MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE, 1893-1903:
A STUDY OF POPULAR CULTURE

DISSERTATION

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McClure's Magazine was one of the earlier monthly magazines in America designed for a mass audience. It can only be compared to a combination of several popular magazines today - The Saturday Evening Post, The Reader's Digest, Cosmopolitan, the Sunday supplements, and perhaps to some extent, today's Atlantic or Harper's. During the years 1893 through 1903, McClure's achieved a relatively large circulation, indicating its success in appealing to a large segment of the reading public of that period. In this study of its contents - fiction and non-fiction - I have attempted to discover what accounted for its popularity, and, more important, what its contents reveal about the conscious and unconscious attitudes of its readers toward the world in which they lived. In an essay titled "Manners, Morals, and the Novel," Lionel Trilling includes a passage that clarifies my major purpose in this study:

Somewhere below all the explicit statements that a people makes through its art, religion, architecture, legislation, there is a dim mental region of intention of which it is very difficult to become aware. We now and then get a strong sense of its existence when we deal with the past, not by reason of its presence in the past but by reason of its absence. As we read the great formulated monuments of the past, we notice that we are reading them without the accompaniment of something that always goes along with the formulated monuments of the present. The voice of multifarious intention and activity is stilled,
all the buzz of implication which always surrounds us in the present, coming to us from what never gets fully stated, coming in the tone of greetings and the tone of quarrels, in slang and humor and popular songs, in the way children play, in the gesture of the waiter when he puts down the plate, in the nature of the very food we prefer. 

This study attempts, then, to discover from the pages of a popular magazine something of the "buzz of implication" during the years 1893 through 1903.

The major source for this study was the original volumes of the magazine. My procedure was to read through each volume, noticing various patterns in fiction and non-fiction as well as the relationship of the one genre to the other. I attempted to notice, for example, whether or not the popular topics in non-fiction were also popular in the fiction, whether the fiction included anything that was not referred to in the non-fiction. A study of the biographical articles revealed that of all categories, the writer was the most popular, and for this reason, a separate chapter is included on the specific attitudes toward writers: what, for example, did the readers most want to know about them, and what was the attitude of McClure's editors toward them.

Since no office records of the McClure Publishing Company were available, it was necessary to discover editorial policy from the autobiographies written by S.S. McClure and several members of his staff. The information from these

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sources and from the contents of the magazine provided as accurate a concept as possible of the magazine's policy toward its writers and its readers.

For the sake of convenience, references to stories or articles in McClure's appear in parentheses within the text instead of in separate footnotes. Volume and page numbers are provided. For the convenience of the reader, Appendix A includes the months and years for each of the volumes of McClure's used in the study.
INTRODUCTION

THE MAGAZINE SCENE

Alexis de Tocqueville, writing in 1835 about the disinterest in science, literature, or art in America, opposed the view of many Europeans who thought "that if a democratic state of society and democratic institutions were ever to prevail over the whole earth, the human mind would gradually find its beacon lights grow dim, and men would relapse into a period of darkness." De Tocqueville argued that this notion tended "to mingle, unintentionally, what is democratic with what is only American." The peculiar history of America and its relative newness, said de Tocqueville, accounted for the American interest in "purely practical objects" and lack of interest in "pleasures of the imagination and the labors of the intellect." Without reference to America, de Tocqueville predicted that in "Free and democratic communities"

Not only will the number of those who can take an interest in the productions of mind be greater, but the taste for intellectual enjoyment will descend step by step even to those who in aristocratic societies seem to have neither time nor ability to indulge in them . . . . The utility of knowledge becomes singularly conspicuous even to the eyes of the multitude; those who have no taste for its charms set store upon its results and make some effort to acquire it."

²p. 40.
De Tocqueville's description of what would occur in any "Free and democratic" community might well serve as a description of what did occur in America before the end of the century. By a variety of means—newspapers, books, magazines, formal schooling, popular lectures, adult courses—Americans in increasing numbers sought to acquire more and more knowledge. This widespread popularization of knowledge, especially in the years after the Civil War, indicated that even though Americans were interested in "practical objects" and the "pursuit of wealth," they were not willing to "relapse into a period of darkness." By 1888, another foreign observer, James Bryce, could say that in America "the average of knowledge is higher, the habit of reading and thinking more generally diffused, than in any other country."³

Changes in formal education during the last quarter of the nineteenth century helped to bring down the rate of illiteracy in the country and to provide a larger reading public. There were scattered improvements in the quality of the teaching. There was legislation to provide free textbooks and compulsory attendance. There was an increase in the number of schools and the number of students on all levels. For even larger numbers, for those adults whose formal schooling had ended, there were innumerable opportunities for education. The pre-Civil War lyceums,

³The American Commonwealth (1888), II, 2.
reorganized by James Hedpath in 1868, introduced popular
lecturers to audiences throughout the country. Evening
courses on high-school and college levels, on practical
and cultural subjects, were made available by the Y.M.C.A.,
the Y.W.C.A., and by several of the major universities.
An even more widespread influence on the diffusion of
knowledge and culture was the Chautauqua organization.
Begun as an annual assembly for the training of Sunday
school teachers in 1874, it expanded in later years to in-
clude lectures and seminars on topics ranging from cooking
and gymnastic drill to John Milton and the American Consti-
tution. In 1878 a home study program was instituted; a
monthly magazine was published in 1880; and in 1888 the
Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts was founded, providing
a bachelor's degree after a four-year period of resident,
extension, and correspondence study. The original Chautauqua
inspired several circuit Chautauquas, groups of traveling
lecturers who visited small towns throughout the country,
but without any official association with the original
organization.

The increase in the number of free public libraries
and the improvements in cataloguing, shelf classification,
and book circulation were major influences on American
reading habits, providing convenient access without charge
to an increasing number of books of all kinds. Books
were sold as well as borrowed in increasing numbers as new
methods of distribution originated and cheaply bound editions
were made available for as little as ten or twenty cents a volume. Department stores began to carry books, selling them often at a loss, as a means of enticing customers into their stores. Mail order houses, such as Sears, Roebuck, added books to their catalogues.

Although the reading of books had increased, the reading of magazines and especially of newspapers was much more common. There were more newspaper than magazine readers, since the newspapers were briefer and less expensive, and presented accounts of daily events. Some of the newspapers, however, presented more than mere news: they published stories and articles purchased from syndicates, such as the one operated during the eighties and nineties by S. S. McClure; they introduced comics in color as well as in black and white; they printed sensational stories of murders and other crimes accompanied by pictures; they invaded the privacy of the wealthy and prominent, describing intimate details of their private lives and frequently printing pictures of the interiors of their homes. The Sunday edition of the paper with its supplement of entertaining trivia achieved wide popularity. Newspapers alone, however, could not satisfy the reader who wanted more than the news no matter how sensationally this news was presented; a large proportion of newspaper readers read the magazines, a more important source for the diffusion of knowledge and culture.

Frank Luther Mott estimates that in 1855 there were
some 700 periodicals of all kinds published in the United States; in 1870 there were more than 1,200; by 1885 the number had risen to 3,300.\textsuperscript{4} By 1900 there were more than 5,500.\textsuperscript{5} Included in such figures are the learned quarterlies restricted to a small audience of scholars, as well as cheap story magazines and mail-order publications printed on poor paper and boasting of high circulation. The largest increase during the period was in the number of monthly magazines. In 1860, 280 monthly periodicals had a combined circulation of more than three million; by 1900 there were more than 1,800 monthlies with a combined circulation of over thirty-nine million. In 1850, monthly publications formed only 14.4 per cent of the total circulation of all magazines and newspapers; by 1900 they formed 34.6 per cent of this total.\textsuperscript{6}

The increase in the number of magazines published during the post-Civil War period is perhaps less important than the large circulations achieved by several of the magazines. Mott estimates from several sources other than publishers' claims that in 1865 \textit{Godey's Lady's Book}, \textit{Harper's Monthly}, \textit{Harper's Weekly}, and \textit{Scribner's Monthly}


had circulations over 100,000; in the early seventies, Peterson's had exceeded 150,000; in 1885 The Century (formerly Scribner's Monthly) had a circulation of 200,000, The Ladies' Home Journal 270,000, and the highest circulation, excluding several mail-order papers, was 385,000 for a magazine for juvenile readers, The Youth's Companion. By 1900 there were fifty well-known national magazines with circulations over 100,000, and one of these, The Ladies' Home Journal, though limiting its appeal to women, had a circulation of one million.

There were several reasons for increase in circulation.

Magazines could be distributed nationally: East and West had been joined by rail in 1869, and in 1879 Congress passed the postal act which gave second-class mailing privileges to magazines "originated and published for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts, or some special industry." Technological developments in printing and illustrating made it possible for magazines to be printed at less expense: Otto Mergenthaler perfected his linotype machine in 1885; developments in photoengraving made it possible to charge the reader less for his copy; by the

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9 Quoted in Wood, p. 100.
nineties advertising provided more revenue than subscriptions
and sales.  

Throughout the period there were many magazines devoted
to special topics—to religion, agriculture, sports, current
events, humor, reform movements, etc.—or designed for women
and children. These magazines played an important role in
the popularization of knowledge and culture, but more impor-
tant were the magazines for general readers which published
fiction, poetry, and essays. Until the late eighties the
most prominent of these were three monthly magazines:
Harper's Monthly, founded in 1850; The Atlantic, founded in
1857; and Scribner's Monthly, founded in 1870 and changing
its title to The Century in 1881 when the Scribner interests
withdrew. The conservative Atlantic was the least popular
of the three. Representing New England and especially
Boston in its editorial policies and in its contents, The
Atlantic maintained high literary standards, published
serialized novels, short stories, poems, and essays on liter-
ature, history, and art. Although the cover of the first
issue proclaimed that it was to be "Devoted to Literature,
Art, and Politics," The Atlantic paid almost no attention
to politics or to any contemporary problems, even ignoring
the Civil War. Its lack of popularity is indicated in the
decline of its circulation: in 1870 it fell from 50,000
to 35,000; by 1881 it was down to 12,000.  

10 Rossiter, pp. 1040, 1044.
Like *The Atlantic*, *Harper’s* and *Scribner’s* (later *The Century*) published serialized novels, short stories, poems, and articles on literature, history, and art, but *Harper’s* and *Scribner’s* (*Century*) devoted more space to contemporary issues than did *The Atlantic*. Unlike *The Atlantic*, which refused to use any illustrations, the other magazines relied heavily on illustration, gaining both distinction and popularity from the quality and quantity of the expensive woodcuts included in each issue. They also made some effort to cater to a popular audience. Of Fletch’er Harper’s policy for his magazine, George William Curtis, one of the editors, said that he was "anxious above all that it should be popular in a high and generous sense . . . . He had in view 'the people,' 'the plain people,' and not philosophers and poets."¹² *Harper’s* gained circulation from its publication of serialized novels by such popular British authors as Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton, Thackeray, and Trollope, from its variety of miscellany and from its unusual amount of illustration. *Scribner’s Monthly* gained popularity, like *Harper’s*, from its illustrations, and also from its articles on public affairs and its biographies. Toward the end of the seventies, *Scribner’s* was strong in its articles on education, popular science, and farming, but its greatest coup came after it had changed to *The Century* and published in the early eighties a series of Civil War papers, several of them written

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by generals who had served on both sides during the conflict. A contemporary observer claimed that these papers "created in this country the greatest interest ever felt in any series of articles published in a magazine." 13 During the eighties, The Century published a serialized biography of Lincoln, and during the nineties, biographies of Napoleon, Franklin, Grant, Cromwell, Luther, and St. Francis. By 1885, Harper's had achieved a circulation of 200,000. 14

Although Harper's and The Century had achieved relatively high circulations, there remained a large segment of the American public who were eager to read more than the Sunday supplements, who were interested in fiction and non-fiction, but who were not attracted to either of these two magazines. The price of thirty-five cents an issue may have been forbidding, but the contents probably more than the price discouraged potential readers. Long serials of fiction and non-fiction appeared frequently, limiting the space that could be devoted to a more varied selection. The non-fiction articles emphasized literature and art, history and biography, nature and travel, ignoring several topics (science, inventions, politics, etc.) that might have attracted more readers. Readers who were not attracted to the "quality" magazines were provided with a new type of

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13 Current Literature, II, 3 (January 1889). Quoted in Mott's history for 1865-1885, p. 469.
14 Mott, 1865-1885, p. 6.
magazine introduced during the late eighties and the early nineties: a magazine providing more variety in fiction and non-fiction, amply illustrated, aimed in matter and in manner at a less literary audience than the readers of Harper's and The Century, and selling for only ten or fifteen cents a copy.

A large part of the success achieved by these new magazines must be credited to the innovations of Edward Bok, who became editor of The Ladies' Home Journal in 1889. Bok introduced in the pages of his magazine a new tone of intimacy that appealed to his women readers; he wrote as if he were speaking to each one personally. To make The Ladies' Home Journal "an authoritative clearing-house for all the problems confronting women in the home, that brought itself closely into contact with those problems and tried to solve them in an entertaining and efficient way," Bok introduced several regular departments: "Side Talks with Girls," "Heart to Heart Talks," and a department providing information for young mothers. Instead of using premiums to attract subscribers, Bok offered college scholarships to men and women for selling subscriptions. He provided his readers with plans for building and decorating houses. He instituted a series of articles revealing the private lives of famous women or women related to famous men, such as "Unknown Wives of Well-Known Men" and "Famous Daughters of Famous Men." He solicited fiction from William Dean

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Howells and Rudyard Kipling, surprising other editors who had not expected him to invade this field. Selling for only ten cents a copy, The Ladies' Home Journal under Bok's editorship became a phenomenal success, and later editors of rival magazines copied and modified many of the ideas Bok had used successfully in his woman's magazine.
CHAPTER ONE

S. S. McClure and His Staff

In 1889, the same year that Edward Bok began to edit The Ladies' Home Journal, John Brisben Walker was made editor of The Cosmopolitan, a general monthly magazine founded by a clergyman in 1886. Walker introduced a few changes, such as a department on social problems edited by Edward Everett Hale, in an effort to equal Bok's success with The Ladies' Home Journal. In this same year, Frank A. Munsey, already editor of The Argosy, a successful magazine for juveniles, started Munsey's Weekly, a magazine for adults somewhat similar to The Cosmopolitan. In 1891, Munsey dropped the weekly and issued a new monthly titled Munsey's Magazine.

While Walker and Munsey were trying to imitate the success Bok had achieved for The Ladies' Home Journal, Samuel S. McClure was concerned about the competition he was meeting in the newspaper syndicate business that he had founded in 1884. ¹ McClure began to plan a monthly magazine

¹S. S. McClure's life reads like an Horatio Alger story. He and his widowed mother emigrated from Ireland, arriving in this country penniless. McClure spent his boyhood on a farm in Indiana. He worked at a number of jobs while attending Knox College; it was seven years before he graduated. He married the daughter of one of the professors in spite of her father's opposition to the "visionary and unstable" McClure. He worked briefly as editor of a magazine on cycling, resigning when another man was hired to serve as co-editor. After two years with the Century Company, he resigned to start his newspaper syndicate, a venture he began without any capital. McClure's Magazine resulted from McClure's experience with the syndicate.
that would sell for fifteen cents. His college classmate, John S. Phillips, had joined him in 1886 to manage the office work for the syndicate while McClure traveled around the country and abroad in search of writers. In 1892 McClure and Phillips had only $7,300 capital between them, but McClure reasoned that they could launch their magazine by reprinting in it for the first few years the best articles and stories they had purchased for the newspaper syndicate, and that they could pay the staff of the magazine from the profits of the syndicate until the magazine was solvent.² In June, 1893, the first issue of McClure's Magazine appeared, priced at fifteen cents.

The events of that first year of publication indicated for McClure's Magazine a bleak future. In July, Cosmopolitan dropped its price from fifteen cents to twelve and a half cents; in September, Munsey's lowered its price to ten cents. More alarming, the nation was in the midst of one of its worst financial panics: banks were closing, large businesses were folding, hundreds of thousands were unemployed. For June, 1893, 20,000 copies of McClure's were printed; 12,000 were returned unsold. Sam McClure, who was usually optimistic in spite of financial troubles, began to doubt if he would ever see "six issues of the magazine standing in a row."³ But with help from his friends and through the

²S. S. McClure describes his plans for launching the magazine in My Autobiography (New York, 1914), pp. 208 ff.
³McClure, p. 204.
kindness of his creditors, McClure managed to continue publishing his magazine, and by 1896 it was showing a profit of $5,000 a month.  

