as a washed-up writer and a lazy, indulgent man. As Yagoda notes, they felt it presented him as a "poseur, boor, and borderline alcoholic."[463]

Readers found Hemingway's way of speaking particularly offensive. The profile describes Hemingway and his wife Mary's coded way of speaking. Early in the interview, Hemingway tells Ross that his seat companion on the plane, a man named Myers, "'read book all way up on plane.'" Ross describes Hemingway's way of speaking as "Indian talk."[464] Hemingway refers to it as "'a sort of joke language,'" one that he uses in his letter to Ross before his visit.[465] Ross quotes the letter, in which Hemingway outlines the parameters of the profile:

> 'I don't want to see anybody I don't like, nor have publicity, nor be tied up all the time…Want to go to the Bronx Zoo, Metropolitan Museum, Museum of Modern Art, ditto of Natural History, and see a fight. Want to see the good Brueghel at the Met, the one, no two, fine Goyas and Mr. El Greco's Toledo. Don't want to go to Toots Shor's. Am going to try to get into town and out without having to shoot my mouth off. I want to give the joints a miss. Not seeing people is not a pose. It is only to have time to see your friends.' In pencil, he added, 'Time is the least thing we have of.'[466]

The letter gives the reader a glimpse into his personality, including his interest in art and disinterest in the press. It shows that he wants to "get into and out without having to shoot my mouth off" and "give the joints a miss." It also establishes the author's predilection for "Indian talk." Ross need not have printed Hemingway's letter verbatim. The penciled post-script paints him in a flattering and tender light. He explains himself to Ross, and Ross explains him to her readers. However, readers felt that the profile made Hemingway seem as if he was making fun of Native Americans, and Ross seem as if she was making fun of Hemingway.

Ross attributed this negative response to critics who mistakenly conflated Hemingway's life with his work and ultimately wanted the author to fit their image of him. As Ross writes in the preface to the book version of the profile that was published shortly after Hemingway's death in 1961,

> …[T]hose critics who took an injured, censorious tone when discussing the life that Hemingway led in later years and what they considered a decline in his work…[they] sometimes sounded as if they thought that Hemingway made a point of letting them, specifically, down, in order to disport him as a public figure….[467]

She thought she revealed a portrait of Hemingway that showed him to be a hard working, quirky, and vulnerable man. According to Ross, Hemingway praised the profile. As Ross wrote, "Hemingway wrote to me after the Profile *[sic]* appeared and said he had found it 'funny' and 'good.'"[468] She and the author remained close friends until his death. However, according to Hemingway biographer Kenneth Lynn, the author later acknowledged to a friend that the profile showed him in an unflattering light.[469]

Regardless of Hemingway's personal opinion or the reasons why readers and critics took issue with the profile, the image of Hemingway as intolerant and curmudgeonly—as well as masculine and domineering—was one that Hemingway himself had been perpetuating in his nonfiction for over twenty years. Critics such as John Raeburn, Loren Glass, and others have written extensively on Hemingway's interest in constructing his public image. Raeburn discusses Hemingway's obsession with being "the architect of his public reputation."[470] Glass focuses on the "hypermasculine" Hemingway in which his authorial celebrity image overshadowed and perhaps even infringed on his literary work, such as in *Death in the Afternoon* (1932).

Hemingway's dispatches and articles that he published in *Esquire* during the 1930s illustrate the role he played in shaping his public image as a cantankerous writer. Dispatches, such as "A Paris Letter," published in *Esquire* in 1934, are dark accounts of what it is like to be an aging modernist in Europe after 'Paris in the twenties' has become a distant memory. Hemingway writes:

> If you want a Paris letter full of spice and detail and funny cracks you will have to get someone else to write it. All I do is go out and get depressed and wish I were somewhere else…This old friend shot himself. That old friend took an overdose of something. That old friend went back to New York and jumped out, or rather fell from, a high window. That other old friend wrote her memoirs. All of the old friends have lost their money. All of the old friends are very discouraged. Few of the old friends are healthy.[471]

Similarly, in "Notes on Dangerous Game: The Third Tanganyika Letter" published in *Esquire* in 1934, Hemingway assumes the same combative stance that his refrain "How

do you like it now, gentlemen?" in Ross's profile addressed. He does this via meta-commentary. While discussing the merits of the "true" hunter in the magazine article, he simultaneously taunts the next generation of writers in a series of parenthetical comments:

> They simply happen to be super hunters and super shots. (*There are too many supers in these last two sentences. Re-write them yourselves lads and see how easy it is to do better than Papa. Thank you. Exhilarating feeling, isn't it?*)…Both mask phenomenal skill under a pose of nervous incapacity which serves as an effective insulation and cover for their truly great pride in the reserve of deadlines that they live by. (*All right now, better that one. Getting harder, what? Not too hard you say? Good. Perhaps you're right*.)…(*You see, this is where Papa scores. Just as you learn to better one of those awful sentences, with too many supers or too many supers or too many verys in it and you think he's gone wa-wa on you, you find that it is the thing he is writing about that is interesting. Not the way it's written. Any of you lads can go out there and write twice as good a piece, what?*).[472]

The italicized meta-commentary is not unlike the comments Hemingway makes in Ross's profile in which he says he will defend his "title" once again with his novel *Across the River and into the Trees*.

These nonfiction pieces include a Hemingway-esque narrator who is a world famous but temperamental writer. In "The Sights of Whitehead Street: A Key West Letter," published in *Esquire* in 1935, Hemingway-as-narrator writes a dispatch from his farm in Cuba in which he snidely remarks that he is so famous that he is considered a tourist attraction:

> The house at present occupied by your correspondent is listed as number eighteen in a compilation of the forty-eight things for a tourist to see in Key West…Your correspondent is a modest and retiring chap with no desire to compete with the Sponge Lofts (number 13 of the sights), the Turtle Crawl (number 3 on the map), the Ice Factory (number 4)….[473]

Because the narrator's authorial-celebrity status has begun to limit his literary production, he has "hired an aged negro who appears to be the victim of an odd disease resembling leprosy who meets visitors at the gate and says, 'I'se Mr. Hemingway and I'se crazy about you.'"[474] The narrator then recounts a visit by a tourist, "Mr. Questioner, a

prominent business man," who insists on asking him about his writing. The narrator tells the visitor that his young son writes all of his work for him: "'The name's sort of like a trade-mark. The second rate stuff we sell under other names.'"[475]

In one *Esquire* piece, Hemingway-the-narrator lapses into what Ross later called the author's "Indian speak." "Monologue to the Maestro: A High Seas Letter," published in *Esquire* in October 1935, is a mock interview between Hemingway-as-narrator, referred to as "your correspondent" (Y.C.), and a young man named Mice who wants to be a writer, referred to as Maestro. Y.C. lectures Maestro on "good writing": "Good writing is true writing. If a man is making a story up it will be true in proportion to the amount of knowledge of life he has and how conscientious he is; so that when he makes something up it is as it would truly be."[476] After giving Maestro advice on revision and endurance, Y.C. ends the conversation. When Maestro tries to persuade Y.C. to continue, he responds bluntly in "Indian speak": "No but. Finish. Talk about writing finish. No more. All gone for today. Store all close up. Boss he go home."[477]

Ultimately, Ross's profile does not include any material about or view of Hemingway that he did not write of himself in the dispatches and essays he published during the 1930s and 1940s. However, in Hemingway's dispatches he portrays himself as the narrator/interviewer, whereas in Ross's profile, she is a stranger looking in on a celebrity. Ross repeatedly notes her outsider status by narrating the moments she enters these spaces to meet Hemingway. She first meets Hemingway and Mary at the airport. The following day, she is awakened by a call from Hemingway who, after having written all morning, "wanted to talk, an activity he found relaxing." On the final day, she arrives at the suite prior to their visit to the Met. Ross's reentries emphasize that she is not one of his party. For the sake of the profile, she is an observer and to readers an intruder.

Ross was known as a reporter who kept herself out of her profiles by not offering too much commentary. Yagoda writes, "Ross makes no editorial comments in the article, but merely (albeit selectively) presents what Hemingway had to say in three or four

Manhattan set pieces, letting readers assess the man."[478] Although like Capote she never used a tape recorder because she believed that she "not the machine, must do the listening,"[479] she relied on dialogue in order to remain "invisible" in the profile. As she wrote in *Reporting Back*, "Dialogue for me is the most effective and most interesting way of defining a character, making it unnecessary for the writer to intrude with any song-and-dance routine of his own. Moreover, as in a play or in a movie, dialogue moves the action along."[480] She writes that she lets the dialogue to do the revealing: "I set them up, get out of their way, and let them go."[481] According to Ross, she is "most comfortable having my characters talk for themselves."[482] Each of the four scenes of the Hemingway profile includes large sections of dialogue. As Ross wrote, "…I loved to create my stories as much as possible in the form of scenes and dialogue."[483]

Nevertheless, because the piece was in the form of a profile, Ross-as-narrator is an outsider who comments on Hemingway, and his authorial image, in crucial ways. As Yagoda suggests, Ross selects the information that goes into the profile. She details how Hemingway insisted they stop to have a drink at the airport bar before gathering their luggage, required Ross to stay while he finished a bottle of champagne, had a glass of champagne in his hand when she arrived the morning of the second day, and took a flask with him on their visit to the Met. These details may have been accurate, as Ross claims Hemingway said they were, but in the profile form they read as a collective assessment of Hemingway's character.

In many ways, the controversy surrounding Ross's "How Do You Like It Now, Gentlemen?" arose because it was written as a profile. The piece may have had a completely different effect had it been written as a Q & A. Ultimately, the Q & A form allowed literary interviews to appear more neutral than those in written-up form, as is evident when one compares Ross's 1950 profile with Plimpton's 1958 interview with Hemingway.

The *Paris Review* Q & A

Plimpton's late-stage portrait of Hemingway, which portrays "Poppa" as a bearded, moody, and disciplined author, did not create controversy in part because it was published as a question-and-answer exchange. The editors of the *Paris Review* likely chose to resurrect the Q & A form, which had rarely been used in literary interviews, because the written-up interview had negative connotations and had, in a sense, already been trademarked by the *New Yorker*. The question-and-answer format gave *Paris Review* interviews an air of neutrality, authenticity, and collaboration.

A Q & A follows a different structure than that of a profile and ultimately has a different effect on the reader. The structure includes conversational dynamics, such as turn-taking and sequence organization. More importantly, it influences and involves the reader. Richard Courtney explains that when reading a dialogue the reader is involved in a conscious "picturing" that renders him a participant rather than a witness. Courtney writes, "The observer-as-player 'speaks' a perspective and the observed-as-player is understood to respond by 'speaking' a second perspective. This kind of picturing applies to observers [and] readers…in relation to a text."[484] When applied to the differences between a profile and a Q & A, Courtney's point illustrates how a profile makes the reader an observer whereas a Q & A includes and involves the reader.

The Q & A also follows a different set of rules than those inherent in a profile. In a Q & A, the interviewer moderates rather than determines the exchange. The interviewer must believe that the interviewee feels obligated to answer questions truthfully without evasion and press the interviewee when the interviewer senses duplicity. The interviewer does not to try to make him or herself or the interviewee look good, and the interviewee tacitly agrees not to respond minimally or in a roundabout fashion in order to show him or herself in a better light.[485] Rarely are such rules followed, but they are the Platonic ideal for all question-and-answer exchanges. A profile, on the other hand, aims to tell the story of an interview or series of interviews with a subject and in no way enacts the

Platonic ideal of a verbal exchange. Instead, the interviewer in a profile is an observer, one who records his or her impressions whether or not the rules listed above are understood, followed, or broken.