McClure started his magazine with very little capital, but he had several assets to help in making it a success. Besides the material he could reprint from the syndicate, McClure could use the invaluable experience he had gained from his syndicate work: traveling in this country and abroad, he had met several of the leading editors and writers of the period, and he had engaged in conversations with people in the various places he had visited in an effort to discover what they liked to read. From his acquaintance with men like William Dean Howells, Brander Matthews, Edmund Stedman, Richard Gilder, Andrew Lang, and Sidney Colvin, McClure had learned about writers here and abroad who might be interested in writing for his syndicate. Among the writers whose work he purchased during the early years of the syndicate were Frank Stockton, Julian Hawthorne, Harriet Prescott Spofford, H. C. Bunner, Louise Chandler Noutlon, Henry Harland, "Octave Thanet" (Alice French), Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Sarah Orne Jewett, Brander Matthews, and Joel Chandler Harris. In 1887 he had added Robert Louis Stevenson to his list of writers, and in 1889 Rider Haggard and Conan Doyle.  

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4 McClure, p. 223.
5 McClure refers to visits with writers whose works did not appear in the magazine. He visited George Meredith in 1890 and "arranged to publish several novelettes in my syndicate,"
McClure was able to profit from the experience of his predecessors who had published magazines, taking from them ideas that had proved popular, modifying several of the features they had introduced. By 1893, popularization of knowledge in this country had added to the number of potential readers, providing McClure with a large potential audience. The technological developments of the period, especially recent developments in printing and illustrating, made it possible for McClure to print a magazine inexpensively and to sell it at a low price to a large number of readers.

McClure brought together a staff that played an important role in the success of his magazine. John S. Phillips, who had been with him in the syndicate business, handled the editorial duties in the New York office, and another college classmate of McClure's, Albert Brady, was hired to manage the financial affairs. Ray Stannard Baker, who joined the staff in 1896 as a contributing editor, said "the success of McClure's was based upon the fecundity of S. S. McClure, as edited and condensed by J. S. Phillips, and guided and bounded on the business side by the clear-running intelligence of Albert Brady. The three together . . . made but none of Meredith's work appeared. McClure expressed interest in an unfinished novel of Meredith's but fails to explain why he apparently rejected it; he mentioned it to Frank Doubleday, then with Scribner's, and Scribner's Magazine published Meredith's novel under the title The Amazing Marriage. McClure also refers to his visit with Henry James, but does not mention whether or not he asked James for permission to publish any of his work. McClure describes his visit with Meredith on pp. 230-233 and his visit with James on p. 194.
the perfect publishing organization." Ida Tarbell was the first contributing editor, joining the staff of *McClure's* in 1894. *McClure* invited Frank Norris to come to New York from California as assistant editor, writing for both the syndicate and the magazine. Norris accepted, but remained on the staff only two years, 1898 and 1899. Norris spent part of this time in Cuba as war correspondent for the syndicate and the magazine, but none of his articles was published. In 1903 Lincoln Steffens joined the staff as managing editor.

Members of the staff of the magazine contributed a large share to its ultimate success. Tarbell, Baker, and Steffens comment at length on the value of John S. Phillips. According to Baker, Phillips served as "a perfect counterbalance to S. S. McClure. . . . He had a strong sense, in which S. S. McClure was deficient, of cooperation with his associates." Ida Tarbell says that Phillips was involved

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8 Other members of *McClure's* staff mentioned in various memoirs include John Finley (no title given), Auguste Jaccaci (art editor), Viola Roseboro ("reader"), Albert Boyden and David McKinlay (from the business department), John Siddall (no title given), Cleveland Mofett and Henry J. W. Dam (contributing editors).

9 Baker, p. 98.
in "every essential factor in the making of the magazine: circulation, finance, editing"; she praises him as does Baker for counterbalancing McClure, and praises him too for his editorial talent and help to members of the staff: "He was no easy editor. He never wheedled, never flattered, but rigidly tried to get out of you what he conceived to be your best . . . . I never had an editor who so quickly and unerringly spotted weaknesses."\(^{10}\) The writing of Tarbell, Baker, and Steffens was a valuable part of the magazine's success. During the early years, Ida Tarbell helped to increase the circulation with her serialized lives of Napoleon and Lincoln. According to McClure, her life of Napoleon, serialized in 1894 and 1895, was largely responsible for increasing the circulation from 40,000 to 80,000; her life of Lincoln, serialized in 1895 and 1896, helped to increase circulation within a few months from 120,000 to 250,000.\(^{11}\) In the issue for January, 1903, three articles appeared in McClure's that started the well-known muckraking movement: the third installment of Ida Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," Lincoln Steffens' article on "The Shame of Minneapolis," and Ray Stannard Baker's article on the anthracite coal strike of 1902.

\(^{10}\) *All in the Day's Work* (New York, 1939), pp. 157-158.

\(^{11}\) *McClure*, pp. 220-222.
According to McClure, it was entirely coincidental that all three articles appeared in the same issue.\textsuperscript{12}

Helpful as the writing of Tarbell, Baker, and Steffens was to McClure and to his magazine, he deserves credit for having hired each of them and for suggesting the articles for which they became popular. His policy toward them and their work also contributed to their success. Ida Tarbell said that McClure had two policies for those commissioned to write important articles:

First, the writer must be well paid and the expense money be generous. Second, and most important of all, he must be given time. He did not ask that you reproduce a great serial in six months. He gave you years if it was necessary. I spent the greater part of five years on "The History of the Standard Oil Company."\textsuperscript{13}

It was because of McClure's policies that Ray Stannard Baker was persuaded to join the staff. McClure spared no expense to obtain a good article, often sending Baker or Tarbell to Europe for a single essay. He claims to have spent four thousand dollars for each of Miss Tarbell's articles on the Standard Oil Company, and two thousand dollars on each of Steffens' articles on American cities.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12} McClure, p. 246. Miss Tarbell's success in the muck-raking movement may have been made possible partly because of her acceptance of advice from Henry James. In her memoirs, she relates: "'Cherish your contempt,' Henry James advised me once when he had drawn from me a confession of the conflict between my natural distaste of saying anything unpleasant about anybody and the necessity of being cruel, even brutal, if the work I had undertaken was to be truthful to fact and logic. 'Cherish your contempt,' said Mr. James, 'and strength to your elbow.'" Tarbell, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{13} Tarbell, p. 258.

\textsuperscript{14} McClure, p. 245.
When Baker needed a rest and was thinking of resigning, McClure paid his salary for several months even though he was not doing any writing.\(^{15}\)

*McClure's Magazine* would not have been the success it was were it not for the able staff S. S. McClure had hired to edit and write for him, but the dominant figure in the magazine's policy was S. S. McClure himself. Those who worked with him agree that much of the magazine's success can be attributed to his "genius" as an editor, his "instinct for that which was really alive, timely, interesting" and his ability "to pick out many stories and articles by unknown writers which proved unusually successful."\(^{16}\)

In his memoirs, Edward Bok, editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, said:

> It is the rare editor who rightly gauges his public psychology. . . . The average editor is obsessed with the idea of "giving the public what it wants," whereas, in fact, the public, while it knows what it wants when it sees it, cannot clearly express its wants, and never wants the thing that it does ask for, although it thinks it does at the time.\(^{17}\)

S. S. McClure was one of these rare editors; he decided for himself what the public wanted, and he was right more often than he was wrong. Having been brought up in the Middle West where he spent several summers peddling kick-shaws to people in small towns, McClure had gained a

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\(^{15}\) Baker, p. 123.

\(^{16}\) Baker, p. 96.

\(^{17}\) Bok, pp. 164-165.
knowledge of the people that he claimed helped him later in editing McClure's Magazine:

I had found out that, for the most part, all these people were interested in exactly the same things, or the same kind of a thing that interested me. Years later, when I came to edit a popular magazine, I could never believe in that distinction made by some editors that "this or that was very good, but it wouldn't interest the people of the little towns." My experience had taught me that the people in the little towns were interested in whatever was interesting—that they were just like the people in New York or Boston. I felt myself to be a fairly representative Middle Westerner. I bought and printed what interested me, and it usually seemed to interest the other Middle Westerners.18

McClure said that he had only one test for a story, "simply how much the story interested me," and to prevent a judgment based upon a temporary mood, he read each story three times within seven days.19 He insisted that his staff members test stories in the same manner, once chiding Lincoln Steffens for writing a lengthy criticism of a story he had been asked to read:

I don't want your literary criticism of a manuscript . . . . All I ask of you is whether you like it or not . . . . I want to know if you enjoy a story, because if you do, then I know that, say, ten thousand readers will like it. If Miss Tarbell likes a thing, it means that fifty thousand will like it. That's something to go by. But I go most by myself. For if I like a thing, then I know that millions will like it. My mind and my taste are so common that I'm the best editor.20

18 McClure, pp. 130-131.
19 McClure, p. 204.
Steffens and other members of the staff may not have agreed with this statement, but they all recognized McClure's special talents. William Allen White, who visited the New York office frequently, wrote that "Sam had three hundred ideas a minute, but J. S. P. [John Phillips] was the only man around the shop who knew which one was not crazy." Because he was too restless to sit at a desk, McClure obtained most of his ideas while traveling, talking to people and reading newspapers, magazines and books. Ellery Sedgwick, member of the staff after 1906, said of McClure that "Notions came to him from everywhere." Baker describes him as "All intuition and impulse, bursting with nervous energy." McClure often traveled until he was exhausted, relaying his ideas, good and bad, to the editors in the New York office:

After the magazine was founded in 1893, he literally erupted, like a live volcano, with ideas. He would descend on the office, or write from Europe, enclosing in his letters fat packets of newspaper articles, headings, editorials, usually not cut out but torn out, jagged, scored and underlined, as suggestions for "stupendous new series of articles". . . . Soon after I joined the staff I received several such letters, written from France.

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22 McClure said "I never got ideas sitting still. I never saw so many possibilities for my business or had so many editorial ideas as when I was hurrying about from city to city, talking with editors and newspaper men." (McClure, p. 182.)

23 The Happy Profession (Boston, 1946), p. 141.

24 Baker, p. 95.
or Switzerland, some of which seemed to me utterly fantastic, and yet there were here and there, flashes of extraordinary penetration, suggestions that John Phillips winnowed out and developed into solidly framed and authentic articles or stories.  

Among McClure's suggestions for "stupendous new series of articles" were the biographies of Napoleon, Lincoln and Christ. Following a reader's suggestion to print some pictures of Napoleon, McClure assigned Ida Tarbell the task of writing the life of Napoleon to accompany the pictures.  

Shortly after this was published, McClure turned his attention to one of his "steady enthusiasms," Abraham Lincoln, "the most vital factor in our life since the Civil War." Although Nicolay and Hay had published their documentary life of Lincoln, McClure had a conviction that there remained a considerable amount of unpublished material, and he was convinced too that the public never had enough of

\[25\] Baker, p. 96.

\[26\] McClure describes the origin of the life of Napoleon in his autobiography, pp. 219-220. A reader from Omaha suggested that McClure publish a series of portraits of Napoleon in the magazine's "Human Documents" series. McClure heard from W. E. Curtis that Mr. Gardiner Hubbard of Washington, D. C., father-in-law of Alexander Graham Bell, owned a collection of Napoleon pictures. Mr. Hubbard was willing to let McClure reproduce them, agreeing with McClure that they should be accompanied by a brief history of Napoleon's life. A young Englishman was commissioned to write the text, but when his article came in McClure and Mr. Hubbard agreed that it should be rejected. Miss Tarbell was then assigned to the task. It is interesting to note here that McClure was open to suggestion even from his readers, but this instance reveals also McClure's talent for expanding a suggestion.

\[27\] McClure's statement, quoted in Tarbell, p. 161.
Lincoln. Reluctantly, Ida Tarbell accepted McClure's assignment to search for Lincoln material, and discovered enough for a twenty-two installment biography that provided a much needed boost in the magazine's circulation. Believing that the three best-known heroes in America at the time were Napoleon, Lincoln, and Jesus Christ, McClure sent Corwin Knapp Linson to Palestine to paint a series of pictures, and arranged for a life of Christ by Dr. John Watson, the Scottish minister who wrote fiction in McClure's under the name of "Ian Naolaren."

McClure was responsible too for the stories and articles on animals appearing in almost every issue; Ida Tarbell spent a month in Europe visiting zoos, interviewing animal trainers, hunters, and keepers. Interviews with well-known persons formed a large part of the contents of McClure's Magazine from 1893 to 1903; not only was it McClure's idea to publish these recorded interviews, but it was McClure also who selected the persons to be interviewed. McClure's interest in the future resulted in the publication for the first time of articles on radium, the x-ray, Marconi's wireless, Lilienthal and Chanute's gliders, Langley's air-runner (and in 1908 the Wright brothers' airplane). In 1898 McClure planned and published an entire issue devoted to the war in Cuba.

His interest in that which was new and in the future is apparent in the contents of the magazine. Steffens said

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28 Baker, p. 96.
that "If a new author rose on the horizon, or an explorer started for it, or a statesman blew in over it, S. S. went forth to meet him and get him into McClure's." But McClure's ideas for articles were not based on that which was entirely new; Ray Stannard Baker said that

Many of Sam McClure's ideas were the ancient and more or less banal stand-by's of editors who sought large circulations. It was a simple formula: he told people more about things of which they were already hearing a good deal. He satisfied newly awakened wonder, which had usually been stimulated by bits and strays of news published in the newspapers. Really new things about which people had not yet begun to speculate interested him not at all.

Ida Tarbell said that he was interested not only in the unpublished, but in that which was so poorly published that its reappearance was equal to a first appearance. The success of a feature spurred him to effort to get more of it, things which would sharpen and perpetuate the interest. He was ready to look into any suggestion, however unlikely it might seem to the cautious-minded. He was never afraid of being fooled, only of missing something.

McClure was driven by his nerves and also by 'his curiosity, his love of being in it, his need to wonder and be wondered about.' His greatest asset, according to Tarbell, was 'this quick kindling of the imagination, this

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29 Steffens, p. 362.

30 Baker, p. 96

31 Tarbell, p. 155. Sedgwick said that McClure often said "A story is never told till McClure tells it." p. 139. Tarbell also tells of one instance in which McClure was fooled, but saved from embarrassment by John S. Phillips. He was determined to publish a story about Napoleon for which Miss Tarbell could find no authority. The story turned out to be a hoax. p. 155.

32 Steffens, p. 361.
untiring curiosity . . . ." He was as eager as a dog on a hunt—never satisfied, never quiet" and "he had great power to stir excitement by his suggestions, his endless searching after something new, alive, startling, and particularly by his reporting." Baker believed that the exposure articles published in the magazine impressed S. S. McClure because of "the excitement and interest and sensation of uncovering a world of unrecognized evils—shocking people!" McClure was able to transmit his enthusiasm and love for excitement to other members of his staff. Sedgwick said that "Everyone about him caught fire and he would inflame the intelligence of his staff into molten excitement. The mood would be too hot to last but would bring results." McClure insisted that his contributing editors follow his practice of traveling in order to obtain ideas for articles. He traveled himself because he was driven to it, because "The restlessness which had mastered me as a boy" could "serve my ends. Whatever work I have done has been incidental to this foremost necessity to keep moving."
He sent Tarbell, Baker, and Steffens away from the office to travel in Europe and in America; from their travels came many successful articles, including the well-known muckraking pieces of the early nineteen hundreds.

For the most part, those who worked for McClure liked him well enough and had the highest praise for his virtues as employer and editor. They all thought of him as a "genius" for his ideas; they praised his enthusiasm and its effect on them, his insistence on careful study of a subject, his "determination to run down every clue until you had it there on the table, its worth or worthlessness in full view"; they admired his generosity toward others and toward them. 38 Most of them commented also on McClure's faults, faults that were a part of the virtues of a man "all intuition and impulse." His unpredictable visits to the office, "discharging on the group at once, before they were cold, his observations, intuitions, ideas, experiences" are described by Ida Tarbell as "stimulating" and "highly entertaining," 39 but they bewildered Lincoln Steffens; he said: ". . . we had to unite and fight against, say, five out of seven of his new, world-thrilling, history-

38 Tarbell, p. 156. Ida Tarbell said too that "Mr. McClure was incapable of standing up before a hard-luck story, with the result that he brought into that overcrowded office a string of derelicts ranging from autocratic scrub ladies to indigent editors—brought them in and left them for J. S. P. /Phillips/ to place." p. 160.

39 p. 199.
Phillips, especially, must have suffered from the burden placed on him to edit McClure's ideas as well as the articles for publication.

Ellery Sedgwick says: "Never, I affirm, in American business, was there a brighter talent than McClure's for disorganization. If the chief did not originate a design, he could at least obfuscate it... The staff worked under some natural law of desperation. The chief was forever interrupting, cutting every sequence into a dozen parts." More serious, however, than this and other defects was McClure's unreliability. Promises made in the heat of enthusiasm were often forgotten in the coolness that quickly followed. Members of the staff describe in their memoirs several instances in which McClure hired individuals for jobs that did not exist or ordered stories and articles from writers without informing the staff, McClure himself forgetting his promises as soon as he had made them. This

40 Steffens, p. 363.

41 Sedgwick, p. 142. Sedgwick said too that McClure's interruptions were so frequent that staff writers sometimes escaped to a hotel room in New York or Washington, D. C. in order to complete their projects. p. 143.

42 Steffens mentions two such incidents. McClure once ordered a serial from an antarctic explorer for a high price but failed to notify the staff. While McClure was in Europe, the explorer called at the office to present his serial. It was too poorly written to be published. The staff persuaded the explorer to contact McClure at his address in Europe. Another time two young men from the west arrived at the office to take the positions McClure had impulsively offered them after persuading them to sell their newspaper. The
characteristic of McClure's and his tendency to become enthusiastic over foolish schemes apparently caused the eventual break-up of his staff. John S. Phillips, Albert S. Boyden, John Siddall, Ida Tarbell, Bay Stannard Baker, and Lincoln Steffens resigned in 1906, and, joining with William Allen White and Peter Finley Dunne, purchased The American Magazine. McClure was left to begin anew the task of organizing a staff for his magazine.

During the years 1893 to 1903 McClure's most valuable contribution to the magazine was his acquaintance with writers and his success in obtaining contributions from them. Most of the writers he had engaged for the syndicate continued to write for the magazine. After 1893 he obtained contributions from the following well-known writers:

staff told them they would have to wait until McClure returned from Europe. They tired of waiting after several days and sought other employment, later becoming successful in the publishing business in New York. pp. 362-363. Ellery Sedgwick mentions a visit to the office by Mrs. Humphrey Ward from whom McClure had ordered a serial, promising her twenty thousand dollars; like the explorer's articles, hers were so poorly written that they could not be published, and the task of rejecting her manuscript fell to John S. Phillips. pp. 138-139.

Specific details as to what caused the break-up are difficult to obtain; most of the writers omit all details; others comment vaguely on "office politics" or on McClure's "unreliability." In his autobiography, Steffens says that he was "in and out of New York" and didn't know all the details, but in a letter to his father he explains that the staff resigned because McClure "started on a big, fool scheme of founding a new magazine with a string of banks, insurance companies, etc., and a capitalization of $15,000,000. It was not only fool, it was not quite right, as we saw it. It was a speculative scheme, and we protested. He stuck to his idea. He took counsel from financiers who have been exploiting (which means robbing) railroads, and it looked as if he were willing to do the very things the rest of us had been 'exposing.'" The Letters of Lincoln Steffens, ed. Ella Winter and Granville Hicks (New York, 1938), I, 173.
Bliss Carman, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, Eugene Field, Hamlin Garland, Bret Harte, O. Henry, William Dean Howells, Jack London, Edwin Markham, Frank Norris, James Whitcomb Riley, Booth Tarkington, Mark Twain, and William Allen White among American writers; authors from England and Scotland included Robert Barr, Arthur Quiller-Couch, Thomas Hardy, John Watson, and Stanley Weyman. Some of these writers—Hardy and Howells, for example—contributed only one story or article; several of the others contributed frequently throughout the period.

McClure not only sought material from writers who were already popular, but welcomed the young, unknown writers of the period as well, often helping them to achieve popularity. He said of his policy toward writers:

When I founded McClure’s Magazine without money, my real capital was my wide acquaintance with writers and what they could produce. My qualifications for being an editor were that I was open-minded, naturally enthusiastic, and not afraid to experiment with a new man. The men I tried did not always make good; but when they failed it never hurt anybody, and when they succeeded it helped every one concerned. A new writer gets to the people quickly enough, if he can once get by the editor. I was always easy to get by. If I believed in a man, I could give him a large audience at once; I could give him that gaze of the public which is the breath of life to a writer. 44

McClure’s boast here seems firmly rooted in fact: several times during the period there appeared in the pages of the magazine pleas in which the editors emphasized that “we

44 McClure, p. 234.
should like to get more good stories from writers whose fame is yet to be made." McClure's published the work of at least a hundred writers whose names are entirely forgotten today, writers whose infrequent appearance in McClure's suggests that they represented S. S. McClure's "experiment with a new man" who did not "make good."

McClure used money as well as publicity to attract writers. When young writers brought him their manuscripts and told him what critics had said of their work, he told them that "The only critic worth listening to is the publisher—the critic who backs his judgment with his money." McClure's first purchase for his newspaper syndicate was a two-part story by H. H. Boyesen for which McClure paid $250. His payments then and later varied; at the same time that he paid Boyesen $250 he paid $45 to a J. S. Dale for a short story. In 1889 he paid Conan Doyle $60 a piece for the first twelve Sherlock Holmes stories and $375 for an historical novel, The White Company. Stanley Weyman received only $250 for serial rights to his collection of short stories later published under the title The Gentleman of France; McClure boasted that he made a profit of $2,000 selling Weyman's stories to the newspapers before publishing them in the magazine.

45 McClure, p. 235.
46 McClure, p. 168. All further references to payments are from McClure's autobiography.
In 1893 McClure paid $125 for one of Kipling's stories; five years later he purchased *Kim* for $25,000. The first work of Stevenson's McClure purchased was *The Black Arrow* which had been published in England in *Henderson's Weekly*. McClure only mentions that he paid "a good price for it," and that he published it serially in the newspapers under another title to avoid piracy. McClure said that it brought in more money than any other novel syndicated by him. In 1887 McClure offered Stevenson $8,000 for serial rights to either of two novels, one a sequel to *Kidnapped*, the other *St. Ives*. Since Stevenson had received only $500 apiece from *Henderson's Weekly* for rights to publish *Treasure Island*, *Kidnapped*, and *The Black Arrow*, his reaction to McClure's offer is not surprising: "He blushed and looked confused and said that his price was £800 ($4,000)."  

Stevenson finally agreed to accept the $8,000 offer and gave McClure serial rights to his novel, *St. Ives*. William Allen White said that McClure's paid him in 1896 $500 apiece for his Boyville stories.

The list of writers who wrote for McClure's during the period, some of whose work appeared only two or three times, others whose work appeared in almost every issue, contributed in large part to the magazine's success. A month after the first issue of the magazine had appeared, *The Review of Reviews* devoted three pages to praise of

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48 McClure, p. 188.
McClure and his magazine, saying that "It is a remarkable evidence of the perfection to which Americans have carried magazine making that such an aggregation of the best work of the best authors—of whom McClure's promises an imposing array—can be printed on good paper and charmingly illustrated for this small sum." 49

The contents of McClure's first issue, June, 1893, are representative enough to indicate something of the material that appeared throughout the period and to reveal what constituted its general appeal. The frontispiece consists of a photograph of Henry Drummond, author of one of the articles in this issue. The first article is the first of a series titled "Real Conversations," consisting of interviews with well-known persons recorded as dialogue. William Dean Howells was interviewed by H. H. Boyesen in this issue. This is followed by a short story by Gilbert Parker, "The Nymph of the Eddy," a strange, misty romantic story of a young girl whose parents opposed her marriage and who solved her problem by eloping with her fiancee. Another series, "Human Documents," was begun in this issue; it included brief sketches of well-known persons, accompanied by several pages of photographs of these persons at various ages. Sketched and photographed in this first issue were General Lew Wallace, Howells (his second appearance in the issue), H. H. Boyesen, and Alphonse Daudet. An interest in animals, characteristic

49 VIII, 106.
of McClure's throughout the period, is revealed in an article titled "Wild Animals: How They Are Captured, Transported, Trained, and Sold," written by Raymond Blathwayt. This is followed by a short story by Mrs. Robert Louis Stevenson about a dog sentenced by a village court to wear a muzzle for life after attacking sheep. The future is prominent in McClure's too, in a series titled "The Edge of the Future," this time consisting of two interviews, one with Thomas Edison, the other with Alexander Graham Bell. At the end of the article are fourteen lines from Tennyson's "Locksley Hall."

H. W. Massingham of the London Chronicle contributed the next article, titled "A Day With Gladstone," covering Gladstone's activities "From The Morning At Hawarden To The Evening At The House of Commons." In the next article, Henry Drummond explains "Where Man Got His Ears." "James Parton's Rules of Biography" consists of letters written by Parton to Honorable Alfred R. Conkling of New York, discussing several problems involved in writing biographies. The next article is from Paris, written by M. De Blowitz, Paris correspondent for the London Times. De Blowitz, writing about "Europe at the Present Moment," describes "the opening of a new era" pregnant with possibilities of war. In spite of the danger he describes, De Blowitz concludes "that no war is in sight, now will be yet for a long time." (I, 67.) Joel Chandler Harris's short story, "The Comedy of War," is the first of several war stories. Next is a poem by Gertrude Hall, a
frequent contributor whose work can be described without distortion by quoting the first line of her poem: "The rose is such a lady - / So stately, fresh, and sweet." (I, 82.) The final article is R. H. Sherard's description of "The Count De Lesseps of Today," the sad story of a man who had been involved in the scandals connected with the building of the Panama Canal. In three pages at the end the editors announce the variety of features to appear in future issues, lists of authors who will contribute, concluding with the statement that "The magazine will not only furnish the best literature, but will make a serious attempt to report the marvelous activities and developments of modern civilization, and especially of the United States," for "1.50 a year; 15 cents a copy." (I, 96.)

One month after the appearance of the first issue, The Review of Reviews took note of McClure's Magazine:

It is not often that a new periodical begins its career with prestige enough to make its success a certainty from the very first number. It is usually a long, dubious and costly ordeal that the new enterprise must endure before it can win the reputation of being firmly established.

Last month McClure's Magazine made its appearance, and the wisest judges concede it a place among the winners. Considering the financial situation of the country and especially of McClure's Magazine at this time, the prediction by this editor may have been premature; yet it was accurate.

\textsuperscript{50}VIII, 99.
By 1900 the circulation of McClure's was 370,000, larger than that of any other general monthly except Munsey's. and McClure's had not yet entered the era of muckraking that was to make it even more popular.

CHAPTER TWO

PATTERNS IN NON-FICTION

In more than 700 articles published during the ten year period, McClure's Magazine offered its readers a combination of information and entertainment on a variety of topics and about a variety of persons. Topics ranged from the trivial to the profound, from "Fighting With Four Fists," an article describing the French sport of boxing with feet as well as with fists, to "Christianity - True and False" by the Archdeacon of Westminster. The remote past, the immediate present, and the far future -- all were included, from "The Life of the Master" to "Europe at the Present Moment" to "Foods in the Year 2000." Wide ranges of space as well as of time were described in such articles as "A Voyage on the Bottom of the Sea" and "Recent Advances in Our Knowledge of the Moon's Surface." Various parts of the United States and almost every country in the world were mentioned. In biographical and autobiographical articles, readers learned of the public and private lives of such diverse figures as Captain Alfred Dreyfus, J. Pierpont Morgan, Grover Cleveland, Indian dancer Rising Wolf, Li Hung Chang, Martha Washington, and Emile Zola.

More than one-fifth of these non-fictional articles were written by five members of McClure's staff. The
names of Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker and Lincoln Steffens are most often associated with the muckraking articles, but these writers contributed articles on other topics. Ida Tarbell wrote, besides serialized biographies of Napoleon and Lincoln, several articles on science and technology, American history, and sketches of Louis Pasteur, Charles A. Dana, and the founder of Chautauqua, Bishop Vincent. She also did the ghost writing for Charles Dana’s serialized "Reminiscences of Men and Events of the Civil War," and wrote two articles on telegraph systems of the world under the psuedonym, "Henry Muir." Prior to his articles on "The Shame of the Cities," Steffens had published one short story, and seven essays praising rather than condemning aspects of American life. More versatile than Steffens was Ray Stannard Baker, whose thirty-one articles covered new discoveries in science and technology, "The Movement of Wheat," "The New Prosperity," the German army, the Civil War, firemen and fire engines, racing yachts, and sketches of Theodore Roosevelt, Admiral Sampson, General Leonard Wood, Walt Bowie, J. Pierpont Morgan, and the inventor, Peter Cooper Hewitt. Cleveland Moffett and Henry J. W. Dam were lesser known staff contributors. Dam wrote one short story and twelve articles, all on science and invention. Moffett wrote thirty-eight articles on circuses, wild animals, railroads and locomotives, famous robberies and criminals, life in foreign countries, various industries, North Pole expeditions, science and invention, and several biographical sketches including one of Mark Twain.
Among the other contributors were several prominent figures of the period whose names added prestige to the magazine. William Gladstone, after he had completed his last term as Prime Minister of England, wrote an essay on religion for McClure's. Theodore Roosevelt, who later attacked McClure's for its muckraking articles, contributed two articles during the nineties, one on "Reform Through Social Work," the other on his reasons for "Closing the New York Saloons on Sundays." At the time these articles were published, Roosevelt was president of the Police Board of New York City. Dr. Frederic Farrar, Archdeacon of Westminster, wrote an article distinguishing true from false Christianity. Herbert Spencer contributed a eulogy of his friend, "The Late Professor Tyndall," in which he discoursed at some length on various topics, such as the scientific spirit and the scientific use of the imagination. His article was one of the best written and most informative to appear in McClure's prior to 1903. Henry Drummond, British scientist and evangelical Christian, whose name became well known for his insistence on the essential identity of evolution and Christianity, wrote four essays for McClure's: one on evolution titled "Where Man Got His Ears," one on a new process for developing "Manliness in Boys," and two on the evangelist Dwight Moody. Washington Gladden, author of the popular book, Who Wrote the Bible? (1891), contributed one article describing "The New Evolution."

Charles Dana, whose serialized reminiscences of the Civil War were published in McClure's, contributed one essay
describing a trip to Jerusalem and another presenting his views on journalism. The historian Brooks Adams, brother of Henry Adams, wrote a sketch of John Hay and an essay appropriate for the spirit of the year it was published (1899) titled "The New Struggle for Life Among Nations." Following the Spanish-American War, when American naval power was a popular topic, McClure's published six installments of Captain Alfred Mahan's "The War on the Sea and its Lessons."

For reports on the North Pole expeditions McClure's went to the explorers themselves for articles, following this same pattern for articles on airplanes: Professor Langley and the French experimenter, Alberto Santos-Dumont, described their experiments with airplanes and Octave Chanute his experiments with gliders.

Painters John La Farge and Will Low each wrote a series on famous painters and their paintings. Charles Dana Gibson, creator of the popular Gibson girl sketches, contributed three installments of drawings and text titled "Sketches in Egypt." The American actress, Clara Morris, wrote a series of articles on "Recollections of the Stage and Its People."

The British publisher, George W. Smalley, wrote two series, one titled "English Statesmen and Rulers," the other "English Men of Letters."

Six of the contributors of non-fiction were better known for their stories: Stephen Crane, Hamlin Garland, Mark Twain, Conan Doyle, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Dr. John Watson. Of these six, only Mark Twain failed to contribute fiction to McClure's. Crane's first contribution, in the
issue for August, 1894, consisted of an eleven page essay describing a visit in "The Depths of a Coal Mine." His attempt in this article to expose the inhumanity of working conditions in the mines was largely ineffective, partly because he relied on vivid impressions that were more appropriate in fiction than in an article, partly too because his purple passages and exaggerated imagery tended to weaken rather than strengthen his purpose.¹ In another article, Crane described his trip in the locomotive of a Scottish express traveling from London to Scotland. Like other writers who wrote on locomotives and railroads, Crane overwrote, describing his journey in glowing terms hardly appropriate even then to the experience. In his two articles on the Spanish-American War, which Crane covered from the front lines for McClure's, there is no overwriting; he writes almost matter-of-factly, describing in one article the bravery of two Marines, in another the ludicrous antics of a foolish reporter. There is nothing distinguished about Crane's non-fiction in McClure's; his noteworthy contributions were his short stories.