Plimpton's *Paris Review* interview with Hemingway reads as a single conversation, yet it was nearly four years in the making. Plimpton began to spend periods of time with Hemingway and collect material for the interview as early as 1954. In one letter, he wrote, "I've been down in Madrid these past two weeks, inspecting the bullfights and hobnobbing with Poppa *[sic]* Hemingway and his formidable pals."[486] Later that year, he reported his progress on the interview to *Paris Review* editor Donald Hall: "We talked only for twenty minutes about writing, at the very end, but through the San Isidros we became good friends and he wants very much to do the interview by letter, which, since he's not really very good verbally on the subject, may be the best we could have hoped for. He's willing to answer anything we throw at him."[487] Even after Hemingway officially agreed to conduct the interview-by-mail, it failed to take shape. Between 1956 and 1957, Plimpton made several visits to Cuba. In 1956, Plimpton wrote that he had been down to visit "Poppa" and that the interview was "slowly coming along, should be an excellent one."[488] Two years later, he wrote to Robert Silvers, "[T]he interview itself crawls—some nasty correspondence."[489] Although the author said he wanted to do the interview, he was a difficult subject. In 1957, Plimpton returned once again, this time with thirty-two pages of follow-up questions. As he wrote to Silvers, "My feeling is that what we have is not good enough, and I'm going to take the risk of appearing on Papa's doorstep (leaving for Cuba this Friday) and see if the interview can't be bettered."[490] Plimpton tried Hemingway's patience, but he wanted to "better" the interview by securing enough material to work with in the editing stage.

As in Ross's profile of Hemingway, the author comes across as a temperamental and eccentric writer in the *Paris Review* interview. In the dialogic exchanges, Hemingway's responses are irreverent, slightly ornery, and clearly indicate his distaste for talking about himself and his work. Hemingway criticizes Plimpton's questions about writing as a waste of time or even "gossipy." Hemingway makes pithy statements and crass one-liners, such as his advice that would-be writers hang themselves because at least then they'd have learned that "writing well is impossibly difficult" and have the story of the hanging to write about.

The composite of narratives recounted by Hemingway demonstrates the way the Q & A form can create a biographical gestalt without the aid of a narrator. Hemingway tells four anecdotes, all of which revolve around creativity. In the first, he recalls learning to play the cello as a boy and having been kept out of school to practice, even though he was terrible at it: "I played it worse than anyone on earth," he says. In the second, he speaks of being sued by a man who believed that *For Whom the Bell Tolls* had been plagiarized from a scenario he had written. In the next, he describes the months he spent writing *The Sun Also Rises* in Valencia, Madrid, Hendaye, and Paris. In the final story, he recalls writing *The Old Man and the Sea* and seeing schools of sperm whales and marlin mating. The majority of the interview portrays him as an intensely disciplined writer, a solitary who has removed himself from the world to serve his art, and a cantankerous old man. The composite narratives construct a biography of a producer and creative person.

Unlike Ross's profile of Hemingway, the published version of the *Paris Review* interview makes it seem as if Hemingway is in control of the interview. Although most *Paris Review* interviews typically began with an introduction of this sort, Plimpton began his interview with Hemingway with a Q & A exchange in which Hemingway gets to ask the first question:

> HEMINGWAY
> You go to the races?

> INTERVIEWER
> Yes, occasionally.
> HEMINGWAY
> Then you read the Racing Form…There you have the true art of fiction.[491]

This dialogic epigraph defers to the author. The introduction, which Plimpton wrote, focuses primarily on descriptions of Hemingway's farm in Havana and tells the story of the interviewer intruding upon the great writer at work. It includes detailed descriptions of Hemingway's writing spaces, including Hemingway's "work desk," where he stands to write, the "onionskin typewriter paper" on which he writes, and the chart on which he notes his progress. Plimpton portrays himself as an eager young interviewer with no prior relationship with Hemingway, but that point of view falls away during the question-and-answer portion of the interview.

Although Plimpton mentions Hemingway's "occasional waspish tone" in the introduction, he does not refer to it as "Indian speak" the way Ross did. It may be that Hemingway chose not to use "Indian speak" because of the backlash incurred from the Ross profile. In the introduction, Plimpton tends to explain away Hemingway's odd behaviors as derivative of the "strong feeling that writing is a private, lonely occupation with no need for witnesses until the final work is done."[492] In addition, Hemingway was interested in cultivating a new public persona of a master writer. Whereas Ross's profile was published in 1950, the *Paris Review* interview ran in 1958, four years after Hemingway had won the Nobel Prize for Literature (1954). It is likely that Hemingway agreed to the *Paris Review* interview because he wanted to alter his high-modernist and hyper-masculine public personas and promote his master-writer persona. The *Paris Review* interview offered a unique opportunity to achieve these goals because it offered writers the opportunity to rewrite their interviews, speak at length about their approaches to writing, and interviewed only established, "master" writers.

The Rewritten Interview, Craft Talk, and the Winter Writer at Work

The *Paris Review* transformed the literary interview in other ways as well. It resurrected the "rewritten interview," institutionalized a tradition of literary craft talk, and adopted the practice of interviewing writers in the "winter of their careers." Both the interviewer and the interviewee rewrite the interview. Each *Paris Review* interview is a constructed text, one that is "rewritten" by the interviewer, interviewee, and the editors.[493] A *Paris Review* interview is a media interaction, one that is aimed not just at the interviewer but the audience as well. It might be more accurate to call the *Paris Review* interview an A & Q, a journalistic term that refers to interviews that are conducted and transcribed and then the interviewer invents questions to fit the interviewee's responses.

The *Paris Review* interview resurrected the "rewritten interview," a process developed by the interviewer W.T. Stead in England during the 1880s. Stead's practice was to submit the proofs of interviews to his subjects for final approval. William White called this an "authenticated interview," i.e., one that has been verified by the interviewee. Plimpton went so far as to involve the interviewee in the entire editorial process. The word count for a transcript of a *Paris Review* interview might be as high as thirty thousand words. The interviewer would then cut the transcript down to ten thousand or fifteen thousand words. A draft would be sent to the editors at the *Paris Review*, who amended it. The resulting manuscript would then be submitted to the interviewee for further corrections, additions, and omissions. The interviewer and editors then shaped and molded it again, after which it was sent to the interviewee for final approval.

The rewritten interview technique started with the first *Paris Review* interview with E.M. Forster in 1953. As Malcolm Cowley writes,

> Forster began by saying that he would answer questions if they were given to him in advance so that he could brood over them. The questions were submitted, and a few days later when the interviewers appeared, Forster gave his answers so methodically and slowly that his guests had no trouble keeping up with him. It was a simple interview to transcribe, and it furnished the best of patterns for the series that followed.[494]

Forster was able to give his answers "methodically and slowly" because he knew the questions in advance. Forster gave a "great" interview because he was in control of the interview process. Rather than give every interviewees the questions in advance, which may have resulted in interviews that seemed stilted or rehearsed, the editors decided to implement the rewritten-interview process. Although some *Paris Review* interviews thrived on collaboration more than others, each interviewee was given the opportunity to revise his or her interview.

The *Paris Review* offered an approach to interviewing that differed from a news interview. The rewritten interview permitted *Paris Review* interviewers to avoid the "gotcha!" approach of a news interview. Since the interviewee was given the opportunity to expand or elaborate on their responses, it was pointless to send interviewers out and ask them to assume the role of investigative reporters. Instead, *Paris Review* interviewers used what sociologists would later refer to as the narrative biographical interview method. A narrative biographical interview, which social scientists call "doing biography," is a technique that collects the interviewee's narrative episodes in order to create a biographical gestalt.[495] The rewritten interview method also allowed the editorial staff of the magazine to provide the necessary information a reader needed to fully engage with the interview. The *Paris Review* method allowed the magazine to obtain fresh responses from the interviewees while still having the opportunity to fill in any background or necessary material after the fact.

The *Paris-Review*-interview technique emphasized preparation before the interview and listening rather than questioning during the interview itself. In his praise for the interviews, Malcolm Cowley wrote, *Paris Review* interviewers "have done their

assigned reading, they have asked the right questions, or most of them, and have listened carefully to the answers."[496] In other words, *Paris Review* interviewers took the reverse approach to the news interview. They prepared for each interview so that they could remain silent and let the subject digress, meander, perform, and reveal.

In the case of Plimpton's interview with Hemingway, Plimpton and the author compiled and edited the interview. Hemingway had some experience editing his own interviews, including the mock interviews and published in *Esquire* in the 1930s and his work on "Hemingway Interviewed by Ralph Ingersoll" published in *PM* in June 1941. The Ingersoll interview was "corrected and revised by Hemingway after having been transcribed."[497] So when the critic John Raeburn writes that the interview differs greatly from other interviews with Hemingway during the "Papa" years because Hemingway was caught off guard by Plimpton's "specific" and "penetrating" questions, he fails to take into account the collaborative authorship of a *Paris Review* interview.[498] In an article by Denis Brian entitled "The Importance of Knowing Ernest," published in *Esquire* after Hemingway's death in 1961, Mary Hemingway recalled that Hemingway had even revised many of the questions in the interview because they were inadequate.[499] The idea that Hemingway, or any *Paris Review* interviewee, struggling to maintain a particular image must be examined in light of the fact that all *Paris Review* interviews are rewritten.

In some cases, the Plimpton and other *Paris Review* editors "rewrote" an interview so that it contained the same narrative elements as a written-up interview or profile. Plimpton believed that a *Paris Review* interview should include physical description, character development, setting, and narrative. As he once explained to one of the magazine's interviewers:

> You should try to think of the interview as a dramatic form in itself—hard as that may seem—where one's tools are very much the dramatic devices: character buildup, suspense, surprise, argument even. Obviously, it's unlikely the interview actually moves along dramatically when it's done; therefore rearrangement of the material is necessary, additional questions often must be

> asked to fill out a section which seems to need emphasis, etc. etc.[500]

Plimpton once remarked that an interview should "not only divulge something about the character of the writer but have a surprise or two in [it] and maybe even a plot."[501]

An example of Plimpton's use of the "rewritten" interview technique to include a narrative is the 1967 interview with the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges. The Borges interview includes narrative elements, such as a labyrinthine description of the Bibliotheca National in Buenos Aires and a narrative of a young interviewer, Ronald Christ, going to meet the illustrious Borges. Christ said that as a young interviewer he believed he "owed absolute allegiance to what Borges said" and did and to faithfully record it in the transcript of the interview, which, with the elimination of a few "um's" and "uh's" would become the published version of the interview.[502] In the transcript submitted to Plimpton, Christ included the fact that Borges's secretary interrupted the interview once to let Borges know that "Señor Campbell" was waiting to see him. However, this was a ploy to enable Borges to end the interview if he found it dull or tedious. Although it only happened once, Plimpton liked the interruption so much that, according to Christ, he inserted it an additional time for dramatic effect."[503] Christ recalls how Plimpton took hold of the editing process: "[He] began arranging things, cutting and even inserting."[504] Plimpton's changes put the characters in the interview—Christ, Borges, and even the secretary—in action. In this they became, as David Gorman writes of characterization, agents characterized by what they do, say, and think, in addition to the way they are described and what they are associated with.[505]

Although the "rewritten interview" might seem as if it would inevitably lead to an interview that is—or seems—staged or false, the opposite has most often been the case. Philip Gourevitch explains that giving authors "the opportunity to clarify, correct, retract, and amplify their remarks" only made them reveal themselves more "willingly" in *Paris Review* interviews.[506] The result is, as Richard Eder and others have observed, a "longer-lasting" document, a text that reaches beyond the journalistic interview that merely

documents the "short and scattery" sound bites of life.[507] Plimpton described it best when he wrote that the subjects of *Paris Review* interviews "added additional material on their own…since the intention of the editors was never to think of the interviews as inquisitions but rather as documentations of the authors-at-work."[508]

An example of the "rewritten" interview from the interviewee's perspective was the 1956 interview with William Faulkner. Plimpton had always been interested in an interview with Faulkner, an irascible and reclusive author who had shied away from public life since winning the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1945. Faulkner had even refused a cover story in *Life* magazine.[509] In 1954, Plimpton finally met Faulkner at a cocktail party in Paris. In a playful letter to co-editor Peter Matthiessen, Plimpton wrote that the conversation between he and Faulkner had gone "very badly" and that he expected "no returns from our meeting" other than Plimpton "being placed in his black book of people to avoid, which…must be a thick book indeed. He doesn't seem to get along with anybody." According to Plimpton, his hour-long conversation with the laconic author went something like this:

> Plimpton: You're making a picture with Howard Hawks?
> Faulkner: Yes, I am.
> GAP: In Egypt, I understand.
> F: Yes, that's right.
> GAP: What's the picture called?
> F: I don't know.
> GAP:…and?
> F: I don't know who's in it; I don't know what it's called.

Plimpton recalled how Faulkner "spilt the dregs of an old-fashioned on him, on one of his shoes rather. Even *that* produced no reaction." He wrote, "Mr. Bill don't know nothing 'bout anything, and I reckon him as the greatest primitive since Grandma Moses," and declared Faulkner "deceased as regards an interview."[510]

Plimpton considered cobbling together an interview using his recollection of Faulkner's responses at the aforementioned cocktail party, a brief interview Faulkner

gave to Anna Dominicis as a favor to the U.S. Embassy in Rome, and a Q & A between Faulkner and a class of undergraduates published in the *Sewanee Review*. He had also nearly been blackmailed into publishing Cynthia Greiner's interview with Faulkner. Greiner had tried to persuade Plimpton to publish a short story written by her husband in exchange for her interview with Faulkner. After reading the interview, Plimpton wrote that it was weak. It had "un-called for stage-directions and asides" and an introduction in need of "de-cliché-ing."[511] Plimpton ultimately rejected Greiner's interview and it was later published in *The Hudson Review*. However, in 1955, Jean Stein contacted Plimpton and offered him her own interview with Faulkner in exchange for being placed on the *Paris Review* masthead as one of the editors and a payment of $1000. Stein had been having an affair with Faulkner since 1953 or 1954.[512] Although there is no evidence that Plimpton knew of Stein's romance with Faulkner, the editors accepted Stein's interview—sight unseen. When Plimpton finally read the transcript, he was disappointed with the quality. He wrote, "Her Faulkner was a mishmash of little scribbled notes and maxims, as stiff in their entirety as a rear axle, but she insists that Faulkner himself is going to rework it and edit it."[513]

Faulkner ultimately revised and edited the transcript and wrote the introduction, both of which include details and anecdotes that became stock components of Faulkner's biography, and establish the most well-known facts and quotes about his life. The interview constituted a sort of mini-autobiography. The introduction states that the interview occurred in New York City, "early in 1956," as if it was a brief interaction with an interviewer unknown to Faulkner.[514] It includes biographical information, such as the spelling of his great-grandfather's name, "Colonel William Falkner (without the 'u')" (Faulkner 1956). It notes his upbringing in Oxford, Mississippi and the fact that he was once fired from his position as postmaster at the university station for reading on the job. It readily acknowledges his debt to Sherwood Anderson, who encouraged him to write *Soldier's Pay*. It also stresses that he wrote *Sanctuary* for money "after his previous

books—including *Mosquitoes* (1927), *Sartoris* (1929), *The Sound and the Fury* (1929), and *As I Lay Dying* (1930)—had failed to earn enough royalties to support a family."[515] He identifies *Light in August* (1932), *Pylon* (1935), *Absalom, Absalom*! (1936), *The Unvanquished* (1938), *The Wild Palms* (1939), *The Hamlet* (1940), and *Go Down, Moses, and Other Stories* (1941) as "the Yoknapatawpha saga." He describes himself as "shy and retiring" but mentions his many prestigious awards: the National Book Award in 1951 and 1955 and the Nobel Prize for Literature. In the interview, he comments on his distaste for revealing personal information in interviews:

> The reason I don't like interviews is that I seem to react violently to personal questions. If the questions are about the work, I try to answer them. When they are about me, I may answer or I may not, but even if I do, if the same question is asked tomorrow, the answer may be different.[516]

Later he notes his dislike of "talking shop": "I am not a literary man but only a writer. I don't get any pleasure from talking shop." The interview includes his famous proclamations that a writer "must never be satisfied with what he does," that good writing is "[n]inety-nine percent talent…ninety-nine percent discipline…ninety-nine percent work," that "If I had not existed, someone else would have written me," and his claim that "The writer's only responsibility is to his art… the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is worth any number of old ladies." When Faulkner states that success is feminine "like a woman" and can only be tamed with the back of one's hand, these sentiments must be taken as deliberate expressions of an unreliable narrator—Faulkner himself. Faulkner also contributed three self-portraits he had drawn (which Plimpton said, "a three-year old arthritic sufferer could have done better as regards artistic value") and a manuscript page of *As I Lay Dying* (which Faulkner said must be printed "as is—no reduction").[517]

The interview was reprinted in Long Island's *Newsday* and in *Time* magazine. Although the interview was a success, Plimpton was dissatisfied with it. Shortly after the interview's publication, he wrote,

> [P]eople around here are carrying on as if it were the Gospel itself, and you can hardly imagine what a to-do the business has kicked up. Waiting in line at the Gotham Book Mart., that sort of thing. I couldn't be more surprised. Jean is, naturally, in a tizzy about it all, and has changed overnight into a Dame Edith Sitwell, God help us all.[518]

He continued, "It continues to seem stiff, incoherent, and, in places if not debatable, certainly suspicious of a strange and often illogical brain." But Plimpton may very well have been objecting to Faulkner's own revisions of the interview.

Plimpton wanted the *Paris Review* interview to be a collaborative effort. Far from being an interview in the sense of the French verb *entre voir* meaning "to be in sight of," *Paris Review* interviews evoke the original Latin prefix "inter," meaning "between," and the root "videre," meaning "to see." Each inter-view is formed by at least two viewpoints: that of the interviewee and the interviewer, and often the editors as well.

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One of Plimpton's broader goals in allowing an author to rewrite his or her interview was to encourage the author to "talk shop." Craft talk, as it became known, included an author's work habits, techniques, and process. The magazine's aptly titled "Art of Fiction" interview series was named after R.P. Blackmur's publication of *The Art of the Novel: Critical Prefaces*, a collection of Henry James's prefaces to the New York editions of his novels. In the 1930s and 1940s, Blackmur rescued James from relative obscurity when he published the prefaces in isolation of the novels they were intended to explain and introduce. In Blackmur's hands, James's prefaces were even more "the story of a story," or the story of how a story or novel was written. Blackmur writes, "James felt that his Prefaces represented or demonstrated an artist's consciousness and the character of his work in some detail…[T]hey added up to a fairly exhaustive reference book on the technical aspects of the art of fiction." They offer quintessential Jamesian notions on writing, such as the idea that a novel or story springs from a germ, or idea, encountered in life and that fiction is a house. In his prefaces to The Spoils of Poynton and "The Aspern Papers," James famously states that his stories and novels spring from "germs" or seeds

discovered in daily life. James writes, "The germ, wherever gathered, has ever been for me the germ of a 'story,' and most of the stories straining to shape under my hand have sprung from a single small seed…" In his preface to *The Portrait of a Lady*, James writes, "The house of fiction has in short not one window, but a million—a number of possible windows not to be reckoned, rather; every one of which has been pierced, or is still pierceable, in its vast front, by the need of the individual vision and by the pressure of the individual will." Here, James builds on Ivan Turgenev's analogy that each work of fiction is a house. For James, the house is the novel's subject, the writer's subject matter and the various perspectives he or she can take on it. The prefaces served as a way for James to direct the next generation of writers to achieve certain results in fiction, based on his own experiences. They present his views on technique and how to achieve certain affects in writing. In a letter to William Dean Howells, James wrote that the prefaces are a "comprehensive manual…for aspirants in our arduous profession."

Like a James preface, the *Paris Review* interview revealed the art of fiction in both the original and modern uses of the word. According to the *OED*, use of the noun 'art' with a genitive phrase has always denoted "skill in a particular craft, profession, or other sphere of activity."[519] In this, 'art' has been synonymous with 'craft,' which indicates an art or trade.[520] But in modern usage, both of these terms became distinct from a 'science," which according to the *OED* concerns theoretical truths, whereas 'art' and 'craft' became understood as indicating ways to achieve "certain results." Many *Paris Review* interviewees echoed James's artistic ideal in the Prefaces, which McGurl characterizes as a "general understanding of good fiction as founded on discipline, restraint, and the impersonal exercise of hard-won technique."[521] In several *Paris Review* interviews, authors echo the Jamesian notion of the "germ," or kernel of an idea, that gives rise to a story or novel. Joyce Cary recalls seeing a woman in Manhattan boat who went into his "subconscious" and rose up as a full-blown story. Dorothy Parker says her stories arise after simply overhearing something. Faulkner admits that *Sound and the*

Fury began with a mental image. Robert Penn Warren proclaims that he can derive an entire novel from something he's read. In their respective interviews, John Irving and Kurt Vonnegut claim that a novel reaches out and grabs a writer in the process of writing it. Nelson Algren, Lawrence Durrell, Henry Green, and Aldous Huxley profess that a book finds its own plot through the writing of it. But this notion of plot is refuted by anti-plot writers like Heinrich Boll, John Cheever, Norman Mailer, and Elizabeth Hardwick, who said that if she wanted a plot she would watch the television show *Dallas* rather than write a novel. Bernard Malamud, Julio Cortázar, and Robert Stone all say that characters take on their own lives, an idea dismissed by Cheever and Vladimir Nabokov, who refers to his characters his "galley slaves."