¹Crane's purpose in his article was similar to that of Tarbell, Baker, and Steffens in their later muckraking articles. The difference was partly in targets; the muckrakers wrote about graft and corruption in business and politics, attacking conditions in large cities or large corporations; Crane wrote about a single coal mine. There was also a difference in methods; the muckrakers filled their articles with facts to support their charges and pointed accusing fingers at those responsible for conditions; Crane, on the other hand, relied on his own impressions, rarely used facts, did not say who was to blame, and did not even specify the city in which the mine was located. It is interesting to compare Crane's article (III, 195-209) with Lincoln Steffens', "The Shame of Minneapolis" (XX, 227-239).
Hamlin Garland contributed only three poems and four short stories, but his non-fiction consisted of ten essays and a ten-installment biography of Ulysses L. Grant. The biography was undistinguished; it mingled with the facts of Grant's life several anecdotes told by his relatives and friends. It was less well written than Tarbell's lives of Napoleon and Lincoln and failed to achieve the popular acclaim accorded to her studies. In two articles, Garland recorded his interviews with Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley. In another article, he described a visit to a Pittsburgh steel mill in which, like Crane, he depended on impressions rather than on facts to support his plea for changing conditions. His major theme was the West and all of its virtues. Garland wrote nostalgically of the West, frequently echoing Thoreau's Walden in his reverence for "nature untouched and unsubdued" and echoing Ishamel in his statement that "Whenever the pressure of our complex city life thins my blood and benumbs my brain, I seek relief in the trail." (XII, 304.) Garland's was the sole voice in McClure's non-fiction pleading for the West and expressing opposition to the East and to life in the cities.

Mark Twain's sole contribution to McClure's was his diary account of a voyage "From India to South Afric." It contains very little description of his travels and only an occasional note of humor. Most of the description is mere trivia. Twain offers comments on a number of topics that are only slightly related to his journey: his admiration of England and his hatred of France, his praise of the ship's
library because it contained no copies of The Vicar of Wakefield, "a book which is one long wastepipe discharge of goody-goody puerilities and dreary moralities" (X, 6.), and because it included none of Jane Austen's novels -- "Just that one omission alone would make a fairly good library out of a library that hadn't a book in it." (X, 6.) After a brief description of the scenery, Twain comments on nature's lavish generosity to all of her creatures except man, saying further: "Yet man, in his simplicity and complacency and inability to cipher, thinks nature regards him as the important member of the family -- in fact, her favorite." (X, 4.)

Sarah Orne Jewett's non-fiction consisted of an introduction to one of the magazine's features, "Human Documents," a series of photographs of famous persons. Miss Jewett discusses at some length the morality of invading the privacy of public figures, the "mystical" value of photographs, and the rationale of this feature, which was discontinued after a few years. Dr. John Watson wrote a eulogy of Robert Louis Stevenson, but his main contribution consisted of his fourteen-chapter "Life of the Master," written in a clear and simple style, only slightly sentimental and only occasionally preachy. Its major value, however, was in the accompanying illustrations in color, the first use of color in McClure's and the only use up to 1903.

Conan Doyle's fiction had been widely read in this country since 1887 when his novel, A Study in Scarlet, was published. His popularity during the nineties, however, was
based largely on his Sherlock Holmes stories, some of which had appeared in various newspapers who purchased them from the McClure Newspaper Syndicate. They were published in book form in 1891. Doyle wrote six articles for McClure's, none of which revealed the creator of the famous detective; he wrote about the development of his first book, about "The Glamour of the Arctic," "Some Lessons of the War," "Life on a Greenland Whaler," "An Alpine Pass on Skis" and an article on the Boer War.

During its early years, McClure's published material that had been published through the newspaper syndicate in the late eighties; hence there were no articles on events of the early nineties, such as the Columbian Exposition or the financial panic of 1893. When the Spanish-American War started, however, McClure's was prepared to cover it. In the issue for June, 1898, the editors announced that the magazine had "representatives, contributors, artists and photographers with every branch of the army and navy and at every scene of probable action .... The magazine is represented at Washington, on the Flying Squadron, on Admiral Sampson's fleet, at Hong Kong and Manila, at Tampa, Mobile and in Cuba; and through its London office it is able to secure the most apt and important material from foreign sources." (XI, 206.) No single event of the period was more fully covered in McClure's than this war. The issue for June, 1898 was ready to go to press when plans were changed to devote it to the war, to make it "the greatest special
edition of a monthly magazine ever made." Of twelve articles in this issue, six were devoted to the war; of the remaining six, three were on the Civil War, and one was an essay titled "Military Europe." Throughout 1898 and 1899 each issue of the magazine contained several articles on some aspect of the Spanish-American War, ending in a sense one phase of McClure's history and starting another. In his History of American Magazines 1885-1905, Mott divides the entire history of McClure's into three periods: the first from its founding in 1893 to the beginning of muckraking in 1903, the second from 1903 through 1911, the third covering its remaining years of existence. The Spanish-American War may have helped to bring about the muckraking period. Ida Tarbell says of the war and its effect on McClure's:

The war had done something to McClure's as well as to me. In all its earlier years its ambition had been to be a wholesome, enlivening, informing companion for readers, to give fiction, poetry, science of wide popular appeal . . . . It had touched public matters only as they became popular matters. Thus, when the Spanish-American War came it was quickly recognized that it yielded more interesting material than any other subject. There was a great war number and there was a continuous flow of war articles. McClure's suddenly was a part of active, public life. Having tasted blood, it could no longer be content with being merely attractive, readable. It was a citizen and wanted to do a citizen's part.

McClure's emphasis on the Spanish-American War represents the flexibility of the magazine's policy, its "obedience" to reader interest. Prior to the War, it followed public interest by publishing serialized lives of Napoleon,

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2Baker, p. 84.
3Tarbell, pp. 195-196.
Lincoln, and Grant and articles on science and invention.

Even where McClure's seemed to be leading the readers to an interest in new topics, as in the articles on wild animals, automobiles, airplanes, and the muckraking articles, the interest of the readers was the final guide. Ida Tarbell indicates this in a comment made in her memoirs:

As Steffens' case shows there was always much fingerling of a subject at McClure's before one of the staff was told to go ahead. . . . We all turned in our pickings. They must concern the life of the day, that which was interesting people. An idea, once launched, grew until it fixed on somebody; and once started, it continued to grow according to the response of readers. No response - no more chapters. A healthy response - as many chapters as the material justified.4

A classification of the topics in McClure's indicates, therefore, what the readers were most interested in, as well as what they were least interested in or were willing to ignore entirely. Of the 707 articles, 274 were biographical or autobiographical; the remaining 433 were divided as follows:5

| 79 | Science and Technology |
| 78 | War |
| 29 | Railroads and Locomotives |
| 26 | Business and Labor |
| 23 | Crime |


5 Although most of the articles were obviously concerned with only one of the topics in the following classification, several could have been classified under more than one topic. Some of the articles on the locomotive, for example, might have been listed under "Science or Technology"; the same is true of articles on North Pole expeditions. In order to reveal more clearly the significance of the articles as reflecting popular interests of the period, each article has been classified, sometimes arbitrarily, under only one topic. The relatively large number of articles on railroads and locomotives, and on North Pole expeditions, made separate classifications necessary.
It is obvious in the above list that war, science and technology were much more popular than other topics. The predominant pattern was one of power: the power of war, of new knowledge and new discoveries, of machines representing size and speed and the ability to traverse distance, of big business and the conflicts between business and labor, and expeditions to the North Pole. It is significant that religion was a relatively unpopular topic, and in especial contrast to the contents of today's mass magazines, sports was not a popular topic in McClure's. There were no humorous articles in all of the non-fiction, and only a few articles were concerned with entertainment -- with sports, circuses, dramas, and songs. Entertainment would seem to have been provided by articles on railroads and locomotives, wild animals, miscellaneous adventures, or life in foreign countries.

The popularity of war as a topic is even more impressive when one adds to the 78 articles on war the 39 on army or navy heroes. War is represented too in several short
stories. Of the 78 articles on war, 33 covered the Spanish-American War; 26 were devoted to the Civil War, 10 to various wars of the past or present, and 7 to war in general. Freedom from war is the topic of only one article, and even in this one M. De Blowitz looked upon world peace as a "chimera," but advanced a plan to prolong peace among the nations of Europe "so long as peace seems good to them." De Blowitz expressed no hope for universal peace and considered it realistic not to recommend disarmament or tribunals of arbitration or "any of those ideal absolute or radical measures which arouse general distrust and which to many minds seem like a pretentious joke or an obvious snare . . ." (III, 63.) De Blowitz's recommendation is a modest one: that the required time of military service in European countries be reduced from three years to one and one fourth years and that nations spend less on armament than they are spending, not to prevent war, but to prevent Europe from going to war "against its will." (III, 62.) De Blowitz does not consider his views pessimistic, but writes as if he were merely expressing the accepted opinion of most of the people that war was inevitable and could only be delayed, not avoided. The readers of McClure's may have believed that "war is hell"; the horrors of war were described frequently in the fiction and non-fiction. The emphasis, however, was not on the horrors but on the comradeship of soldiers, the friendliness of enemy troops in the Civil War, the bravery of soldiers and sailors in the Spanish-American War, the glories of victory in all wars,
and even, to use the title of one of Joel Chandler Harris's short stories, on "The Comedy of War." Perhaps many of the readers shared William Allen White's attitude toward the sorrows of war:

But tears are good. They make the world better. Sorrow is a great lever that pierces the world upward. So war is good for the sorrow that it brings, Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth. And war, that tears the heart-strings of the old; war, that feeds on the flesh of young men; war, with its tragic gaiety, is good. It is one of God's weapons - his rod that chasteneth. Then should the nation bow beneath the rod, and smile back to heaven with the flags, the gay, merry thoughtless flags. (XI, 205.)

The popularity of articles on science and technology is not surprising in a period of new developments in theoretical science and an increasing number of new inventions or improvements for older inventions. Unlike the topic of war which appeared in biographical sketches and in the fiction, science and technology was covered for the most part in articles on new developments; there were only nine biographical articles describing seven persons, and science and technology appeared only occasionally as an aspect of the short stories in McClure's. Slightly more than one-half of the articles in this classification were concerned with theoretical science, including developments in astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, evolution, electricity, geology and oceanography. Although many of these articles seemed designed to attract the reader's attention by using sensational titles, such as "Possibility of Life on Other Worlds," "Where Man Got His Ears," "Bordering the Mysteries of Life and Mind," or "Foods in the Year 2000," most of them
were unsensational in title and in contents, and some were
decidedly dull compilations of statistics or explanations
of uncommon knowledge or a particular science.

In an article titled "How the Planets are Weighed,"
the author begins by saying that planets are weighed on the
same principle by which a butcher weighs a ham in his spring
balance, but the essay is otherwise non-journalistic:

But, as I have already pointed out, we must, in
the case of planets, find the quotient in question
by means of the satellites; and it happens, fortu-
nately, that the motions of these bodies are much
less changed by the attraction of the sun than is
the motion of the moon. Thus, when we make the
computation for the outer satellite of Mars, we
find the quotient to be 1/3093500 that of the
sun-quotient. Hence we conclude that the mass
of Mars is 1/3093500 that of the sun. By the
corresponding quotient, the mass of Jupiter is
found to be about 1/1047 that of the sun,
Saturn 1/3500, Uranus 1/22700, Neptune 1/19500.
(XIV, 292.)

Like many of the articles on theoretical science, this was
written by a scientist rather than a journalist, but this
does not account for its relative lack of sensationalism,
since even in articles on science by Ray Stannard Baker,
Cleveland Moffett or Henry J. W. Dam the emphasis was on un-
sensational and often involved technical explanations. Com-
pared to the popular science articles in today's magazines,
the articles in McClure's were certainly less superficial,
less diluted. Today's Scientific American, and perhaps The
Atlantic or Harper's, publish articles on science that are
in some respects comparable to those published in McClure's.
Certainly, the articles on science published in The Saturday
Evening Post or the Sunday supplements today are more super-
ficial than any of the articles in McClure's.
Most of the articles on science in McClure's ended with glowing praise of what science had accomplished and highest expectations for the future. One article closed with the following comment: "Great and numerous as are the unsolved problems of our science, knowledge is now advancing into regions which, a few years ago, seemed inaccessible. Where it will stop none can say." (XIII, 259.) Another concluded that "Astronomy has done so many wonderful things in the past, and is accomplishing such marvels in the present, that it is sometimes difficult to realize its limitations." (XVI, 439.) In some of the articles, writers, including scientists, even ventured to speculate on the future. A Paris scientist presented his theory that by the year 2000 chemistry would replace agriculture, that in the future man would dine on artificial meat, flour and vegetables, would drink artificial wine and liquor, would smoke artificial tobacco. This scientist even ventured beyond the subject of foods and predicted the future of man: "Men will have grown too wise for war, and war's necessity will have ceased to be," a change to be brought about by "something that we might call spiritual chemistry." "The favored portions of the earth will become vast gardens, in which the human race will dwell amid a peace, a luxury, and an abundance recalling the Golden Age of legendary lore." (III, 312.) The American "myth of the garden," analyzed in Henry Nash Smith's book, Virgin Land, was now to be supported by science and by a French scientist at that.

The new "revelations" of science and technology are de-
scribed with a fervor that one usually associates with religion. The writers express amazement at the seemingly "miraculous" wonders of science, and look toward the future as if they expected to witness a new millennium to be brought about by scientists and inventors. In several articles, the virtues of the scientist are described as analogous to the virtues of priests or ministers. One author, for example, says that the work of the scientist is a "dull routine which devolves upon every original investigator imposing hard and painstaking duties upon the scientific spirit very much like those of religion in their way." (III, 559.) Another writer describes the visit to Chicago of a famous Austrian surgeon who has developed a non-surgical method for healing children who have been born with a certain deformity rendering them crippled. On one occasion the surgeon greets a crowd of parents and their crippled children in front of the hospital, saying to them "as One in Judea, Suffer little children to come unto me." (XX, 316.)

The preeminence of the role of the scientist over that of the religious figure is perhaps best illustrated in one of the more sensational articles on science. Titled "Bordering the Mysteries of Life and Mind," this article describes the investigations of a University of Chicago scientist into the "most intimate secrets of life, mind, and death." One of the results of the scientist's researches was his success in artificially reproducing sea-urchins, tiny creatures found on the shores of salt waters. The author of the article describes this scientist-hero as
an "iconoclast" who has helped "to remove a metaphysical fog" from physiology; he is, says the author, "A Faust Whose Dreams Came True." The scientist himself speaks in Faustian terms, saying to his interviewer:

I wanted to go to the bottom of things. I wanted to take life in my hands and play with it . . . . I wanted to handle it in my laboratory as I would any other chemical reaction - to start it, stop it, vary it, study it under every condition, to direct it at my will! (XVIII, 388.)

The decline of religion is further indicated in the contents of the few articles on this topic. Almost all of the articles included the author's tacit admission that religion was on the defensive, and the attempts to defend its values were often far-fetched or half-heartedly offered. In the issue for January, 1894, several prominent persons contributed their predictions for the future in science, religion, social conditions, national progress and war. Those who spoke on science saw a future "bright with immediate promise for the world's weal," and they supported their hope for the future by referring to all that had been recently discovered or developed. In contrast, those who wrote on religion expressed "reasons for anxiety," admitted that "The future of Christianity is clouded," and noted that "The atmosphere of the day is chilled with the spirit of unbelief." (II, 204-206.) Each writer expressed his belief that the future would be brighter. A minister in New York could only add to this statement "I see some reasons for anxiety" the comment "I have no fears as to the result." (204.) A professor of the Union Theological Seminary said, "The great questions of
the future are ethical and social questions. Great minds will concentrate their attention upon the evils which afflict society, and invent their cures." (205.) John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, expressed his belief that

Unbelief is but a passing wave. The material and scientific progress of the age has begotten an over-estimate of nature, and draws a film over eyes which would seek the supernatural. The realities of the supernatural and man's profound need of them endure, and his reason will not lose sight of them. (206.)