Although the craft-talk element of the *Paris Review* interview continued throughout what Mark McGurl calls "the program era," in the 1950s there were a scant twelve creative writing programs in existence. In the early program-era 1950s, questions that have now become clichés of the author interview—*Do you write with a pencil or a typewriter? Do you write in the morning or at night?*—were relatively new. As Gourevitch observes, the *Paris Review* interview came of age when a "sustained Q & A with an established master" was new thing.[522]

Many of the *Paris Review* interviewee's craft-talk responses on technique have since become creative writing workshop aphorisms. In his study of creative writing programs and their effect on postwar American fiction, McGurl notes the three fundamental aspects of creative-writing pedagogy: experience ("write what you know"), creativity ("find your voice"), and craft ("show don't tell"). McGurl writes, "Craft…adds the elements of acquired skill and mental effort to the process, and is strongly associated with professional pride and the lessons or 'lore' of literary tradition."[523] In his *Paris Review* interview, Faulkner emphasizes the importance of setting, which encompasses all three creative writing fundamentals. Faulkner reveals how he discovered that his novels would follow a design of place or his "own little postage stamp" in the form of

Yoknapatawpha: "I discovered that my own little postage stamp of native soil was worth writing about and that I would never live long enough to exhaust it, and that by sublimating the actual into the apocryphal I would have complete liberty to use whatever talent I might have to its absolute top."[524] Meanwhile, Hemingway zeros in on the essence of "show, don't tell" in his famous "iceberg" analogy: "There is seven-eighths of [the story] underwater for every part that shows. Anything you know you can eliminate and it only strengthens your iceberg. It is the part that doesn't show."[525] Forster's *Paris Review* interview did not include his concept of flat-versus-round characters—which did not appear until Forster published *Aspects of the Novel* published in 1956—but several *Paris Review* interviewees, including Evelyn Waugh, allude to it.[526] James Jones, Hemingway, Francois Mauriac, Angus Wilson, William Trevor, and Gabriel García Marquez adhere to Forster's belief that characters can be taken from real life; however, Graham Greene, Norman Mailer, and Francoise Sagan disagree.

In addition to technique, a *Paris Review* interview focused on the creative process itself. A *Paris Review* interview examined *how writers work*. Most of the interviewees were described as solitaries or borderline-agoraphobics, including Hemingway, Faulkner, and Irwin Shaw, the *Paris Review* pater familias, who viewed writing as "an intense and private occupation that allows no spectators from the outside world." In response to her interviewer's question of whether or not she keeps a notebook, Dorothy Parker said, "I tried to keep one, but I never could remember where I put the damn thing."[527] Georges Simenon, who typically completed his novels in ten days, explained his writing process:

> [A]s soon as I have the beginning I can't bear it very long; so the next day I take my envelope, take my telephone book for names, and take my town map—you know, to see exactly where things happen. And two days later I begin writing. And the beginning will be always the same; it is almost a geometrical problem: I have such a man, such a woman, in such surroundings. What can happen to them to oblige them to go to their limit? That's the question. It will be sometimes a very simple incident, anything which will change their lives. Then I write my novel chapter by chapter….On the envelope I put only the names of the characters, their ages, their

> families. I know nothing whatever about the events that will occur later. Otherwise it would not be interesting to me.

Simeon views the writing of a novel as a "geometrical problem" and describes the process in the most prosaic terms. There is no mention of inspiration; instead, he discusses his use of the phone book for character names and an envelope for outlining. Like Hemingway, Graham Greene said he commits to writing 500 words each day. Nelson Algren noted that he "makes his living writing, has no set routine for working at it, nor seriously feels the need of one; he finds that he works best, or most frequently, at night, and he composes on the typewriter."[528]

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Early on, the editors learned that craft talk was only instrumental in a literary interview with a celebrated and prestigious writer. The only exceptions were interviews with William Styron (1954), Ralph Ellison (1955), and Francois Sagan (1956). Jonathan Lethem was interviewed when he was thirty-nine years old, but his interview was published after Plimpton's death in 2003.

Because of the first interview with William Styron in 1954, the magazine quickly adopting the practice of interviewing only authors in "the winter of their careers."[529] In 1954, the magazine published an interview with the twenty-eight-year-old, up-and-coming writer William Styron. Styron had been associated with the *Paris Review* since its maiden issue. During the editing process, Plimpton wrote to Matthiessen about other problems with the interview: "It is salvageable…but I think Bill needs to be asked many more questions…and that the emphasis in dealing with Styron should deal not so much with the particulars of the trade of writing, but more abstract questions on the purpose, the goal of the young writer."[530] Plimpton turned the interview away from questions about craft and geared it toward Styron's experience as a "young writer." Styron later noted that in his first interview he was so taken with himself that he did not "revise, expand, amend, and otherwise enrich the text" as the editors had urged him to do.[531]

Ultimately, the interview, according to Plimpton, failed as a literary interview. It also failed to attract advertisers and subscribers.

After the Styron interview, the editors committed to interviewing only "master" writers at work, sometimes catching up with authors who were deep into old age or whose mental or physical health had deteriorated. Faulkner, James Thurber, and Isak Dinesen each died six years after their interviews in 1955 and 1956. Hemingway, Joyce Cary, and Aldous Huxley died three years after their interviews in 1958, 1954, and 1960 respectively. Boris Pasternak died the same year his 1960 interview was published. Jack Kerouac, John Dos Passos, Charles Olson, George Sefaris, Jean Rhys, Julio Cortazar, Robert Fitzgerald, and P.G. Wodehouse died within a year of the publication of their interviews. Interviews with Louis-Ferdinand Celine, William Carlos Williams, Jean Cocteau, Blaise Cendrars, John Steinbeck, James M. Cain, Elizabeth Bishop, and W.H. Auden were all published posthumously. In 1959, the magazine began publishing interviews with poets as part of their "Art of Poetry" series, with a similar approach. The initial round included interviews with aging modernists such as T.S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Marianne Moore, and Ezra Pound.

Part of the *Paris Review* canonization process involved defining modernism. Two of the magazine's early "Art of Poetry" interviews with Robert Frost (1960) and Ezra Pound (1962) demonstrate the dual importance of authorial celebrity and the presence of craft talk in literary interviews. In their respective *Paris Review* interviews, Frost comes across as the embodiment of middlebrow culture, whereas Pound personifies the literary abstraction associated with modernism. In the introduction to the Frost interview, interviewer Richard Poirier emphasizes how Frost gives "the impression of massiveness, far exceeding his physical size."[532] Frost is depicted as "a tragic philosophical poet of man and nature," even though he was born in a city (San Francisco). Frost is exalted as the very essence of a pastoral poet.

Pound, on the other hand, is portrayed as the consummate modernist—international, sophisticated, elitist. *Paris Review* interviewer Donald Hall finds Pound in Rome, where he still has "the swaggering vigor of a young man."[533] Hall writes, "With his great hat, his sturdy stick, his tossed yellow scarf, and his coat, which he trailed like a cape, he was the lion of the Latin Quarter again." Pound is urbanity incarnate. The interview sessions with Hall exhaust Pound, but he greets each day, Hall writes, "eager to revise the failures of the day before." Pound is aging but still full of curiosity after his release from St. Elizabeth's, where he was sentenced after being found mentally incompetent for his anti-Semitic radio broadcasts in Italy during World War II.

These portraits of Frost and Pound give the impression that their work matches their respective celebrity personas. Poirier's interview seems to confirm Frost as the type of poet who might headline an anthology of nature poems, or Christmas poems, or *poems to feel better by*. He is, ostensibly, a pastoral poet, an accessible poet, a greeting-card poet who writes "hits" like "Stopping By Woods on a Snowy Evening" and the aptly titled "Christmas Trees."[534] Although he might be associated with the modernists, this interview with Frost establishes him as a poet in opposition to it.

In Hall's interview with Pound, on the other hand, Pound is cosmopolitan, the kind of poet who lingers in obscurities and penumbras. Pound tells Hall that he has spent over fifty years writing his as-yet-unfinished epic, *The Cantos*, a work still riddled with problems. Pound has tried, he says to string history together, the difficulty of which has been 1) "to get a form—something elastic enough to take the necessary material" and 2) "to build up a circle of reference—taking the modern mind to be the medieval mind with wash after wash of classical culture poured over it since the Renaissance." Whereas Frost-the-realist easily writes about mending walls and birches, Pound-the-modernist grapples with the "heteroclite contents of contemporary consciousness."[535]

In this, the interviews pit the middlebrow poet against the modernist poet. Frost is fervently anti-modernist, allergic to the very idea of footnotes and complicated allusions.

He is also an individualist but his instinct, he explains, is "not to belong to any gang."[536] Frost says that while he was in London in the 1920s, the modernist poets held no appeal. They just sat around and rewrote each other's poems as if poetry were a parlor game. Frost recalls, "I said to Pound, 'What do you do?' He said, 'Rewrite each other's poems.' And I said, 'Why?' He said, 'To squeeze the water out of them.' 'That sounds like a parlor game to me,' I said, 'and I'm a serious artist'—kidding, you know. And he laughed and he didn't invite me any more." In a brief anecdote, Frost even recounts the night he met Pound for dinner at a Chinese restaurant in London, during which Pound demonstrated a jujitsu move on Frost and ended up throwing him over his shoulder. In Frost's opinion, Pound made young poets "out of whole cloth." Pound, of course, helped make a poet out of Frost. After meeting Frost, Pound favorably reviewed both "A Boy's Will" and "North of Boston." Pound, for his part, calls Frost the type of poet who fits his own milieu and is probably something close to a happy man.[537] While this might seem to be a complement, it implies that Frost lacks the angst and complexity to write high modernist poems.

However, in terms of craft, both Frost and Pound emphasize the way poetry—as a form—lingers in uncertainty and ambiguity, two qualities that epitomized the modernist period. Frost's poems capitalize on physical detail but do so in order to "talk contraries," as Frost says. Frost constantly varies figures and tones of voice to "unsay everything I said."[538] Talking contraries is the practice of "suggestiveness and double entendre and hinting." Frost says that when he has three or four stanzas, he is interested "in the way I *lay* the sentences in them. I'd hate to have the sentences all lie the same in the stanzas." This sheds light on the dark, complex, and metaphysical aspects of seemingly simple poems like "Birches" and "Design" that critics like Malcolm Cowley often overlooked.[539] For Frost, every thought is "a feat of association", and the poem is the performance of those associations. It is the attempt to bear witness to what's in front of you and what's in your mind. Frost calls it "that click…[of]…putting this and that

together."[540]

Although Frost essentially says that this distinguishes him from those parlor-game modernists, Pound also believed that poetry was an attempt to find coherence in what Pound called "the mystery of the scattering" despite the impossibility of doing so. *The Cantos* might be seen as the ultimate mystery of the scattering, a verbal and symbolic illustration of the mind's "heteroclite elements." In the interview, Pound says that the days "when all or a great many of the answers were assumed, at least between author and audience" are over and any attempt to answer any question in what Pound refers to as "an experimental age" is pointless.[541] In terms of craft, the attempt to "make it new"—Pound's most famous adage—is not enough. The poet, according to Pound, "must have a continuous curiosity" and "a persistent energy," a notion that resembles Frost's idea that the poet must be able to perform feats of association.[542] These *Paris Review* interviews occurred decades before the idea of *modernisms*—i.e., the differing strains of modernist movements, magazines, iconic figures, outgrowths, and expressions that occurred under the monolith we refer to as modernism—but they illustrate how seemingly opposing "schools" of poetry can clash when it comes to aesthetics but still be linked in terms of methodology and craftsmanship.

Conclusion

By making the long-form Q & A its centerpiece, the *Paris Review* redefined the literary interview during the post-war era. Although the *Paris Review* interview included a prose introduction that provided descriptions of the author's physical appearance and setting, it abandoned the structure and many of the techniques employed by in written-up interviews. Instead, the *Paris Review* interview relied almost entirely on dialogue. Unlike the written-up form of the interview, which relied on the device of a narrator or intruder interacting with the subject, the magazine's in-depth Q & As gave the reader a sense of involvement and intimacy with the subject.