These and other writers seemed agreed that time would bring about a change in the general attitude toward religion, but their beliefs were directed to readers of McClure's who were already provided with a deluge of facts on the developments of science.

In his article on "Christianity - True and False," Archdeacon Farrar argues against those who claim "that religion has been a curse to the human race . . . . that Christianity has inflicted upon mankind more harm than good." (II,451.) It is significant that his article is a defense against those who oppose Christianity. It is further significant that he does not defend religion or Christianity against unbelievers, but distinguishes what he refers to as "true" Christianity from "false" Christianity as represented by "infallible Rome - Rome under the tyranny of her Jesuits." (455.) Those who attack Christianity, he points out, are merely using the word "to mean something absolutely different from that which we mean by it." (451.) In his sole contribution to McClure's, former Prime Minister Gladstone wrote on "The Lord's Day," expressing his distress at the fact that
secular-minded persons regard Sunday as a day of rest only for reasons of health, an attitude shared by religious-minded persons who also "make over large portions of the day, if not to secular occupations and amusements, yet to secular thought and conversation." (IV, 370.) Gladstone, like Farrar and others, is writing defensively; he opens his article with the remark that "The citadel of Christianity is in these days besieged all round its circuit." (370.) Gladstone does not attempt to defend Christianity "all round its circuit," but comments only on a narrow aspect of Christianity, the observance of Sundays in a Christian spirit. Articles on science and technology not only included no defense of the work being accomplished, but ventured beyond the confines of single discoveries and developments to include speculation on the future for all mankind in several areas of life.

In other articles on religion, the topics discussed indicated how far removed religion was from daily life and popular interest - "Hymns that Have Helped," "A New Rhythmic Version of the Psalms," "The Oldest Record of Christ's Life," "The Making of the Bible," and "When Were the Gospels Written?" Like the twentieth century popular magazines that occasionally include articles of interest to a small minority of their readers, such as bird-watching, early automobiles, or archery, McClure's published seven essays on religion during a period of ten years in order to placate those who were still interested in this apparently unpopular topic. Even in the biographical articles, only six religious
figures were described, and the emphasis, except in "The Life of the Master," is on the periphery. Archdeacon Farrar is praised as a religious liberal, one who has "not coddled orthodoxy; he has been too liberal for the powers that make appointments." (II, 4.) Reverend Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, New York Presbyterian minister, is honored not for his preaching or his religious views, but for his work as president of The Society for the Prevention of Crime, his courageous efforts to destroy the influence of the Tammany organization in New York and to eradicate vice. Ida Tarbell describes Bishop Vincent’s work in founding Chautauqua.

In describing Dwight Moody, Henry Drummond emphasizes his educational and philanthropic work rather than his evangelical preaching. When the authors of these articles refer to their subject’s religious work, their tone is frequently apologetic.

The few articles on sports appearing in McClure’s serve as a decided contrast to the popularity of this topic in magazines. Whole magazines today are devoted solely to sports, some even to a single sport. The essays in McClure’s, moreover, stressed activities remote from the daily lives of most of the readers. Conan Doyle, for example, described skiing on an Alpine pass, another writer wrote about "Fighting with Four Fists," a sport popular at the time in France. The remaining articles were on sports in America: three on yacht racing, one on broncobusting in Denver, and two on fishing. Baseball, football, track, tennis, swimming, and golf were not even alluded to. The articles on mountain
climbing stressed the difficult achievements of courageous individuals in conquering nature.

In providing its readers with stories and articles on locomotives and railroads, McClure's was catering to one of the most popular interests of the period. By 1900 America had a little less than 200,000 miles of railroad track, more mileage than all of Europe. The development of railroads "affected the fortunes of almost everyone in the country, and of millions abroad as well . . . . Railway expansion touched American life at countless points." It is difficult for us to comprehend fully how impressive the locomotive and the train was to people living at that time. We have become accustomed to automobiles and airplanes and remain unimpressed even when these machines are radically improved. Before 1900 neither the automobile nor the airplane had been fully developed, trolley-car systems were relatively new, and the locomotive and train represented the first important step of progress from travel by horse to travel by machine. It is not surprising then that the locomotive and train became a popular symbol of progress and power not only to the general public but to literary figures of the period as well. Merle Curti, in his The Growth of American Thought, comments on the attention given to trains:

What was more beautiful than a railroad train shooting by with a swiftness that made its occupants invisible - sinuously winding through forests, cleaving hills and mountains asunder, steady, smooth, unerring, like a migratory bird.

The pioneer champion of technology was not without support in some esthetic quarters. James Jackson Jarves, author of a whole series of books on the Italian masters and collector without peer, praised fire engines, locomotives, and other machines for their equilibrium of lines, proportions, masses. 'Their success in producing broad general effects out of a few simple elements, ' he observed, 'and of admirable adaptations of means to ends, as nature evolves beauty out of the common and practical, covers these things with a certain atmosphere of poetry.'  

Robert Louis Stevenson spoke of the railroad as "the one typical achievement of the age in which we live," adding "If it be romance, if it be contrast, if it be heroism that we require, what was Troytown to this?"  

Emily Dickinson sang the praises of the locomotive in one of her poems, Walt Whitman, in his "Passage to India," viewed railroads as uniting the "New" world, and in his "To a Locomotive in Winter," saw in the locomotive "Type of the modern - emblem of motion and power - pulse of the continent."

McClure's published twenty-four short stories and twenty-nine articles on railroads and railroad life. The short stories emphasized the romance of life on the railroads, especially the honor, virtue, and heroism of engineers who often sacrificed their lives to save not only the passengers but the train. Romance was stressed in the non-fiction as well, but considerable attention was devoted to the mechanics and the economics of railroads. Readers were provided with a vast amount of detail concerning the construction of railroads, the development of new and faster locomotives, the

7Curti, p. 517-518.

8Across the Plains (Scribner's Sons, 1892), 50-52.
duties of the engineer, fireman, train-despatcher, conductor signalman, and yard mechanic, the preparation required for each trip, the number of men required to plan each trip, the dangers involved, the salaries of employees, and the intangible rewards for those fortunate enough to be engaged in this "honorable profession."

Thirteen articles on railroads were contributed by Cy Warman, a former engineer for the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad and the author of seven volumes of short stories on railroad life published from 1895 to 1900. Warman's articles describing his own experiences as an engineer were almost indistinguishable from the many short stories on railroad life, including two of Warman's stories published in McClure's. Most of his articles described adventures on American trains; he managed, however, to include an account of his experience "On The Engine of a London and Paris Express" and traveling "Through the Dardanelles." As if he had exhausted all of the common experiences of railroad life, he described such rare adventures as "Flying Through Flames," "A Locomotive as a War Chariot" and "Railroading Over an Earthquake."

Articles on railroads in other countries, included "Railway Development in China," "The Chinese Eastern Railway," "Building a Railroad into the Klondike," "The Cape to Cairo Railway," and Stephen Crane's journey on the locomotive of "The Scotch Express." Crane's lyrical description of the journey and his effusive praise of the engineer is typical of the attitude of all writers describing railroad life. He
sends of his trip from London to Scotland:

This valkyric journey on the back of the vermilion engine, with the shouting of the wind, the deep, mighty panting of the steed, the gray blur at the track-side, the flowing quicksilver ribbon on the other rails, the sudden clash as a switch intersects, all the din and fury of this ride, was of a splendor that caused one to look abroad at the quiet, green landscape and believe that it was of a phlegm quite beyond patience. It should have been dark, rain-shot, and windy; thunder should have rolled across the sky. (XII, 278.)

Crane writes of the engineer of the train:

It should be a well-known fact that, all over the world, the engine-driver is the finest type of man that is grown. He is the pick of the earth. He is altogether more worthy than the soldier, and better than the men who move on the sea in ships. He is not paid too much; nor do his glories weight his brow; but for outright performance, carried on constantly, coolly, and without elation, by a temperate, honest, clear-minded man, he is the further point. And so the lone human at his station in the cab, guarding money, lives, and the honor of the road, is a beautiful sight. The whole thing is aesthetic. (XII, 279.)

Crane expresses more vividly than other writers the attitude of the reading public toward locomotives, trains, and engineers.

Frank Mott includes as one of four notable features of McClure's prior to 1903 the articles on wild animals, failing to mention that there were several articles on domestic animals as well, and that wild animals appeared as frequently in short stories as in articles.\textsuperscript{9} Ida Tarbell tells us that

Animals were an abiding interest with McClure's. Rudyard Kipling laid the foundation in the Jungle tales. After that great series few were the numbers that did not have an animal in text and picture. It was as much a passion as baseball was

\textsuperscript{9}Mott, 1885-1905, p. 592.
to become in the latter days with *The American Magazine*. I spent a lively month visiting zoos, interviewing animal trainers and hunters and keepers, buying books and photographs, turning in what I considered a pretty good grist of material and suggestions.\(^{10}\)

Miss Tarbell had apparently forgotten that articles on wild animals had appeared for a year prior to the publication of Kipling's first Jungle story. What, then, did account for the interest of readers in the many articles and stories on animals, including the Kipling stories? One wishes that she had provided some hint for this strange phenomenon. The influence of Darwinism during the late nineteenth century represents only a vague relationship. Somewhat less vague is the suggestion that the increasing complexity of American life at the time encouraged an interest in animals as representative of a more primitive and more simple life, yet most of the articles on animals present only an occasional hint in this direction. It seems more likely that the emphasis on animals represented the same sentimental interest catered to on a more scientific basis by today's popular magazines, and partly a characteristic American interest in learning how things are done - how the animals were captured, transported, trained, sold, watered, fed, and cared for. The interest too in animals, most of which were found only in foreign countries, may have represented an escape from daily life similar to the escape provided in the countless books and short stories of historical romance.

Articles on exploration were noted by Mott in his list of notable features in *McClure's*: Mott was referring here

\(^{10}\) Tarbell, pp. 255-256.
to articles on expeditions to the North Pole, nineteen of which were published. Journeys to the North Pole, however, were only one form of exploration described in the pages of McClure's. There were articles "exploring" possibilities of discovery in several areas - in science and technology, methods of warfare, business and labor, foreign relations, for example, all a part of the newly awakened interest of Americans in "new frontiers." The past was not as interesting as the present, the present not as interesting as the future. Interest in America was being replaced by an interest in the entire world, even the whole universe. In a sense, McClure's emphasized Frederick Jackson Turner's statement that the Western frontier was now closed by focusing the readers' attention on all that had now opened, by pointing ahead rather than by looking backwards.

Ray Stannard Baker referred to the 1890's, with special emphasis on the years following the Spanish-American War, as the "Great American Renaissance." His impressions of the period are reflected in the contents of the magazine he helped to edit:

When I went to New York to join the staff of McClure's Magazine in the spring of 1898, I found myself, suddenly and joyously, in this new world, full of strange and wonderful new things, and I at the heart of it, especially commissioned to look at it, hear about it, and above all, to write about it.

Our American attitude toward world affairs, for example, was just then undergoing all but revolutionary changes. Only a few days before I arrived in New York, our garment of secure and aloof provincialism was rudely torn to shreds by the crisis of the war with Spain. The Maine was blown up in Havana harbor on February 15, 1898; every newspaper I saw during my
first weeks in the East blazed with the news of it. . . . In August the war was won, and America had acquired an empire.

But there was another awakening, equally alluring, to stimulate the imagination of a responsive editorial office. This also concerned a new world, then just opening to the discoverer and the explorer - I mean the world of science and invention. I wonder if there was ever another brief period in history when there was such an outpouring of marvelous new inventions and scientific wonders. /Italics mine/11

The awakening Baker describes was chronicled in the pages of McClure's from its first issue. In June, 1893 McClure's published a feature titled "Edge of the Future," interviews with Thomas Edison and Alexander Graham Bell in which these inventors predicted for readers some of the marvels of the future. Edison spoke of his plans for the development of an iron-ore concentrator to simplify methods of extracting iron from earth and rock, and of his plans for controlling the energy stored in coal. He predicted too that he would develop instruments for transmitting signals from sea-going ships for a distance of ten miles, and although he failed, McClure's reported before the end of the decade on Marconi's wireless that sent messages across the entire ocean. Bell expressed his conviction that "the discovery and inventions of the past will seem but trivial things when compared with those that are to come." (I, 39.) He said that the problem of aerial navigation would be solved within ten years and he predicted the eventual discovery of an instrument capable of transmitting images over large distances. At the end of this feature twenty lines from Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" were printed, the first two lines serving as an appropriate

11Baker, pp. 84-85.
preface to the contents of McClure's during the next ten years:
"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,／
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be." (I, 43.)

Tennyson spoke of a vision of the future; for the
readers of McClure's this vision became something of a
reality. The interest in seeing "all the wonder that would be" was an interest in "seeing" both literally and meta-
phorically. Literally, for example, McClure's filled its
pages with half-tone engravings and photographs to illus-
trate both fiction and non-fiction. Countless photographs
of famous personalities appeared separately and as parts of
articles describing these persons. Articles on photography
were published, indicating the popularity of the camera as
a means of aiding the naked eye. An article on "The
Daguerreotype in America" indicated how far advanced photo-
graphy was becoming "with the much better knowledge we have
of all the scientific and mechanical principles involved." (VIII, 16.) One article even ventured to ask seriously
"Are Composite Photographs Typical Pictures?" and sug-
gested that further study might show that composite photo-
graphs of various groups were of immense value to ethno-
logical studies. (III, 331-342.) Metaphorically, McClure's
published articles on the future, on the "awakening" de-
scribed by Ray Stannard Baker.

McClure's reported in several articles the discoveries
made by the microscope and telescope, but none of these was
reported with as much enthusiasm as the discovery of another
aid to the human eye, the Röntgen x-rays. The sense of drama surrounding this event is evident in the opening paragraph of an article by Henry J. W. Dam titled "The New Marvel in Photography":

In all the history of scientific discovery there has never been, perhaps, so general, rapid, and dramatic an effect wrought on the scientific centres of Europe as has followed, in the past four weeks, upon an announcement made to the Würzburg Physico-Medical Society, at their December meeting, by Professor William Konrad Röntgen, professor of physics at the Royal University of Würzburg. The first news which reached London was by telegraph from Vienna to the effect that a Professor Röntgen, until then the possessor of only a local fame in the town mentioned, had discovered a new kind of light, which penetrated and photographed through everything. This news was received with a mild interest, some amusement, and much incredulity; and a week passed. Then, by mail and telegraph, came daily clear indications of the stir which the discovery was making in all the great line of universities between Vienna and Berlin. Then Röntgen's own report arrived, so cool, so business-like, and so truly scientific in character, that it left no doubt either of the truth or of the great importance of the preceding reports. To-day, four weeks after the announcement, Röntgen's name is apparently in every scientific publication issued this week in Europe; and accounts of his experiments, of the experiments of others following his method, and of theories as to the strange new force which he has been the first to observe, fill pages of every scientific journal that comes to hand. And before the necessary time elapses for this article to attain publication in America, it is in all ways probable that the laboratories and lecture-rooms of the United States will be giving full evidence of this contagious arousal of interest over a discovery so strange that its importance cannot yet be measured, its utility be even prophesied, or its ultimate effect upon long-established scientific beliefs be even vaguely foretold. (VI, 403-405.)

Other articles followed Dam's, articles on "The Röntgen Rays in America," and "The Use of the Röntgen X-rays in Surgery," and in January, 1903 an article on the use of x-ray in combination with a system of healing discovered by Neils Finsen of Copenhagen.
With the aid of the camera, the microscope, the telescope, and the newly developed x-rays, man could see more than he had seen before. Other technological improvements helped to bring men throughout the world closer together; the locomotive and ocean liners now, automobiles and airplanes in the future. Another aid to uniting the world was Marconi's wireless telegraph, a discovery both predicted and confirmed in the pages of McClure's during the ten year period. Thomas Edison predicted a system for transmitting signals in an interview reported in the first issue. In July, 1895, Ida Tarbell, writing under the pseudonym "Henry Muir," described "The Telegraph Systems of the World."