The *Paris Review* interview also resurrected the "rewritten" interview, established the practice of craft talk, and took the unprecedented tactic of only interviewing writers in the winter of their careers. This unique approach made the magazine stand out from the many literary quarterlies published during the twentieth century. As David Abramson writes, what makes a magazine unique is the way in which it both reflects and shapes the social reality of the time.[543]

The *Paris Review*'s dedication and approach to the literary interview had far-reaching effects. During the latter part of the twentieth century, the magazine's "Art of Fiction" and "Art of Poetry" series expanded to include the art of theater, biography, diary, the essay, humor, the musical, screenwriting, translation, editing, publishing, and criticism. Ultimately, the series made it possible for later magazines like *Playboy*, *Rolling Stone*, and *Interview* to focus on and reinvent the literary interview, contributing to the reading public's proclivity for celebrity worship. The *Paris Review* interview's emphasis on craft talk enabled and required authors to discuss (and revise) their views of and approaches to writing at length. This approach helped buoy the popularity of literary interviews published and creative writing programs launched during the Program Era.

NOTES

[1] Fay and Marias, “The Art of Fiction No. 190.”

[2] Christ, “An Interview on Interviewers,” 112.

[3] Ibid., 122.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Bawer, “Talk Show: The Rise of the Literary Interview.”

[6] Lyon, “Jorge Luis Borges and the Interview as a Literary Genre,” 76.

[7] Ibid., 77.

[8] Frank, “Deconstructing the Interview: The Myth of the Literary Persona,” 46.

[9] Ibid.

[10] There has also been an unpublished dissertation and a scholarly article written specifically on the *Paris Review* interview: Kelley Penfield Lewis’s dissertation “Interviews at Work: Reading the *Paris Review* Interviews 1953-1978,” which was completed in 2008, and Usha Wilbers’s “The Author Resurrected: The *Paris Review*’s Answer to the Age of Criticism,” published in *American Periodicals* in 2008. Lewis’s study is admirable in the close attention she pays to a selection of early *Paris Review* interviews, but she also fails to acknowledge the literary interview as a journalistic form. Wilbers’s article offers extensive archival research and data compiled in tandem with her unpublished dissertation, which was a magazine study of the *Paris Review*. But like Rodden, she limits her examination to the performative aspects of the literary interview and does not recognize its connection to journalism’s long and rich history.

[11] Renkema, *Introduction to Discourse Studies*, 70.

[12] "† interview, v.1". OED Online. September 2012. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/view/Entry/98443?rskey=kD3wKL&result=2&isAdvanced=false (accessed September 11, 2012).

[13] "interview, v.2". OED Online. September 2012. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/view/Entry/98444?rskey=9T9AAy&result=3&isAdvanced=false (accessed September 11, 2012).

[14] O’Keefe, *Investigating Media Discourse*, 1.

[15] Decks, also referred to as “summary leads,” began during the Civil War when news was often transmitted via telegraph wires. They also appeared as chapter summaries in Victorian novels.

[16] Plimpton, “George Plimpton Letter to His Parents.”

[17] Over the course of his career, Irving earned over $200,000 from his books. Part of the reason for Dickens' trip was an invitation from Irving, whom Dickens had met in London.

[18] McClung Lee, Alfred. *The Daily Newspaper in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 701-753.

[19] Quoted in Marzials, *Life of Charles Dickens*.

[20] "interview, v.2". OED Online. June 2011. Oxford University Press. 1 August 2011 <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/

[21] Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News: New Journalism and Literary Genre in Late Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers and Fiction*, 2.

[22] For more on journalistic and literary hoaxes, see Goodman, Matthew, *The Sun and the Moon: The Remarkable True Account of Hoaxers, Showmen, Dueling Journalists, and Lunar Man-Bats in Nineteenth-Century New York* (New York: Basic Books, 2008).

[23] Tresch, "Extra! Extra! Poe Invents Science Fiction!," 112.

[24] Roggenkamp, *Narrating the News: New Journalism and Literary Genre in Late Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers and Fiction*, 18.

[25] See Silvester, Christopher, ed. *The Penguin Book of Interviews: an Anthology from 1859 to the Present*, (New York: Viking, 1993), 52-54.

[26] Cohen, *The Murder of Helen Jewett*, 16–20; Bennett, "Untitled."

[27] Brooks, *Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature*, 9.

[28] See Cohen, Patricia Cline. *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York*. New York: Vintage, 1999.

[29] Wiener, *Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media: Americanization of the British Press, 1830s-1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism*, 38–9.

[30] Frank Luther Mott traces the origins of the human interest story to a feature called "the human interest story" published in Charles Dana's *New York Sun* in 1868. See Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950*, 376.

[31] Schickel, *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity*.

[32] Other books in the field of celebrity studies have provided analytical support. David Marshall's *Celebrity and Power: Fame and Contemporary Culture* encourages a closer look at the relationship between celebrity and audience. Although Joe Moran's *Star Authors: Literary Celebrity in America* begins with Dickens's second North American tour in 1867, his study analyzes the performative aspects of authorial celebrity, particularly in the twentieth century. Loren Glass's exploration of authorial celebrity,

modernism, the mass market, and masculinity in *Authors, Inc. Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880 – 1980* essentially served as a starting point from which my own study emerged. See Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame and Contemporary Culture*; Moran, *Star Authors: Literary Celebrity in America*; Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880-1980*.

33 Hochman, *Getting at the Author: Reimagining Books and Reading in the Age of American Realism*, 4.

34 Ibid., 7.

35 Ibid., 8–9.

36 [Unsigned], "[Untitled]."

37 [Unsigned], "From the New York New Era: Charles Dickens."

38 A Member, "[Meeting]."

39 *Boston Transcript* (January 1842).

40 Stewart, *Dear Reader: The Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*, 174–5.

41 Ibid., 175.

42 Edgar Allan Poe, "The Daguerreotype" (University of Virginia Reference Online: abh9h@virginia.edu, 2009), accessed May 13, 2012. http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/POE/daguer.html

43 Richard Rudisill, "Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society, 1971" in *Photography in Print*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1988), 70.

44 Gunning, "In Your Face: Physiognomy, Photography, and the Gnostic Mission of Early Film," 4.

45 [Unsigned], "Untitled."

46 Aegis Editors, "[Untitled]."

47 [Unsigned], "[Untitled]."

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, 27.

51 Dickens, "The Social Influence of Dickens."

[52] *The Spectator with Sketches of the Lives of the Authors and Explanatory Notes*, 4:7.

[53] Critical treatment of the eighteenth-century British periodical press is extensive. See Defoe, *The Best of Defoe's Review: An Anthology*; Osell, "Tattling Women in the Public Sphere: Rhetorical Femininity and the English Essay Periodical"; Cowan, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere"; Mackie, *Market à La Mode: Fashion, Commodity, and Gender in The Tattler and The Spectator*.

[54] Dickens, "Letter to Wilkie Collins."

[55] *The Spectator with Sketches of the Lives of the Authors and Explanatory Notes*.

[56] Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism: From The Spectator to Post-Structuralism*, 10.

[57] Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale*, 39.

[58] Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon*.

[59] Hamilton, *America's Sketchbook: The Cultural Life of a Nineteenth-Century Literary Genre*, 139.

[60] Killick, *British Short Fiction in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Rise of the Tale*, 46.

[61] Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon*.

[62] [Unsigned].

[63] [Unsigned], "[Untitled]."

[64] Peter Ackroyd, *Dickens* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 342.

[65] Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America*.

[66] Aegis Editors, "[Untitled]."

[67] [Unsigned], "Arrival of Charles Dickens."

[68] Ibid.

[69] [Unsigned], "[Charles Dickens]."

[70] Ibid.

[71] See Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*.

[72] Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, 57–8.

[73] Ibid., 59.

[74] Schickel, *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity*.

[75] See Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America*, 2.

[76] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens, Complete Vols. I-III* (New York: Kindle ebook file, 2008).

[77] Forster, *Letters*.

[78] Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*.

[79] Forster, *Letters*.

[80] Marzials, *Life of Charles Dickens*, 72.

[81] Newbury, *Figuring Authorship in Antebellum America*, 5.

[82] Dowling, *Capital Letters: Authorship in the Antebellum Literary Market*.

[83] [Unsigned], "Boz-Boz-Boz-Mr. Charles Dickens."

[84] Newbury, *Figuring Authorship in Antebellum America*, 5.

[85] Hofer and Scharnhorst, *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*.

[86] Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public*.

[87] [Unsigned], "The Aesthetic Apostle."

[88] [Unsigned], "Oscar Wilde's Arrival."

[89] Hofer and Scharnhorst, *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*, 100, 158, 162. It should also be noted that Wilde was publicly apathetic to the racism and poverty he encountered on his tour.

[90] [Unsigned], "A Man of Culture Rare."

[91] Ibid., 4.

[92] Ibid., 101.

[93] [Unsigned], "Oscar Wilde's Arrival," 1.

[94] O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun, 1833-1928*, 245.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Robbins, *The Cambridge Introduction to Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 17.

[97] [Unsigned], "[Editorial]."

[98] [Unsigned], "Interviewers," 69.

[99] Wiener, *Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media: Americanization of the British Press, 1830s-1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism*, 137.

[100] Ibid., 155.

[101] For more on the Beecher-Tilton Scandal, see Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950*; Fox, "Intimacy on Trial: Cultural Meanings of the Beecher-Tilton Affair"; Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*.

[102] [Unsigned].

[103] [Unsigned].

[104] Ibid.

[105] Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative*, 4.

[106] Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 5.

[107] See Walsh, "The Pragmatics of Narrative Fictionality," 151; Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative*, 212–13.

[108] [Unsigned], "Oscar Wilde."

[109] [Unsigned], "Oscar Wilde."

[110] [Unsigned], "Oscar Wilde."

[111] Ibid.

[112] Dolby, *Charles Dickens as I Knew Him: The Story of the Reading Tours in Great Britain and America, 1866-1870*, 206–208.

[113] See article in the *Public Ledger*, January 13, 1868.

[114] Andrews, *Charles Dickens and His Performing Selves: Dickens and the Public Readings*, 69.

[115] [Unsigned].

[116] See Forster, *Life of Charles Dickens*, 469.

[117] [Unsigned].

[118] [Unsigned].

[119] [Unsigned].

[120] [Unsigned].

[121] [Unsigned].

[122] Andrews, "Performing Character," 81.

[123] Ibid., 80.

[124] Whipple, *Charles Dickens: The Man and His Work*, 2:328–9.

[125] [Unsigned].

[126] See [Unsigned]; [Unsigned]; [Unsigned].

[127] [Unsigned].

[128] Trautmann, "Harriet Beecher Stowe's Public Readings in New England," 281.

[129] [Unsigned].

[130] [Unsigned].

[131] [Unsigned].

[132] [Unsigned].

[133] See [Unsigned], "Uncle Tomitudes," 98.

[134] See [Unsigned]; [Unsigned].

[135] [Unsigned].

[136] Ammons, "Introduction," 7–9. See Robbins, *The Cambridge Introduction to Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 21. The majority of controversy surrounding the novel arose after Stowe's death. Ammons notes the many novels that were later written in response to the racial stereotypes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, including Harriet Wilson's *Our Nig* (1859), Wallace Thurman's *The Blacker the Berry* (1929), and Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* (1970). Critics such as William Vance, Van Wyck Brooks, James Baldwin, and others would dismiss *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as tritely sentimental. Baldwin famously attacked the novel both for its racism and sentimentalism in the essay "Everybody's Protest Novel" (1949). Jane Tompkins, Dorothy Berkson, Elizabeth Ammons, Nina Baym, Gillian Brown, and others have argued that these critics disregard Stowe's fiction as sentimental and plotless because it presents a female-oriented ethic and narrative.

[137] See Robbins, *The Cambridge Introduction to Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 1.

[138] Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Stowe, *House and Home Papers*, 272. Stowe's essays also stressed the importance of rebuilding American home life after the Civil War.

[141] Robbins, *The Cambridge Introduction to Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 1.

[142] Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Woman's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835*, 201.

[143] By the latter half of the nineteenth century, this sense of the home as a locus of society increased. Alan Trachtenberg writes that the home also functioned as a kind of theater in which the individual displayed his or her character and worth. See Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*.

[144] See Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*; Armbruster, *Studies on Themes and Motifs in Literature: Domestic Biographies: Stowe, Howells, James, and Wharton at Home*.

[145] Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*, 124.

[146] Matthews, *Just a Housewife: The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*, xiii.

[147] Ibid., 35.

[148] See Emerson's essay "Domestic Life."

[149] Jürgen Habermas's theory of the bourgeois public sphere that evolved in opposition to the state after the French Revolution essentially defines two public spheres: 1) the sphere of public authority, which was essentially the court or state and the police, and 2) the "official" or "authentic" public sphere, which included a separate political realm, the republic of letters (clubs, salons, and the press), and the "Town" or business culture. The private realm consisted of the home or family and the labor force. In Habermas's view, criticism and social change came from the bourgeois public sphere, in which private citizens weighed in on public issues. The public sphere mediated between the private sphere and the state. Current theorists, such as Dena Goodman, use Habermas's notion of public and private to explain how Enlightenment salons permitted women to contribute to the public sphere without leaving the private sphere. The new public sphere was somewhat ambiguous, in the sense that what was once "private" under the Old Regime might be considered "public" after the French Revolution. The French salon was an area of the public sphere that, according to the standards of the Old Regime, was actually a part of the private sphere. Goodman writes, "The Enlightenment salon brought private persons together in relative security to use their reason and collectively to launch their ideas into the arena of public opinion and public debate." See Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," 18.

[150] Macfarlane, "The New England Kitchen Goes Uptown: Domestic Displacements in Harriet Beecher Stowe's New York," 274.

[151] Sherwood, "Another Yankee Interviewer, 1841," 45.

[152] In some ways, it's difficult to classify these as literary interviews because they focus entirely on the home and in several instances the author wasn't even present.

[153] Gilder and Gilder, J.B., *Authors at Home: Personal and Biographical Sketches of Well-Known American Writers*, 6.

[154] Ibid., 338.

[155] See Lynn, *Uncle Tom's Cabin, Or, Life Among the Lowly*; Stowe, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: The Story of Her Life*.

[156] Gilder and Gilder, J.B., *Authors at Home: Personal and Biographical Sketches of Well-Known American Writers*, 316.

[157] Ibid.

[158] While on tour in Europe in 1857, Stowe met John Ruskin and took to his philosophy of aestheticism.

[159] See Borus, *Writing Realism: Howells, James, and Norris in the Mass Market*; Buell, *New England Literary Culture: From Revolution to Renaissance*.

[160] See *Celebrities at Home: Reprinted from "*The *World."*

[161] Halsey, *American Authors and Their Homes: Personal Descriptions & Interviews*.

[162] Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity*, 110.

[163] Watson, "Oscar Wilde at Home," 1.

[164] [Unsigned], "With Mr. Oscar Wilde," 10.

[165] Pater, *Imaginary Portraits*, 60.

[166] Ibid., 72.

[167] [Unsigned], "Truly Aesthetic," 2.

[168] Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England*, 117.

[169] Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public*, 52.

[170] Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 36.

[171] Pater, "A Novel by Mr. Oscar Wilde."

[172] Wilde, "Critic as Artist," 97–98.

[173] Stokes, *In the Nineties*, 164.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Lejeune, "The Autobiography of Those Who Do Not Write," 190; Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, 5.

[176] Rodden, *Performing the Literary Interview: How Writers Craft Their Public Selves*.

[177] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, 63. Clearly, this is invoking just a smidgeon of Foucault's philosophy on knowledge and power.

[178] Wilde, "Mr. Oscar Wilde on Mr. Oscar Wilde," 158.

[179] Ibid., 160–161.

[180] Stokes, *In the Nineties*, 165.

[181] In 1871, Whitman published what is believed to be a self-interview about his impressions of a visit to Denver, Colorado.

[182] Silvester, "Introduction," 11.

[183] Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives*, 4–5.

[184] Ibid., 6.

[185] Ibid.

[186] See Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States*.

[187] Newbury, *Figuring Authorship in Antebellum America*, 3.

[188] Holbrook, "The School Globe."

[189] Kross, "Mansions, Men, Women, and the Creation of Multiple Publics in Eighteenth-Century British North America."

[190] Fuller, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 1:170.

[191] Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 141.

[192] Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe: Selections*, 764.

[193] Fuller, *Papers on Literature and Art, Part I.*

[194] Ritchie, "Margaret Fuller's First Conversation Series: A Discovery in the Archives," 225.

[195] After Fuller started her Conversations in earnest, she invited both men and women and charged a fee.

[196] Sinclair, *The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism*, 94.

[197] See Morris, *Pulitzer: A Life in Politics, Print, and Power*, 215.

[198] Silvester attributes this to the fact that Pulitzer was starting to lose his eyesight. Pulitzer went completely blind and resigned as editor of the newspaper at the age of forty-three.

[199] Denis, *Pulitzer: A Life*, 40, 152, 337.

[200] Columbia became third school in the country to have journalism program, after Cornell University (1874) and the University of Pennsylvania (1893).

[201] Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, 4–5.

[202] Weinberg and Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, 4.

[203] For more see Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950*; Hillstrom, *Muckrakers and the Progressive Era*; Weinberg and Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*. The interview was also used in muckraking/reformist fiction, such as Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle*.

[204] Wiener, *Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media: Americanization of the British Press, 1830s-1914: Speed in the Age of Transatlantic Journalism*, 147.

[205] Clemens, Twain, and Budd, "A Listing of and Selection from Newspaper and Magazine Interviews with Samuel L. Clemens, 1874-1910," ix.

[206] Scharnhorst, *Mainly the Truth: Interviews with Mark Twain*, xii, vi.

[207] Silvester, "Introduction," 9.

[208] An author's relationship to the press is obviously complicated. For example, critics such as Richard Salmon, Michael Anesko, and others have reexamined the myth that James went into artistic isolation after the commercial failure of his play *Guy Domville*. For more on James, see Salmon's *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity*, 180-191; Robert Colby's "Harnessing Pegasus: Walter Besant, 'The Author,' and the Profession of Authorship;" and Anesko's *"Friction with the Market": Henry James and the Profession of Authorship*. For more on Salinger, see Ian Hamilton's controversial but illustrative biography *In Search of J.D*. For more on Norman Mailer's complex relationship to the press, see Richard Poirier's *Norman Mailer*; *Conversations with Norman Mailer* edited by J. Michael Lennon; and Mailer's *Advertisements for Myself*. For more on Pynchon, see Louise Jury's 2006 article "A Literary Recluse: the Mystery of Thomas Pynchon" in *The Independent*.

[209] Twain, "The PBS News Hour." 1.

[210] M'Cardell, "Men of Today Who Make the World Laugh: Mark Twain," 11.

[211] Scharnhorst, *Mainly the Truth: Interviews with Mark Twain*, vii.

[212] Clemens, Twain, and Budd, "A Listing of and Selection from Newspaper and Magazine Interviews with Samuel L. Clemens, 1874-1910," 4.

[213] Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, 205–6.

[214] Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880-1980*, 82.

[215] Brown, "Mark Twain Talks." Twain had concocted his famous autobiography scheme to "foil" the impending copyright "robbery" that would affect his daughters after his death. He dictated 250,000-500,000 words of autobiography to be used as additional notes to any edition of his books that expired—for instance, a new edition of *Tom Sawyer* would include a third of a page of autobiography relating to text so as to extend the copyright. Twain inherited the idea from Sir Walter Scott, who kept the copyrights on his books alive by publishing new editions with commentaries. Installments of the autobiography were published in the *North American Review* between September 1906 and December 1907.

[216] White, "Mark Twain Amused."

[217] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain's Guide to Health."

[218] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Demands Thanks of Congress, and Right Away, Too."

[219] The phrase "Dean of Humorists" was coined by William A. Graham in *Human Life Magazine*. See Borus, *Writing Realism: Howells, James, and Norris in the Mass Market*, 124.

[220] Montague, "Mark Twain: His Wit and Humor," 5.

[221] Montague, "Mark Twain: His Wit and Humor."

[222] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain's Smokes."

[223] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain's Guide to Health."

[224] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Makes Some Parting Remarks."

[225] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain's Guide to Health."

[226] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain's Experiences in the Hands of British Interviewers."

[227] The debate about Twain's final years has been a recurring theme in Mark Twain scholarship since the 1920s, mainly because of the wry, and sometimes sour, nature of parts of his autobiography and *Letters from the Earth*. The debate began

between the Van Wyck Brooks, who saw him as a tragic figure crumbling under the demands of humor and the role of "Mark Twain;" and Bernard De Voto, the second curator of Mark Twain Papers, who believed that Twain was just trying to be Twain and maintained an irreverent, humorous air throughout his life. Since then, scholars on the dark-days/Brooks side have included Hamlin Hill, Justin Kablan, Laura Skandera Trombley, Jerome Loving, Ron Powers, and Karen Lystra; on the triumphant-figure/De Voto side there are few, but Michael Shelden makes a persuasive case of Twain's overall wellbeing during his last years in *Mark Twain: Man in White: The Grand Adventure of His Final Years*.

228 [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Investigating"; [Unsigned], "'I'm Not Lost at Sea,' Says Twain"; [Unsigned], "Not Lost, Says Twain"; [Unsigned], "Twain Hesitates to Admit He's Dead."

229 Justice, "Mark Twain Actually in Earnest."

230 Harris, "A Prince of Humorists: Interview with 'Mark Twain'."

231 Shelden, *Mark Twain: Man in White: The Grand Adventure of His Final Years*.

232 [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Feeling Blue."

233 [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Cannot 'Bubble Humor,' He Says, as Demanded."

234 Olney, "'It's an Awful Thing to Get a Reputation for Being Funny,' Says Mark Twain."

235 Love, "Mark Twain Sees the Home of His Boyhood," 1.

236 Champagne, "Mark Twain at Bermuda."

237 Ibid.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid.

240 Ibid.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid.

243 Clemens, Twain, and Budd, "A Listing of and Selection from Newspaper and Magazine Interviews with Samuel L. Clemens, 1874-1910," ix.

244 Hill, *Mark Twain: God's Fool*, 268.

245 Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography, Complete 1866-1910*.

[246] Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, 4:1268.

[247] Paine, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, 331.

[248] Throughout the biography, Paine refers to him as Sam Clemens.

[249] [Unsigned], "Mark Twain Demands Thanks of Congress, and Right Away, Too."

[250] "Twain Awes Capitol."

[251] [Unsigned], "Twain's Plan to Beat the Copyright Law."

[252] Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography*.

[253] Ibid., 4:1300.

[254] Paine, *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, 1336.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, 1:69.

[257] Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe: Selections*, 9.

[258] Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography, Complete 1866-1910*.

[259] Schmidgall, Gary, *Intimate with Walt: Selections from Whitman's Conversations with Horace Traubel, 1888-1892*, 15.

[260] Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe: Selections*, 36. As David Luke and Robert Pick point out, Eckermann deified Goethe and is in part responsible for "the nineteenth-century legend of the 'Olympian' Goethe, the tranquil sage looking down at human affairs from a sublime and untouchable height." See Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, 1:3.