Tarbell stresses the fact that with telegraphy there are no delays caused by "examination of contents, from estimating duties at frontiers, from verifying the right to traverse the different countries . . . . Telegraphy was, indeed, the first interest to conquer these difficulties and to bring the governments of the world together in a Union." (V, 100.) Tarbell predicts that in a short time all countries of the world will be united by telegraphy. In the issue for March, 1897, Henry J. W. Dam supports her prediction, but with evidence that was not available to her. He explains the work of a young Italian, Guglielmo Marconi, who has succeeded in sending messages for a distance of a mile and three quarters without the aid of wires. Dam writes that "The air is full of promises, of miracles. The certainty is that strange things are coming, and coming soon . . . . It really seems that some Columbus will soon
give us a new continent in science." (VIII, 392.) Dam's use of an analogy to exploration and discovery of a new continent indicates the broad interest in exploration in McClure's, an interest that went far beyond North Pole exploration. In June, 1899, Cleveland Moffett described Marconi's success in transmitting messages without wires across the English channel, and in February, 1902, Ray Stannard Baker reported on Marconi's success in telegraphing messages without wires across the Atlantic Ocean. The predictions made in 1895 by Ida Tarbell appeared conservative in view of Marconi's achievements.

Articles on railroads and the marvels of telegraphy focused not merely on what these inventions meant to America and to Americans, but on their value to everyone, especially their value in uniting the world. Reflected in other articles in McClure's was a "newly awakened" interest in other countries, as if once the American geographical frontier had been closed, a mission had been accomplished, and there was time now for an interest in new "frontiers." There were only a few articles on America, and these focused on the "new America," on "America Revisited in War Time," on "The New Prosperity," on "The Rise of the American City: The Wonderful Story of the Census of 1900." Hamlin Garland alone wrote nostalgically of the American past, praising the Western trail as "nature untouched and unsubdued," and escape from "our complex city life."

The major focus in articles about places went beyond the limits of the United States, from "The Inside of the Earth"
and "The Bottom of the Sea" to the sun, moon, and all known planets, to almost every foreign country, to "Unknown Parts of the World," and, as if all areas were finally exhausted, to speculation on "The Possibility of Life on Other Worlds." There were articles on Europe and Asia, on "The New Struggle for Life Among Nations," on England, France, Germany, Africa, India, Turkey, Egypt, China, Greenland, Cuba, the Philippines, and Alaska. Descriptions of several countries appeared too in articles on other topics. In the essays on mountain climbing, for example, the emphasis is on this activity, but there is also some description of Mount Blanc, the Matterhorn, Aconcagua, or Tupungato. Articles on railroads, as previously mentioned, include descriptions of China, Alaska, France, Scotland, and England. The interest in other lands and other peoples was more pronounced than the interest in America or Americans. The readers of McClure's appeared to be secure enough to look beyond the shores of America at the fascinating wonders of the world.

The interest of readers in personalities is indicated in the amount of biographical and autobiographical articles published in McClure's. Two hundred and seventy-four articles described well-known figures of the past and of the present. One hundred and thirty-one persons were described in articles devoted to a single person, and an additional 54 persons were described in articles devoted to several persons. Only a few of the articles were autobiographical: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps wrote twelve installments titled
"Chapters From a Life"; Robert Louis Stevenson, Conan Doyle, and Rudyard Kipling each wrote an essay about his first book. There were, as I have said, serialized biographies of Christ, Napoleon, Lincoln, and Grant, and a serialized account of the life of the Bronte sisters in Ireland. In the early years, two biographical features appeared regularly in each issue: "Human Documents" included brief sketches of three or four persons and several pages of photographs depicting them from childhood to the present; "Real Conversations" consisted of interviews recorded in dialogue form, supposedly without any editing. "Human Documents" ceased to appear after 1895; "Real Conversations" lasted only to March, 1894.

A classification of the subjects of biographical articles provides some indication of the popular "heroes" of the period. The following classification lists only the articles devoted to one person, omitting such articles as "Human Documents" in which several persons were described:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Political figures</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actors and actresses</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artists</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military figures</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign rulers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12The names of persons in each of the above categories are listed in Appendix B. Certain figures could be classified under more than one category, but in order to avoid such overlapping, each figure was placed in one category according to the emphasis in the article. Napoleon and Grant, for example, were honored more for their military than their political activities, and were classified therefore under "Military Figures."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Number of Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scientists and inventors</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious figures</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper editors</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royalty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives of famous persons</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular individual, judging from the frequency of articles, was Abraham Lincoln, who was the subject of twenty-six separate essays. Twenty-two of these essays represented installments of Ida Tarbell's serialized biography of Lincoln; four were written by other contributors. Ulysses L. Grant was described in a ten-chapter biography by Hamlin Garland and in eight other essays. Dr. John Watson's "Life of the Master" consisted of thirteen installments, and Ida Tarbell's "Life of Napoleon" appeared in eight installments. The life of the Bronte sisters in Ireland occupied five installments. Theodore Roosevelt and Robert Louis Stevenson were described in five essays each, Rudyard Kipling in four; several others were the subject of two essays. Frequently, too, persons described in articles devoted solely to one person appeared also as one of the figures in articles devoted to several persons.

One of the most significant aspects of the biographical articles in *McClure's* is the attention given to writers; judging from the frequency of their appearance, writers were more popular "heroes" than those in any other category. Not only were there more writers described; there were also more articles on writers than on people in any other category.
In articles on several persons fifty-four persons were described who were not subjects of other articles in the magazine; of these fifty-four, thirty-three were writers. The significance of the interest in writers is described in detail in a separate chapter.

The popularity of writers as subjects represents only one of the many contrasts between the "heroes" in McClure's and those in current popular magazines. Writers do appear as subjects of biographical articles in today's magazines, but certainly not as frequently as they did in McClure's, nor are they the most popular of all figures. Today, the most popular "heroes" are those from the broad category of entertainment, leading figures in television, movies, and the world of sports. In a study first published in 1944, Leo Lowenthal analyzed the biographical articles in The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's for the period from March 1940 to April 1941.13 Lowenthal divided the biographies by occupation into three broad categories, using for his percentages the number of articles rather than the number of individuals. His findings were as follows: figures from areas of entertainment, 55 per cent; from political life, 25 per cent; from business and professional life, 20 per cent. These three broad categories applied to McClure's for a ten-year period results in the following percentages: entertainment, 38 per cent; political life,

31 per cent; business and professional life, 31 per cent. The difference in figures representing entertainment in McClure's and the results of the 1944 study is even more striking than the difference between 38 and 55 per cent. Classified under entertainment for McClure's in the above percentages were all writers, actors and actresses, and artists in contrast to the movie, radio, nightclub, and sports figures in Lowenthal's study. The only figures in McClure's that bear a resemblance to the widely popular figures in The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's are the popular writers whose works are no longer read and whose names have been mostly forgotten, writers such as Hall Caine, Anthony Hope, and "Ian Maclaren." Even more striking is the absence of even a brief mention in McClure's of any figure from the world of sports. From this rough comparison between a monthly and two weekly magazines, one for ten years, two for only a one-year period, it is apparent that there is a vast difference between the popular heroes of these two periods. Lowenthal characterized this difference as a shift from "idols of production" in the nineteenth century to "idols of consumption" in the twentieth century; today's "heroes," he points out, are "directly or indirectly related to the sphere of leisure time."15

The biographical figures in McClure's represented the

14 In arriving at these figures for McClure's, the eleven articles on persons listed as "Unclassified" were omitted.

15 Lowenthal, p. 74.
past as well as the present, foreign countries as well as
the United States. Roughly 40 per cent of the individuals
described had died prior to 1890, most of them prior to
1850, and the same percentage of persons were not Americans.
Except for Christ, a few of the painters, George Washington
and Benjamin Franklin, all figures were still living at
some time in the nineteenth century. The largest representa-
tion of foreign figures is nineteen writers; all of the
seven scientists or inventors were foreign, and all except
two of the thirteen artists were foreign. Of those repre-
senting the present, only six were related to an event during
the period; these were military heroes from the Spanish-
American War.

The categories represented by only a few figures are
as significant as those represented by several persons.
Religion, for example, included only six figures, and the
total number of articles on religious figures was largely
accounted for by the serialized biography of Christ. Re-
ligious figures were less popular than writers, politicians,
actors and actresses, artists, military men, foreign rulers,
scientists and inventors. The decline of religion, then, is
indicated in biographical articles as well as in articles
on religion as a topic. Considering the large number of
articles on science and invention, the small number of ar-
ticles on individuals in this category appears unusual;
what accounts for this, however, is the emphasis placed upon
discoveries and inventions rather than upon individuals.
The impersonality of science is stressed in most of the
articles, authors underlining the fact that achievements here are the result of the cooperative efforts of many persons rather than individuals. The appearance in McClure's of only two articles on businessmen is another striking contrast to later twentieth century attitudes. Considering S. S. McClure's success in business and his Horatio Alger-like rise from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame, all of which he boastfully describes in his memoirs, it is even more striking that his magazine should pay so little attention to businessmen. What may be indicated here is that S. S. McClure was able to ignore his inclinations in order to respond to the likes and dislikes of his readers.

The eleven unclassified figures included both well-known figures and figures whose fame was merely local. The well-known included Captain Alfred Dreyfus, John Brown, Woodrow Wilson (then president of Princeton), John Wilkes Booth, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, and labor leader John Mitchell. Local "heroes" included Captain Walt Bowie, southern guerilla fighter in the Civil War and descendant of the earlier Bowie for whom a knife was named; C. G. Cox, New York photographer; Army Private Dennis Hogan, whose heroism in a skirmish with Indians saved the lives of his entire regiment; an Indian, Rising Wolf; and a figure identified only as "Will," described by a friend for his superhuman success in overcoming a series of physical handicaps.

The biographical articles promised to provide readers not merely with the statistics of the subject's life history,
but with intimate glimpses into his private life. This promise is indicated in the titles: "A Day with Gladstone," "Booth - On and Off the Stage," "Pasteur at Home," "Grant as His Son Saw Him," "The Pierre Loti of Private Life."

In order to increase this personal note, writers resorted to a variety of techniques. The interview was widely used, enhancing the tone of intimacy since the writer of the article had recently seen and talked to the subject, and had usually visited him in his home. In the series titled "Real Conversations," the dialogue purported to be the candid comment of the person interviewed. An added touch appeared in the frequent articles written by relatives or personal friends of the subject, and when this was not feasible, experts in the same occupation were employed.

In the early issues of the magazine, authors of biographical articles appeared apologetic about their attempts to invade the privacy of famous persons. They seemed aware of an existing attitude that frowned on what they were doing, and they provided justifications, often far-fetched, for their actions.

In the opening article of the first issue, H. H. Boyesen justifies his interview with William Dean Howells by saying:

my own sense of dignity . . . rebelled against the role of an interviewer, and it was not until my conscience was made easy on this point that I agreed to undertake the present article. I was reminded that it was an ancient and highly dignified form of literature I was about to revive; and that my precedent was to be sought not in the modern newspaper interview, but in the Platonic dialogue. (I, 3.)
In the same issue, Sarah Orne Jewett, in an essay introducing the first "Human Documents" series, attempted to justify both the intimacy of biographical articles and the emphasis on photographs:

To give to the world a collection of the successive portraits of a man is to tell his affairs openly, and so betray intimate personalities. We are often found quarreling with the tone of the public press, because it yields to what is called the public demand to be told both the private affairs of noteworthy persons and the trivial details and circumstances of those who are insignificant. Some one has said that a sincere man willingly answers any questions, however personal, that are asked out of interest, but instantly resents those that have their impulse in curiosity; and that one's instinct always detects the difference. This I take to be a wise rule of conduct; but beyond lies the wider subject of our right to possess ourselves of personal information, although we have a vague remembrance, even in these days, of the belief of old-fashioned and decorous people, that subjects, not persons, are fitting material for conversation.

But there is an honest interest, which is as noble a thing as curiosity is contemptible; and it is in recognition of this, that Lowell writes in the largest way in his "Essay on Rousseau and the Sentimentalists."

"Yet our love of minute biographical details," he says, "our desire to make ourselves spies upon the men of the past, seems so much of an instinct in us, that we must look for the spring of it in human nature, and that somewhat deeper than mere curiosity or love of gossip." And more emphatically in another paragraph: "The moment he undertakes to establish . . . a rule of conduct, we ask at once how far are his own life and deed in accordance with what he preaches?

This I believe to be at the bottom of even our insatiable modern eagerness to know the best and the worst of our contemporaries; it is simply to find out how far their behavior squares with their words and position. (I, 16.)

The reticence expressed by Boyesen and Jewett is difficult to comprehend today when the printing of intimate details of the lives of the famous has gone so far beyond what the nineteenth century would have dreamed possible, even beyond what the "enlightened" twentieth century is willing to
accept. Their reticence is even more difficult to understand when one realizes that there was very little that could be described as intimate detail. There was no mention of scandal, not even a reference to a single minor fault. In commenting on the newspaper press in the eighteen nineties, Thomas Beer said that "The Sunday supplement was invented and suburban householders could see in hazy photographs the very bathrooms of the obliging rich." Neither in photographs nor in words were McClure's readers treated to any such details; descriptions of the person's home included parlors and libraries, and occasional references to bedrooms. The promise of intimacy in the articles in McClure's was seldom fulfilled.

In the first issue of McClure's appeared an article titled "James Parton's Rules of Biography," consisting of excerpts from Parton's letters to friends. Parton was known for his realistic portrayal of his subjects. In one of his letters, he had written:

The great charm of all biography is the truth, told simply, directly, boldly, charitably. But this is the great difficulty. A human life is long. A human character is complicated. It is often inconsistent with itself, and it requires nice judgment to proportion it in such a way as to make the book really correspond with the man, and make the same impression upon the reader that the man did upon those who knew him best.

Your difficulty will be to present fairly his less favorable side; but upon this depends all the value, and much of the interest of the work. (I, 59.)

In a list of his rules for writing biographies, Parton advised the biographer "to avoid eulogy and apology and let

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16 Stephen Crane (New York, 1923), p. 73.
the facts have their natural weight." (I, 59.) Even allowing for the difference between a full length study and an essay, the publication of Parton's advice is ironic considering the biographical articles in McClure's. The authors met with no difficulty in presenting fairly the less favorable side of their subject; they merely omitted this side entirely, presenting their subjects as paragons of virtue, superhumans who had no faults.

The purpose of the biographical articles was twofold: to describe what the subject was like as a man unrelated to his occupation -- his character and personality, his attitude toward his fellow men, his physical appearance, his house, his daily routine, his habits; and to describe his early life and the steps leading to his success -- his birth, his ancestors, the obstacles he encountered and overcame, the influence of his relatives and friends on his achievements. The dominant emphasis in most of the articles was on the person, on what he was like now that he had achieved success. He was almost always revealed as unaffected by his fame -- as "human." At the same time that the writers strived to reveal the "human" qualities of their subject, they eulogized him in such a way as to make him appear "super-human." It appeared that each of the persons eulogized was at once very much like all other people and far removed from the multitude. No attempt was made to resolve this contradiction; in fact, the writers seemed unaware that any contradiction existed. The writers also failed to indicate whether the virtues possessed by the
subjects existed prior to their success and helped them to achieve it, or whether these virtues were the results of their having achieved success.

In describing the steps leading to the person's success, writers placed considerable emphasis upon the individual's own efforts, specifically upon his perseverance and his capacity for hard work. The individual, however, was not described as solely responsible for his success. Often his parents, relatives, and friends were credited with helping him toward success, and in several of the articles fortuitous circumstances were revealed as major helps. In most articles, it was even made clear that only a few could hope to imitate the success of the person described. McClure's articles did not fall into the same category as the numerous self-help manuals and success stories that were popular during the period; in most of these latter works all subtlety was avoided in an effort to convey the message that unlimited opportunities existed for American youth who were willing to work hard. McClure's articles sometimes implied such a message, but seemed more intent on proving that successful people were "human," were unspoiled by success, and were paragons of virtue.