[261] Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography, Complete 1866-1910*.

[262] Eckermann, *Conversations with Goethe: Selections*, 36.

[263] Paine, *Mark Twain: A Biography, Complete 1866-1910*.

[264] Eckermann, *Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret*, 1:10–11.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Whitman is often considered the consummate self-promoter. He published a self-interview and self-reviews. See Folsom, "A Previously Unknown 1855 'Albion' Notice: Whitman Outed as His Own Reviewer," 78–79; Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of Celebrity*, 114.

[267] David Blake attributes this delay to the risqué material in *Leaves of Grass* and to the need for people to wait until Whitman was an old man, the "good gray poet," before they could accept his subject matter and imagery. See Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of Celebrity*, 114.

[268] Many of these interviews appear in the two-volume bibliography *Walt Whitman: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1981-1982).

[269] [Unsigned], "Walt Whitman's Dying Hours."

[270] [Unsigned], "The Athletic Bard Paralyzed and in a Rocking Chair: His Explanation of His Verse and His Condition."

[271] Ibid.

[272] Pennybacker, "Walt Whitman: The Poet Chats on the Haps and Mishaps of His Own Life."

[273] [Unsigned], "Whitman Near the End."

[274] [Unsigned], "Walt Whitman's Dying Hours."

[275] Ballou, "Walt Whitman."

[276] [Unsigned], "Walt Whitman's Needs."

[277] [Unsigned], "Walt Whitman: A Glimpse at a Poet in His Lair: What the Author of 'Blades of Grass' Says About Newspapers and Publishers."

[278] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*.

[279] The "Whitmaniacs" or Whitman Fellowship (est. 1860) tirelessly publicized Whitman and his work. Traubel's family lived in Camden, and he met Whitman in 1873 when Traubel was barely a teenager. He worked as a printer's devil, a compositor, typesetter, reporter for the *Camden New Republic* and the *Camden Evening Visitor,* payroll attendant at factory, and finally as a bank clerk. In 1891, he married his wife Anne in a ceremony in Whitman's bedroom. With two other literary executors, Thomas Harned and Dr. Bucke, he collaborated on *In Re Walt Whitman* (1893) and the *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman* (1902). Like Whitman, Traubel "self-puffed" by publishing self-reviews of his own collections of poetry, including *Chants Communal* (1910) and *Optimos* (1914) in the *Conservator*. He also acknowledged (and republished) second-hand negative reviews that ran in H.L. Mencken's *Smart Set* and the *Times Review*.

[280] Schmidgall, Gary, "Introduction," viii.

[281] Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History*, 382.

[282] Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 57, 86, 31, 46.

[283] Sisman, *Boswell's Presumptuous Task: The Making of the Life of Samuel Johnson*, xvi.

[284] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*.

[285] Ibid. Before his death, Whitman urged Traubel not to "'prettify'" him and "'include all the hells and damns.'"

[286] Ibid.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Ibid., 1:ix–x.

[289] Ibid., 1:viii.

[290] Schmidgall, Gary, *Intimate with Walt: Selections from Whitman's Conversations with Horace Traubel, 1888-1892*, 39.

[291] Ibid., 59.

[292] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (January 21-April 7, 1889)*, 4:61.

[293] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (November 1, 1888-January 20, 1889)*.

[294] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (January 21-April 7, 1889)*, 4:4.

[295] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (February 11, 1891-September 30, 1891)*, 8:146.

[296] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden: July 16, 1888-October 31, 1888*.

[297] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*.

[298] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (September 15, 1889-July 6, 1890)*, 6:9.

[299] Sisman, *Boswell's Presumptuous Task: The Making of the Life of Samuel Johnson*.

[300] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*.

[301] Schmidgall, Gary, "Introduction," xvi.

[302] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (April 8-September 14, 1889)*, 5:v. This quotation also appears in volume four.

[303] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*, 1:vi.

[304] Ibid., 1:ix.

[305] Ibid., 1:vii.

[306] Schmidgall, Gary, *Intimate with Walt: Selections from Whitman's Conversations with Horace Traubel, 1888-1892*, 41.

[307] Schmidgall, Gary, "Introduction," vi.

[308] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden: July 16, 1888-October 31, 1888*.

[309] Schmidgall, Gary, "Introduction," ix.

[310] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (January 21-April 7, 1889)*, 4:186.

[311] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*.

[312] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (April 8-September 14, 1889)*, 5:79–80.

[313] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden: July 16, 1888-October 31, 1888*.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (March 28-July14, 1888)*.

[316] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden (November 1, 1888-January 20, 1889)*, 3:x.

[317] Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden: July 16, 1888-October 31, 1888*.

[318] Ibid.

[319] In Schmigdall, Gary, *Intimate with Walt: Selections from Whitman's Conversations with Horace Traubel, 1888-1892,* 200.

[320] Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, 359.

[321] Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950*, 11.

[322] Ibid., 19.

[323] See Slide, *Inside the Hollywood Fan Magazine: A History of Star Makers, Fabricators, and Gossip Mongers*, 4.

[324] Rather than tread over ground that has been covered, I will be working from the idea that modernism was not a monolithic category and existed in relation to the mass market, high culture, and the avant-garde in various ways at different times. See Jaffe, *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity*; Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880-1980*; Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture*; Morrison, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception*; and Golding, *From Outlaw to Classic: Canons in American Poetry*.

[325] Wiener, *Palgrave*, 45.

[326] Fuller, *Papers on Literature and Art, Part I*.

[327] Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, 282.

[328] Howe, *Margaret Fuller, Marchesa Ossoli*, 113.

[329] Fuller, *Essays on American Life and Letters*, 217.

[330] Fuller, *At Home and Abroad or, Things and Thoughts in America and Europe*, 62, 232, 214, 243.

[331] Capper, "Getting from Here to There: Margaret Fuller's American Transnational Odyssey," 312.

[332] James, *The Portrait of a Lady*, 13.

[333] Brooks, "Mr. Henry James at Home."

[334] Brooks, "Henry James in the Serene Sixties."

[335] Bynner, "A Word or Two with Henry James."

[336] Bynner, "A Word or Two with Henry James."

[337] For an interesting look at the two versions of Henrietta Stackpole in the 1881 and 1908 editions, see Lutes, "Journalism, Modernity, and the Globe-Trotting Girl Reporter," 170.

[338] James, *Notes of a Son and Brother*, 253–5.

[339] See Salmon, *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity*, 2; Anesko, *Friction with the Market: Henry James and the Profession of Authorship*; Miller, "Henry James in Reality," 586.

[340] Ibid., 3.

[341] :

[342] Lutes, "Journalism, Modernity, and the Globe-Trotting Girl Reporter," 173.

[343] Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*, 117.

[344] Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*, 99.

[345] Wood, "The Art of Interviewing."

[346] Carew, "Confessions of an Interviewer."

[347] Ibid.

[348] Wiener, "Gossip and Other Matters," 154.

[349] Carew, "Kate Carew Gets Her Ecstatic Fill on a Post-Cubist."

[350] Carew, "'My Impressions of America': Mark Twain."

[351] Carew, "Kate Carew Interviews the Wright Brothers."

[352] Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*, 112.

[353] Carew, "Kate Carew Interviews Herself."

[354] Carew, "Kate Carew Gets Her Ecstatic Fill on a Post-Cubist."

[355] Ibid.

[356] Carew, "'My Impressions of America': Mark Twain."

[357] Stewart, *Dear Reader: The Conscripted Audience in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*, 27.

[358] Carew, "Kate Carew Gets Her Ecstatic Fill on a Post-Cubist."

[359] Levine, "'Bringing Milkshakes to Bulldogs': The Early Journalism of Djuna Barnes," 27.

[360] Raymont, "From the Avant-Garde of the Thirties, Djuna Barnes."

[361] Biers, "Djuna Barnes Makes a Specialty of Crime: Violence and the Visual in Her Early Journalism," 238.

[362] Plumb, *Fancy's Craft: Art and Identity in the Early Works of Djuna Barnes*.

[363] Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*, 8.

[364] Jordan, *Three Rousing Cheers*, 49–50.

[365] Ibid.

[366] Messerli, "Forward," 6.

[367] Ibid., 152, 160.

[368] Barnes, *Djuna Barnes: Interviews*, 76.

[369] Ibid., 201.

[370] Ibid., 224.

[371] Ibid., 95.

[372] Ibid., 95–6.

[373] Ibid., 202.

[374] Ibid., 130.

[375] Fahs, *Out on Assignment: Newspaper Women and the Making of Modern Public Space*, 70.

[376] Barnes, *Djuna Barnes: Interviews*, 258.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Herring, *Djuna: The Life and Work of Djuna Barnes*, 78.

[379] Levine, "'Bringing Milkshakes to Bulldogs': The Early Journalism of Djuna Barnes," 28.

[380] Herring, *Djuna: The Life and Work of Djuna Barnes*, 78.

[381] Although neither Jameson nor Huyssen intended to generalize this binary, many scholars have reexamined their claims and outlined tension and collusion between modernists, the mass market, high culture, and the avant-garde, including Lawrence Rainey's *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (1998), Joe Moran's *Star Authors: Literary Celebrity in America* (2000), Catherine Turner's *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars* (2003), Mark McGurl's *The Novel Art: Elevations of American Fiction after Henry James* (2004), Faye Hammill's *Women, Celebrity, and Literary Culture between the Wars* (2007), Karen Leick's *Gertrude Stein and the Making of an American Celebrity* (2009), and Judith Brown's *Glamour in Six Dimensions: Modernism and the Radiance of Form* (2009). See also Huyssen, "High/Low in an Expanded Field."

[382] Raymont, "From the Avant-Garde of the Thirties, Djuna Barnes."

[383] Hemingway, "Untitled."

[384] Ibid.

[385] Heap, "Cover Letter."

[386] Ibid., 4.

[387] Cole, "What Is the Avant-Garde? The Questionnaire as Historiography," 2.

[388] Cole, "What Is the Avant-Garde? The Questionnaire as Historiography."

[389] Huret, *Enquete Sur L'evolution Litteraire*, xiii. Huret's text has not been translated into English. These translations are my own.

[390] Ibid., xi.

[391] *Vanity Fair* now offers an online version of their so-called "Proust Questionnaire" called "Turbo Proust!"

[392] Scholes and Wulfman, "Modernist Magazines: The Case of Visual Art."

[393] Churchill and McKible, "Little Magazines and Modernism: An Introduction," 3–4.

[394] Watson and Scofield, "Casual Comment."

[395] Ibid.

[396] Anderson, "Announcement."

[397] Allen, "Writing Toward 'Nightwood': Djuna Barnes' Seduction Stories," 66.

[398] Butcher, "Tabloid Book Review."

[399] Ibid.

[400] Ibid.

[401] Poe, *Literary Criticism of Edgar Allan Poe*, 215.

[402] Poe, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe: Criticisms*, IX:53.

[403] Poe, "The Literati of New York," 72.

[404] Ibid., 74.

[405] Ibid.

[406] Ibid., 76.

[407] Ibid.

[408] Meyerson, *Fuller in Her Own Time: a Biographical Chronicle of Her Life, Drawn from Recollections, Interviews, and Memoirs by Family, Friends, and Associates*, 72.

[409] See Sinclair, *The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism*, 147.

[410] Hardt and Brennan, *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, 51.

[411] Butcher, "Tabloid Book Review."

[412] Ibid.

[413] Ibid.

[414] Butcher, “The Literary Spotlight: Sinclair Lewis.”

[415] Butcher, “The Literary Spotlight.”

[416] Galow, “Literary Modernism in the Age of Celebrity,” 314.

[417] Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History*, 488.

[418] Mok, “Interview with F. Scott Fitzgerald,” 359.

[419] Ibid.

[420] “Gertrude Stein Arrives and Baffles Reporters by Making Herself Clear.”

[421] Ibid.

[422] Ibid.

[423] Ibid.

[424] *Merlin* was the experimental expatriate journal in Paris in the 1950s. Its manifesto read, “Merlin will hit at all the clots of rigid categories in criticism and life, and all that is unintelligently partisan. To say that Merlin is against obscurantism in criticism is not to say that it is against obscurity in poetry. Merlin is for innovation in creative writing which renders creative writing more expressive.” When the magazine published Beckett and received a negative response, board member Richard Seaver recalls, “‘We knew we were on the right track.’” See Sawyer-Laucanno, *The Continual Pilgrimage: American Writers in Paris, 1944-1960*, 130–2.

[425] In addition to *Merlin*, which started in the spring of 1952; and *Points*, which was founded in 1948 by Sinbad Vail, son of Peggy Guggenheim and Laurence Vail; *Zero* was started in the spring of 1949 by Themistocles Hoetis, the premier issue of which featured work by Christopher Isherwood, William Carlos Williams, Kenneth Pachen, and Richard Wright. After three issues, it moved to Tangier, then Mexico, and then folded. *Janus*, which started in the summer of 1949, was a half-French, half-English poetry journal. *ID*, which started in the summer of 1949, featured stories. *New-Story*, which started in March of 1951, was based in Paris but published American and British writers like Ray Bradbury, Terry Southern, William Goyen, Alison Lurie, and James Baldwin. It folded in 1953.

[426] Heredia, Howard, and Maysles, *The Paris Review*.

[427] Brooks, “Introduction,” 6.

[428] Wain, “Consulting the Oracles.” 2.

[429] Quoted in Kramer, “The Literary View: Remembering Poets.”

[430] Aldrich, *George Being George*, 217.

[431] Ibid., 34. He was expelled from Exeter just shy of his graduation date for carousing in the dormitory, yet he managed to get his GED and still attend Harvard.

[432] The magazine moved its offices to the Plimpton's East 72nd residence in New York in the 1960s and remained there until his death in 2003. He never took a salary.

[433] The journalist Paul Gallico predates Plimpton as the original professional amateur. In the 1930s, he wrote about his experiences boxing with Jack Dempsey and catching fastballs thrown by Dizzy Dean for *The New York Post*.

[434] See Aldrich, *George Being George*, 276; Editors, "*Paris Review* Sketchbook," 363.

[435] See Editors, "The *Paris Review* Sketchbook," 363; Sawyer-Laucanno, *The Continual Pilgrimage: American Writers in Paris, 1944-1960*, 152.

[436] See Aldrich, *George Being George*, 205, 280.

[437] Styron, "Letter to an Editor."

[438] Ibid.

[439] Heredia, Howard, and Maysles, *The Paris Review*.

[440] Ibid.

[441] Aldrich, *George Being George*, 285.

[442] Plimpton, *The Paris Review Anthology*, 281.

[443] Wilbers, "Enterprise in the Service of Art: A Critical History of the *Paris Review*, 1953-1973," 191.

[444] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Peter Matthiessen."

[445] See Aldrich, *George Being George*, 147.

[446] Plimpton interviewed Irwin Shaw (The Art of Fiction No. 4, Winter 1953), William Styron (The Art of Fiction No. 5, Spring 1954), Ernest Hemingway (The Art of Fiction No. 21, Spring 1958), Jerzy Kosinski (The Art of Fiction No. 46, Summer 1972), Joseph Heller (The Art of Fiction No. 51, Winter 1974), E.B. White (The Art of the Essay No. 1, Fall 1969), John Steinbeck (The Art of Fiction No. 45 continued, Fall 1969), Kurt Vonnegut (The Art of Fiction No. 64, Spring 1977), John Barth (The Art of Fiction No. 86. Spring 1985), E.L. Doctorow (The Art of Fiction No. 94, Winter 1986), Maya Angelou (The Art of Fiction No. 119, Fall 1990), Tom Wolfe (The Art of Fiction No. 123, Spring 1991), Fran Lebowitz (A Humorist at Work, Summer 1993), Louis Auchincloss (The Art of Fiction No. 138, Fall 1994), Garrison Keillor (The Art of Humor No. 2, Fall 1995), Calvin Trillin (The Art of Humor No. 3, Fall 1995), John Gregory Dunne (The Art of Screenwriting, Spring 1996), John le Carré (The Art of Fiction No. 149, Summer 1997), William Styron (The Art of Fiction No. 156, Spring 1999), Robert

Giroux (The Art of Publishing No. 3, Summer 2000), and Billy Collins (The Art of Poetry No. 83, Fall 2001).

[447] Lehmann-Haupt, "Books of the Times."

[448] Aldrich, *George Being George*, 265, 351.

[449] Quoted in Grobel, *The Art of the Interview: Lessons from a Master of the Craft*, 289.

[450] Leonard, "Books: Robust Survivor."

[451] Wilbers, "Enterprise in the Service of Art: A Critical History of the *Paris Review*, 1953-1973," 189.

[452] Stoke and Edwards, "Story Formulations in Talk-in-Interaction," 70. This method is also referred to as the life-history interview method.

[453] Ibid.

[454] Ibid., 77.

[455] Tracy, "Investing in 'Modernism': Smart Magazines, Parody, and Middlebrow Professional Judgment," 56.

[456] Yagoda, *About Town: The New Yorker and the World It Made*, 38.

[457] Ibid., 133.

[458] Remnick, *Life Stories: Profiles from the New Yorker*, ix.

[459] {Citation}

[460] Ibid., 265.

[461] Ibid.

[462] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 23.

[463] Yagoda, *About Town: The New Yorker and the World It Made*, 252.

[464] Ross, *Portrait of Hemingway*, 25.

[465] Ibid., 28.

[466] Ibid., 24.

[467] Ibid., 16.

[468] Ross, *Reporting Back: Notes on Journalism*, 145.

[469] Lynn, *Hemingway*, 553.

[470] See Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880-1980*; Raeburn, *Fame Became of Him: Hemingway As a Public Writer*.

[471] Hemingway, *By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*, 155.

[472] Ibid., 167–8.

[473] Ibid., 192.

[474] Hemingway, *By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*.

[475] Ibid., 195.

[476] Ibid., 215.

[477] Ibid., 220.

[478] Yagoda, *About Town: The New Yorker and the World It Made*, 252.

[479] Ross, *Reporting Back: Notes on Journalism*, 142.

[480] Ibid., 141.

[481] Ibid.

[482] Ibid.

[483] Ibid., 158.

[484] Courtney, *Drama and Intelligence: A Cognitive Theory*, 151.

[485] Clayman, "Answers and Evasions," 405–8.

[486] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to 'Bill'."

[487] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Donald Hall."

[488] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to 'Jeanne'."

[489] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Robert Silvers."

[490] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Robert Silvers."

[491] Hemingway, "Ernest Hemingway, The Art of Fiction No. 21."

[492] Ibid.

[493] The major figures to address dialogue during the twentieth century were Martin Buber, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Kenneth Burke.

[494] Cowley, "Introduction: How Writers Write," 5.

[495] Fischer and Goblirsch, "Biographical Structuring: Narrating and Reconstructing the Self in Research and Professional Practice," 38.

[496] Cowley, "Introduction: How Writers Write," 4.

[497] Hemingway, *By-Line: Ernest Hemingway, Selected Articles and Dispatches of Four Decades*, 303.

[498] Raeburn, *Fame Became of Him: Hemingway As a Public Writer*, 161.

[499] The article created a public dispute between Plimpton, Mary Hemingway, and the editors of *Esquire*, in which Plimpton complained that Hemingway had not rewritten the questions. Ultimately, Plimpton said that Brian had misquoted him and taken his comments about the Hemingway interview out of context.

[500] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to George Wickes."

[501] Applefield, "Interviewing an Interviewer."

[502] Christ, "An Interview on Interviewers," 116.

[503] Ibid., 119.

[504] Ibid.

[505] Gorman, "Character and Characterization," 171.

[506] Gourevitch, "Introduction," x.

[507] Eder, "Zap! Make the Interview Part Jig, Part Bullfight."

[508] Plimpton, "Introduction," xvi.

[509] See Charles Poore, "Books of the Times, *New York Times*, April 1, 1958, 29.

[510] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Peter Matthiessen."

[511] See Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Robert Silvers, Et. Al."

[512] David Minter writes of Faulkner's intimate relationship with Stein (Minter 236-240). Faulkner met Stein in Paris in 1953 while he was working on a screenplay for Howard Hawks (Blotner 581). Minter writes that the affair ended in 1957, when Stein broke it off (Minter 236-240).

[513] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Robert Silvers, Et. Al."

[514] The interview does not include a description of setting.

[515] Faulkner, "William Faulkner, The Art of Fiction No. 12."

[516] Ibid.

[517] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Robert Silvers, Et. Al."

[518] Ibid.

[519] art, n.1 Third edition, September 2008; online version December 2011. <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/view/Entry/11125>; accessed 29 December 2011. An entry for this word was first included in *New English Dictionary*, 1885.

[520] craft, n. Second edition, 1989; online version December 2011. <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.uiowa.edu/view/Entry/43694>; accessed 29 December 2011. Earlier version first published in *New English Dictionary*, 1893.

[521] See McGurl, *The Program Era: Postwar Fiction and the Rise of Creative Writing*, 99.

[522] Styron, "Letter to an Editor."

[523] McGurl, *The Program Era: Postwar Fiction and the Rise of Creative Writing*, 23.

[524] Faulkner, "William Faulkner, The Art of Fiction No. 12."

[525] Hemingway, "Ernest Hemingway, The Art of Fiction No. 21."

[526] Although McGurl refers to Forster's mantra as a concept taught in high school English classrooms, it forms the basis of the show-don't-tell approach to creating character in many creative writing programs.

[527] Parker, "Dorothy Parker, The Art of Fiction No. 13."

[528] Algren, "Nelson Algren, The Art of Fiction No. 11."

[529] Gourevitch, "Introduction."

[530] Plimpton, "George Plimpton to Peter Matthiessen."

[531] Styron, "Introduction," xvii.

[532] Frost, "Robert Frost, The Art of Poetry No. 2."

[533] Pound, "Ezra Pound, The Art of Poetry No. 5."

[534] Beginning as early as 1929, Frost actually did write a poem each year and sent it with a Christmas card to his publisher, family, and friends.

[535] Pound, “Ezra Pound, The Art of Poetry No. 5.”

[536] Frost refers to himself “the enemy of that theory, that idea of Stevenson’s that you should play the sedulous ape to anybody” (Frost).

[537] Pound, “Ezra Pound, The Art of Poetry No. 5.”

[538] Frost, “Robert Frost, The Art of Poetry No. 2.”

[539] Lionel Trilling, at a 1958 dinner in Frost’s honor, toasted Frost and proclaimed him “a terrifying poet.”

[540] Frost, “Robert Frost, The Art of Poetry No. 2.”

[541] Pound, “Ezra Pound, The Art of Poetry No. 5.”

[542] Ibid.

[543] Abramson, “Beyond the Mirror Metaphor: Magazine Exceptionalism and Sociocultural Change.”

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