The interest, too, was not so much in the man as scientist or writer or soldier, but in the man himself. This was both implicit and explicit in most of the articles. Adam Badeau, in his article on Edwin Booth, said "it occurred to me that a picture, not of the actor merely, but of the man whom I had known for more than thirty years, in
the glow of youth and the prime of manhood, down to the weary invalid, stricken before his time, in the characters that were not assumed - of husband, father, brother, son, and friend - would have an interest far beyond any critical analysis of his performances or historical account of his engagements." (I, 255.) When Ida Tarbell described "Pasteur at Home," she wrote: "I had come to see the destroyer of the theory of spontaneous generation, the demonstrator of the microbe origin of disease, the conqueror of hydrophobia. I had found something greater, perhaps, than them all - a perfectly gentle soul." (I, 331.) Julius Ward said of Francis Parkman: "His work was great, but his life was greater." (II, 198.)

Almost every article included a description of the house in which the subject resided, its exterior and interior, and in these descriptions the writers stressed, with few exceptions, the simplicity of the person's house and at the same time strained to find a relationship between his house and his character. Only a few figures lived in luxurious surroundings, and these were persons living outside of the United States. Madame Patti, the internationally known singer, lived in a "palatial home," and Alma-Tadema, the painter, lived in surroundings so luxurious that "you feel as if you had stepped into fairyland," but there was no criticism of this luxury. It was considered appropriate for Madame Patti, "The Queen of Song," to live in a mansion, and similarly for Alma-Tadema, the artist, to live in a house made beautiful because he loved beauty.
The relationship of house to character was often far-fetched, but most of the biographers agreed with one of the writers who said "there is no doubt that a man influences his surroundings with as much force as they influence him, and a great deal of man's character may be gathered from the home he has made for himself." (VIII, 42.) The biographer of Senator Thomas B. Reed says of his home: "The stamp of the man's character is plain everywhere in that house. The rooms are large, airy, and unpretentiously furnished, yet with solidity and that certain winning grace of domestic appointments in old New England." (I, 376.) In an article on General Sherman, the author stressed his modesty, finding examples of it in his private office in Washington, "a little room down in the basement," (III, 220.) and pointing out that when he moved to St. Louis he insisted again that his office be located in the basement of the house in which he lived. Usually, descriptions of the exterior and interior of homes were lengthy and detailed, adding to a sense of intimacy about the subject, but providing at the same time only superficial information. The writers seemed intent on stressing the fact that famous people lived in ordinary houses, in houses unadorned except by the virtue and talent of the occupant.

The physical descriptions of the subjects served the purpose of providing a picture for the reader, but a more important purpose seemed to be the relationship between physical appearance and character. In several articles on photography, writers stressed the value of photographs for
depicting character. Sarah Orne Jewett said that photographs represent "the aspect of the spiritual body itself" and claimed that it was possible to determine from photographs "the curious resemblance between those who belong to certain professions." (I, 17.) The importance of physical appearance was indicated too in the many articles describing portraits, life masks, busts, or statues of famous figures from the past.

Two excerpts from the biographical articles illustrate the kind of physical description found in most of the articles. In an interview with Colonel Frederick D. Grant, son of the Civil War hero, the author writes:

Colonel Grant is probably a larger man than his father, but proportionately their cranial measurements would probably tally almost exactly. The square short head, indicative of the General's perfect equability of temperament, is reproduced in the Colonel. The features are the same. Particularly is the resemblance close in the nose of unobtrusive strength. The Grant nose is a Caesarian organ with constitutional limitations, British and American. It must have been the nose of a potential dictator once, but centuries of civil and religious liberty in Old and New England of what was once the West, have depressed the arch and set the member snug and law-abidingly to the face. There is the same penetrating and meditative eye, the eye that thinks but does not brook. (II, 515.)

The author of a sketch of Philip D. Armour likewise notes resemblances between physical appearance and character:

Armour is in every way a large man - large in build, in mind, in nature . . . . He moves easily, but he thinks in flashes. He has a big powerful head, broad over the eyes . . . a head that is full of character and determination. He has the strongest, and at the same time, the sweetest, face that I have ever seen in a man. It is the face of one who is so much the master of himself that he can afford to be gentle. His voice is kindly in its tone and low; and while the eyes twinkle and around them are the lines of good humor,
there is in them all the shrewdness, all the searching quality that you can imagine a man of his record to possess. They are the eyes of an analyst of human nature. (II, 263-4.)

Noticeable in the above excerpts is mention of the person's eyes, an amusing characteristic of almost every biographical article. Eyes more than any other physical feature were supposed to reveal the person's true character. The interest in hypnotism during the period may have emphasized the interest in eyes, but it is probably more reasonable to assume that biographical descriptions merely reflected the age-old belief that eyes reveal the soul of man.

In an article titled "Personal Traits of General Grant," General Horace Porter, who served with Grant in the Civil War, singled out five attributes which "were pronounced and conspicuous, and stand out as salient points in his character. They were Truth, Courage, Modesty, Generosity, and Loyalty." (II, 507.) These five traits represent, with few exceptions, the same virtues found in all of the subjects of biographical articles. In the midst of this sameness, the only variety consisted of the author's way of phrasing his description of these virtues or in the specific examples he used to illustrate these traits in his "hero." Each author resorted frequently to the use of superlatives in an effort to raise his subject above all other men, but the cumulative effect of all superlatives was to cancel each other out. Thus we read that the five attributes of Grant's character "were more thoroughly developed in his nature than in the natures of other men," a statement explicit or im-
plicit in articles on all other figures. (II, 507.) Of Pasteur, Ida Tarbell wrote that "In all the fundamentals of greatness: simplicity, purpose, steadfastness, reverence, he was preeminent." (XIX, 143.) Of Henry Drummond, his biographer said: "there are hundreds of men and women who are still sure . . . that his was the most Christlike life they ever knew." (XII, 548.) When Theodore Roosevelt returned from Cuba, he was described as "the most popular man in the army, if not in the nation." (XII, 24.) Governor McKinley was described as "the most passionate American." (II, 83.) President Grover Cleveland was referred to as "the most conscientious man I ever knew" and "the faithfulest public man that we have had since Lincoln." (I, 496.) The author of an article on the evangelist Dwight Moody said that "America possesses at this moment no more extraordinary personage; nor even amongst the most brilliant of her sons has any rendered more stupendous or more enduring service in his country or his time." (IV, 55-6.) Dr. Charles Parkhurst, clergyman turned reformer, was described as "the most popular man in New York." (IV, 152.) William Gladstone, retired at the time of the article, was said to be "far and away the most potent personality in Great Britain." (VII, 196) What is illustrated in the use of superlatives is the biographer's intense efforts to raise his subject to the highest pedestal, perhaps to justify writing about him in the magazine at all, perhaps to indicate that the man's faults were not omitted but simply did not exist.
In describing the early life of the subject, biographers resorted for the most part to statistics, to the
date and place of birth, the subject's ancestry, the
schools he attended, his early inclinations, if any, toward
the work for which he had become famous. There was no
Horatio Alger stereotype operating here. True, most of
the figures had suffered deprivations in childhood, and
biographers carefully pointed out how their suffering
helped them toward success; but several figures were born
into comfort, and here the writers pointed out how their
comfortable childhood helped them toward their future great-
ness. Biographers stressed the person's efforts to over-
come obstacles, the hard work and the perseverance, but at
the same time credited other people or unusual circumstances
for contributing to his success. There were a few figures
whose success came not from their own efforts or the help of
friends, but from divine assistance. Dr. Charles Parkhurst,
changed overnight from a soft-spoken, scholarly clergyman
to the "moral ruler of New York" and no explanation for the
change sufficed, said his biographer, other than "divine
inspiration and divine strength." (II, 475.) The evange-
list Henry Drummond was described as a "favorite of heaven,"
the secret of his charm to be found in Cannon Mozley's
statement that "it does please the Almighty to endow some
of His creatures from the first with extraordinary graces."
(IX, 760.) President Grover Cleveland is described as "a
man of extraordinary personal force, the quality of which is
a puzzling mystery, which men of intellectual power seem to
find a fascination in trying to analyze"; the author points out that Cleveland furnished no hint of "that mystic personal quality" in his childhood or youth. (I, 493.) Hamlin Garland described the sculptor Edward Kemeys as a "mystic" who was prompted to go West to sculpt frontier animals by a voice that came from nowhere urging him to follow this work. (V, 120-131.) To these figures readers could only respond with reverence (or skepticism), but without any hope of duplicating their lives.

The intimate details provided to satisfy the readers' curiosity were usually found in descriptions of the daily lives of the persons described. The writers described the subject's daily routine, the hour at which he arose or arrived at his desk, how he spent the morning, afternoon, and evening, what time he retired. For clergymen, there was a description of how they prepared their sermons; for soldiers, how they planned various campaigns; for scientists and inventors, how they arrived at a discovery or invention; and similarly for each occupation. If the person read frequently, the author spoke of this approvingly and listed the kinds of books he liked; if he did not read, this too was spoken of with at least implied approval. Alma-Tadema was fond of reading, Flammarion hated novels, Armour had no time to read, Tyndall read poetry on picnics, Senator Reed preferred French novels, Sherman and Gladstone avoided newspapers, Dwight Moody read from only two books, "the Bible and human nature." Readers also learned that Alma-Tadema was adept at billiards, Flammarion ate two eggs
for breakfast and was a "great sleeper," General Grant was ignorant of music, and William Gladstone "sleeps with all his might," believes that every piece of meat should be chewed thirty-two times, and can dress for dinner in three minutes. Noticeable throughout all of the article, in matters important and trivial, was the inclusion of statistics, whether for the hour of arising or the number of times meat should be chewed for proper digestion.

The frequency of biographical articles in McClure's indicates that the readers enjoyed biography and were apparently content with what McClure's offered in spite of how little was revealed about the persons described. For at least one reader, biography was better than fiction:

There is less of miscellany, and more in the nature of biography and personal reminiscence, in McClure's than in any of the other established magazines, and it holds popular attention and interest in proportion. Men love to read about men of flesh and blood, rather than fictitious heroes. We gather more pleasures, and feel a nearer sympathy with the frailties, the failures and successes of some men we know personally, or by reputation, than we do in imaginary events in the life of an imaginary character. 17

The emphasis in the non-fiction was on facts, even in the articles on persons. The objective of many of the articles seemed to be primarily to inform the readers and only secondarily to entertain them. In the midst of this non-fiction, there appeared a large amount of fiction. What would the readers want in their fiction? Would the fiction differ in its emphasis from the non-fiction? Would the

17 From an editorial in the Augusta, Georgia Chronicle, reprinted in McClure's, IV, 196.
favorite topics in non-fiction carry over to the fiction? This relationship between the non-fiction and the fiction is the subject of the chapter that follows, a study of the kind of fiction McClure's published and what it revealed about the likes and dislikes and the attitudes of the readers.
CHAPTER THREE

PATTERNS IN FICTION

The amount of fiction published in McClure's from 1893 through June, 1903 is impressive: 467 short stories, nine novels and three novelettes. Among the many contributors of this fiction were a few outstanding literary figures whose names and works are well-known today, and several minor writers whose names are recorded in the literary histories of the period. American contributors included Samuel Hopkins Adams, John Kendrick Bangs, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, "Octave Thanet" (Alice French), Hamlin Garland, Ellen Glasgow, Joel Chandler Harris, Bret Harte, O. Henry, Sarah Orne Jewett, Joseph Kirkland, Jack London, Frank Norris, Frank Stockton, Booth Tarkington, and William Allen White. Foreign writers included Arthur Conan Doyle, Anthony Hope, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Quiller-Couch, Robert Louis Stevenson, "Ian Maclaren" (Dr. John Watson), and Stanley Weyman.

The amount of fiction contributed by these writers varied from a single short story to Rudyard Kipling's total of two novels and twenty short stories. Including his ten poems and two essays, Kipling's work appeared almost every other month, and his fiction amounted to more than that of any other writer. Several writers who contributed short stories also contributed novels: Anthony Hope and Robert Louis Stevenson each contributed two novels (Stevenson's Ebb Tide was written in collaboration with Lloyd Osbourne); Booth Tarkington wrote two
novels and one novelette; Samuel Hopkins Adams contributed
one novelette.

Only a few of the works published in McClure's by the
writers listed above are still remembered: Kipling's *Kim*
and *Captains Courageous* and his jungle stories; Stephen
Crane's "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky"; one of Conan
Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories; and perhaps Booth Tarkington's *The Gentleman
from Indiana*. Jack London is better known now for his novels
than for his short stories, four of which appeared in
McClure's. Most of the contributions from the other writers
are insignificant. Frank Norris's Christmas story, "Miracle
Joyeux"; Thomas Hardy's sole contribution, "Mastr John
Horseleigh, Knyght"; and Theodore Dreiser's "A True Patriarch"
add nothing to the literary reputation of these writers, and
could, in fact, have been written by almost any unknown writer
of the period. *McClure's* was obviously exploiting the "names"
of these writers.

Several of the stories in *McClure's* were obviously intended
only as light entertainment - stories of adventure or mystery -
and within the limits of this intention, they succeeded fairly
well without resorting to the use of mechanical devices that
marred credibility. This is true, for example, of Stanley
Weyman's stories about a fictitious minister of France in the
sixteenth century; of Conan Doyle's one Sherlock Holmes story;
of the two mystery stories by Arthur Quiller-Couch; of the
stories describing adventures on the sea by Conan Doyle,
Morgan Robertson, and W. Clark Russell. Most of the stories,
however, were poorly written. The settings, characters,
plots, and themes were not fused into a whole. Settings were usually presented in the most general terms, and the relationship of setting to other elements of the story was often vague, sometimes even in opposition to characters or plot. Characters were seldom developed and seldom acted in accordance with the general statements used to describe them. Plot was stressed more often than other elements and with little attention to plausibility. Themes were usually mere messages, intended to edify or instruct the reader. More noticeable, however, than these technical flaws was the sentimentality that permeated most of the fiction, often providing a mist that helped to conceal from the readers the technical flaws of the stories. The fiction in McClure's differed from the fiction in today's popular magazines most noticeably in this respect: today's popular stories are more sophisticated, more cleverly contrived; their technical faults are less obvious because they are concealed by a thin veneer consisting of "snappier" writing, a faster pace, and a more sophisticated use of those devices that prevent the reader from noticing the flaws. The slower pace of stories in McClure's, the wordiness, occasional moralizing, and often stilted language tends to reveal the flaws as one is reading the story. In contrast, the fiction appearing today in The Saturday Evening Post, for example, contains a brisker movement from scene to scene, a more colloquial style, so that the flaws are more obvious to a critical reader after he has completed the story instead of while he is engaged in reading it.
The fiction in McClure's can provide us with some glimpse of the attitudes of the magazine's readers and also the attitudes of a large segment of the public during the period. What some of the attitudes of McClure's readers were can be determined by examining the popularity of certain kinds of stories, by noting the frequent appearance of certain themes (or messages). By comparing and contrasting the trends in fiction with the trends in non-fiction, we can perhaps determine with more accuracy the attitudes of the reading public. Attitudes not noticeable at all in the non-fiction, for example, but appearing frequently in the fiction, might well represent what the readers really did think but found necessary to conceal in fiction, since fiction has often been looked upon by some readers as something "not true," "made up," a "lie" designed only to entertain the reader.¹

Although the non-fiction in McClure's includes a large number of articles concerned with the past, the emphasis is on the present and on what the present promises for the future.

¹There is evidence in McClure's that the editors and some of the readers thought of fiction as something unrelated to reality. Several of the short stories were sub-titled "A True Story." When the story was intended to focus attention on a problem, the editors found it necessary to include a note informing the reader of the story's basis in fact. For example, at the beginning of a short story describing child labor in the South, the editors wrote: "Not many descriptive articles could throw so much light upon child labor in the South as this little story. The author . . . is thoroughly familiar with the conditions she has here described." (XX,361.) The editors also commented on a series of stories titled "True Stories from the Underworld," saying "These stories are not fiction in the ordinary sense; they are entertaining stories, but more than this they are philosophical studies...All the names in these have all occurred at various times and places. These stories are intended to point a moral as well as adorn a tale." (XV,356.)
Even when attention is focused on the past, the motive is often to set a contrast with the present. The articles, for example, on naval engagements in early American history served to enhance the glories of the American navy following the Spanish-American War. In several articles describing scientific achievements of the past, mention was made of the more glorious achievements of the present. This interest in the present and the future in non-fiction contrasts sharply with the emphasis in fiction which was on the past or on some other form of escape from the present. This contrast suggests strongly that while the readers and hence a large part of the public were interested in knowing what was being accomplished in the present, their imagination was focused on the past, and as the fiction indicates, they longed for a simple past that never existed.

In the non-fiction articles prior to the beginning of muckraking in 1903, there was almost no focus on the problems of the period, or on the evils that existed in contemporary society. Such an obviously one-sided view of the world and of America indicates that readers of McClure's were averse to any mention of the unpleasantness of life during the period. This one-sided view is found in most of the fiction too, but there were stories that were concerned with the evils as well as the virtues of the present. In most of these stories, however, efforts were made to conceal this unpleasantness by various devices, suggesting even more strongly that readers were unwilling to be confronted with the problems of the time. That the problems existed was indicated in the
non-fiction by the sudden emergence of muckraking articles; it was indicated in the fiction by the tendency to soften such misery as was described.

The most popular non-fiction topic was science or technology, included in 79 articles and in 7 biographical descriptions. It is significant that the scientist or inventor rarely serves as a fictional character. In one story a designer of locomotives loses his sanity, destroys his locomotive, and dies in the wreck; in another a scientist's discovery of a new chemical causes, as the title indicates, "The Doom of London." The scientist and the inventor were not popular figures; the interest in discoveries and inventions was apparently not an interest in discoverers and inventors. The discrepancy between the number of articles on science and technology and the number of biographical articles on scientists and inventors provides evidence for this statement.

The lack of popular interest in religion indicated in the non-fiction is evident in the fiction too. It is interesting to notice that often the motivation for virtuous acts on the part of some characters is decidedly not religious: characters are generous because their actions will impress the neighbors; they are kind because it makes them feel good, or because it is good business policy, or because they are grateful to someone who has been helpful to them. A married woman wishes that her husband would attend church for the sake of his children. A Catholic girl elopes with her non-Catholic lover when her parents object to
the marriage. A minister in one story is pursued by a young lady who wins him by her physical charms. Throughout the fiction, religion is seldom referred to and when it is mentioned it is explicitly opposed or it does not appear as a motivating force. Some lip service is paid to religion in the non-fiction but not in fiction.

The fiction in McClure's divides itself into two broad categories: fiction completely removed from life in the present, and fiction concerned in varying degrees with life in the present. The first category, which is the larger, consists of stories about the past, from the time of Christ to the Civil War, about foreign countries, America, and even imaginary kingdoms, about historical events and manufactured events, about a past that resembled what history tells us and about an idealized past that never existed. Of special interest are the many stories about the American past - the early West, early rural America, and the Civil War. There were also stories about the future; stories concerned with the most bizarre situations (amnesia, insanity, reincarnation); stories set in Africa, India, Ceylon, Burma, China, the South Seas; stories of animals; mystery stories without any specific setting of time or place.

McClure's, in publishing a large number of stories that provided an escape from the present, was merely following the trend of popular fiction that began in the early eighties and continued into the early years of the twentieth century. The most popular novels during these years were about the past or about life in foreign countries or imaginary kingdoms,
and the characters, even when they were Americans, lived lives very much unlike the lives of most Americans. Americans were then reading about the exotic lives of people in foreign lands in such novels as Francis Marion Crawford's *A Cigarette Maker's Romance* (1890), *Don Orsino* (1892), *Casa Braccio* (1895), or *In the Palace of the King* (1900); or Marie Corelli's *Thelma* (1887), or *A Romance of Two Worlds* (1888). Anthony Hope, who became popular following the publication of his costume romance, *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894), introduced readers to the imaginary kingdom of Ruritania, and his formula was followed for more than a decade by other writers, such as Richard Harding Davis in *The Princess Aline*, Harold McGrath in *Arms and the Woman*, and with a slightly different twist by George Barr McCutcheon in *Graustark* (1901). Looking at the lists of popular books during the eighties and nineties, one notices the frequent use in the titles of such words as "romance," "palace," "king," and such exotic titles as *Saracinesca*, *Casa Braccio*; the nostalgia for the past is explicit too in such titles as *Auld Light Idyll*, *Days of Auld Lang Syne*, *Alice of Old Vincennes*, and *When Knighthood Was in Flower.*

2 McClure's then, reflected popular interests by publishing what the readers wanted to read in fiction as well as in non-

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2Although titles are not always dependable guides, it is interesting to notice how the titles of critical works reflect the tone of criticism during the period. Such titles as *My Study Fire*, *Under the Evening Lamp, Pen and Ink, Books and Culture, The Life of the Spirit, Studies and Appreciations*, and *Indoor Studies* are in sharp contrast to the more direct and forceful titles of such books as Howells' *Criticism and Fiction*, *Heroines of Fiction*, *Garland's Crumbling Idols*, Norris's *Responsibilities of the Novelist*, and Henry James's earlier essay, *The Art of Fiction.*
fiction. Most of the fiction in McClure's indicates that the readers wanted to be distracted from the present by attention to the past, to the bizarre and exotic.

The predominant interest in the past suggests that in spite of the articles extolling the glories and achievements of the present, a large segment of the population continued to long for the past, for "the good old days." Such a longing certainly reveals a dissatisfaction with things as they are, perhaps because life in America then was becoming too complex, or because changes were occurring so rapidly that many people could not absorb them. The events of the period certainly indicate that change was the order of the day. There was during the nineties enough distance between that decade and the Civil War to allow some perspective, and the number of books and articles on the various aspects of the War made it obvious that the public craved more information about it. During the same decade the Spanish-American War occurred with its consequent effect on America's thinking about America and the world. The periods of depression, the increase of trusts, the labor strikes - these and other events could well have accounted for a desire to retreat to the past.

3Several of the poems published in McClure's were concerned with such a longing for the past. Here are a few lines from a poem, "Magic of the Past": "O Ghostly visitants/That haunt the lonely heart,/O trooping shadows of old joys,/Echoes of words that still return/Dream-like to paint anew/The vanished happiness/Of perfect yesterdays,/Can I not live/The old life once again..." (XVIII, 288)
The trend away from the present in McClure's fiction is perhaps best represented in the fiction of Anthony Hope, which was perhaps as far removed from life in the present as he could make it. It was not only set in the past, but in remote places as well, and his characters and action put it even farther away from normal life. Hope's two novels published in McClure's - Phroso and Rupert of Hentzau - and his short stories followed a formula similar to that used in his more famous Prisoner of Zenda - costumes, aristocratic characters, action piled upon action, narrow escapes, fantastic events, and stilted dialogue. His novel, Phroso, is typical of his other fiction in McClure's, and indeed of the other stories of swashbuckling romance in the magazine. Unlike Zenda, its setting is not Ruritania, but England and Greece, although there is nothing in the novel concretely to identify either country. The novel concerns the purchase by an English lord of an island in Greece, and the intrigues and skirmishes that follow his arrival on the island as evil forces try to prevent him from remaining on his property. A large part of the action occurs in a castle containing secret passages and mysterious hideouts. During the daily battles to ward off attacks from outside, the lord discovers a woman hiding in the castle, and although he thinks she is a commoner, he falls in love with her and plans to marry her when the fighting ends. After a monotonous series of attacks and retreats, narrow escapes and last minute victories, the English lord and his companions defeat the forces of evil; this success is made even more an occasion of joy by the
lord's discovery that the woman he loves is of royal blood. The natives are delighted to learn of the coming marriage and they pledge eternal loyalty to the new inhabitants of the castle. The rapid action serves to distract the reader's attention from the implausibility of characters and action throughout the story.

Stanley Weyman's series of short stories, each subtitled "A Story from the Memoirs of the Minister of France," are in the French courts in the early seventeenth century; Anthony Hope's fiction is set in no specific time and is only superficially related to a specific country, but Weyman's stories refer to specific places in France and include such dates as 1601 or 1610. All of Weyman's stories follow the same formula: enemies of the minister of France attempt various intrigues to destroy the minister's position of favor with the king; the minister cleverly regains the king's favor and justice is distributed to the minister's enemies. The emphasis is on the plot, on the gradual unfolding of the minister's subtle and clever methods of dealing with his enemies. The characters are developed in sufficient detail for the story's purpose. As light entertainment, these stories succeed; they are rather well-written, and they introduce some irony in the resolution of the conflict.

The stories by Hope and Weyman are representative of escape fiction in McClure's. They not only reveal a tendency to escape the present, but they suggest also that there was a desire for romance that was not fulfilled by life in the present. Furthermore, although there were problems enough
during the nineties, they were problems that were difficult
to solve, and were often, in fact, too complex to be seen
clearly. In contrast, the problems described in the fiction
of Hope and Weyman were solved by clever tricks, hidden
escape tunnels, and sword and gun fights. They were problems
too that confronted individuals - the English lord, the
minister of France - rather than whole nations or large
social and economic groups within nations.

Not all of the stories about the past, however, took
the reader away from America or took him as far away in time
as did the swashbuckling romances. There were stories of
the early American West by Hamlin Garland and Bret Harte and
several unknown writers. Even in these stories, however,
one finds similarities to those of Hope and Weyman. The
stories of the American West presented not a West that is
found in American history, but an idealized, glorified West
that was no more real than the Greece or England in Anthony
Hope's *Phroso*. It was a West well-known today through movies
and television, that is, through the recent and contemporary
"child Westerns" in contrast to the significant phrase
currently in use, "adult Westerns." It was a West of cow-
boys and Indians, of law and order versus anarchy, of good
men and bad men. It was an oversimplified West in which the
conflicts were easily and almost always resolved, the good
men always victorious, justice always triumphant. The tenor
of the Western fiction is apparent in the titles: "The
Sheriff of Siskyou," "Sheriff of Elbert," "The Man for
Sheriff," "The Roping at Pasco's," "How the Law Came to
Jenkins Creek." The latter title indicates that the law did come, and the story is concerned, as one might guess, with the opposition to its coming and the necessity for it to come.

In two stories, an unromantic West was described, and the problems were not solved. In both, nature in the form of blizzards causes death and misery. In the earlier one (March, 1895), the setting is the early West, "the broad prairie, with not a tree or a house in sight." This two-page work, more effective than most of the fiction largely because of its brevity and restraint, tells of a husband and father who is forced to leave his wife and two children alone while he travels a long distance to a nearby town for supplies. On his return, a sever blizzard begins. After the storm, his body is discovered a short distance from his house, and his wife and children are found dead from exposure and hunger. The bleakness of this tale is used, however, to emphasize the glory of the West, the myth of the West as an American "Garden of Eden." The story ends with the following comment:

Ohi these great wide plains! Since the days when first men crossed them going in search of gold, leaving the bones of comrades to bleach upon them, how many tragedies have been enacted there, tragedies of which the world knows nothing! Some day, "when the waste places bloom and the desert has become a garden," the children will listen with wondering eyes to tales like this, and ask can they be true! (IV, 388.)

The second story of an unromantic West (January, 1900) describes a blizzard on the Dakota prairies, but to the blizzard is added an epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis.
But here the promise of a Western "garden" had been fulfilled: "The valley was groaning with fullness. Imogene [the name of the town] belonged to the soil, and had never sought to depart from it. There the town lay... fat, self-satisfied, and vain." (XIV, 263.) Having achieved "fullness," the inhabitants of the region had given up the simple virtues, and the function of the blizzard and the epidemic is that of shocking the people into a sense of what they have lost:

If you had asked any one a few weeks before what was the dominant sentiment of Imogene, you would have received one reply, Money. Now it was Love; and this meant that it had always been love. The people were now willing, eager, wild, to throw away all the accumulations from years of toil and self-denial, only to rescue their children. And in the days that came, when this fact at last dawned full upon their apprehensions out of their agony and bereavement, it forever left its soothing, divine impress upon their souls. (XIV, 265-266.)

In most of the stories about the West there was an attitude of nostalgia for the past, nostalgia for a West that no longer existed. A striking contrast to this attitude appeared in a story published in the issue for April, 1900, titled "The Winning of the Trans-Continental." It described the efforts of the leading citizens of one Western town to lure the Trans-Continental Railroad to run its trains through their town. The emphasis throughout is on the physical and financial development of this town, a town described as "typical of the West - pushing, self-assertive, public-spirited." (XIV, 573.) There was no reference in this story to nature, to the fullness of the land or to a Western
"garden"; the town was described as a new version of the West:

The town was still in the midst of its first "boom," but every man, woman, and child there took pride in it, and believed loyally that the town was to be a big city in the near future. Men were passing to and fro quietly, buying and selling in a business-like way. Not a man who was not busy; not one who did not believe he was on the high road to fortune; everywhere rustle, life, and hope: a new country in the making. (XIV, 573.)

In most of the stories in which rural life served as the setting or theme, the emphasis was not on the present. They either described rural life in an earlier period or were written in a tone of nostalgia for the past. The attitude toward rural life was unlike the attitude expressed in the non-fiction articles where the emphasis was on the rise of the cities and the scientific marvels of an urban civilization. Rural life in most of the stories was glorified; life in the country was described as simple, as idyllic, and living in the country provided one automatically with good character. City life, as it sometimes appeared in these stories, was viewed as complex, evil, and artificial. In some of the stories, however, there was a note of ambivalence: life in the country included loneliness and drudgery, further complicated by economic conditions, drought, or plagues of insects. Yet even in the stories that admitted some defects about life in the country, such
life was still looked upon as more attractive than life in the city.\footnote{There were very few themes in the verses published in McClure's, but among these few the most prominent was the value of rural life. Hamlin Garland, in his fiction, articles and verses, was perhaps the most prominent spokesman for those who favored rural life and life in the West. One of Garland's poems, "Home from the City," exemplifies the attitude expressed in the other poems on rural life:}

A typical story of rural life was one by Sarah Orne Jewett titled "A Born Farmer." For the husband, farm work is his greatest pleasure; for the wife, it has become drudgery - a division of attitudes represented in several stories. The husband inherits a large sum of money, sells his farm, and moves with his family to the city. After several months there, during which time the family suffers from boredom and unhappiness, they decide to return to the country and are delighted to discover that they can buy back

\begin{verbatim}
Out of the city, out of the street!
   Out in the wind and the grasses,
Where the bird and the daisy wooring meet,
   And the cloud like an eagle passes,
Far from the roaring street.

Out of the hurry, away from the heat
   And clamor of iron heels and hoofs,
Out of the stench and scorching heat
   We come as a dove to its native roofs,
Far from the thunderous street.

Into the silence of cool-breathed leaves,
   Where the wind like a lover
Murmurs, and waits to listen, and weaves
   His arms in the leafy cover -
Back to a world of stubble and sheaves
   We flee from the murderous street!
\end{verbatim}
(VIII, 96.)
their original farm. The reference to unpleasantness - the
drudgery of farm work for the wife - is brief; most of the
tale brings out the simple message that true happiness can
be found only on the farm, and such happiness cannot be marred
by the mere drudgery of a woman's chores.

The simple message of Sarah Orne Jewett's story is
typical of most of the stories extolling rural life. A few
of the stories were more complicated, more diverse in what
they attempted to say, and perhaps more representative of
the ambivalent attitude toward rural and urban life. One of
the more complicated stories not only includes the rural
versus urban theme, but echoes as well something of the myth
of "the American Adam"; at the same time, the story
propagandizes for reform in the court system. The story is
set in New England. The hero, Isaac, is the son of a widow
whose name is included in full, Mrs. Abraham Masters. The
story is concerned with beginnings, specifically with Isaac
beginning a new life in the city, but earlier beginnings
are suggested by the New England setting and the names
Abraham and Isaac. The author's description of Isaac
stresses his rural virtues and suggests too something of the

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5 I am indebted here and elsewhere in this study to two
excellent and provocative studies of American myth: Henry
Nash Smith's Virgin Land (Cambridge, Harvard University
Press, 1950) and R.W.B. Lewis's The American Adam (Chicago,
American Adam, an Adam who is prepared to begin life anew, not in the country but in the city:

His heart was as simple and as clean as a pebble in a brook. Country vices had not smirched him. He had a mind only for his mother, and the farm, and earning a living — and a heart for Abbie his fiancee. Great thoughts did not invade his head. But this afternoon, as he stood there on the gray rock, his heart bursting with happiness, which was made perfect by his mother’s blessing, an apprehension for the future — bitter, breathless, began to arouse him. The promise of the horizon suddenly became revealed to him. The distant line of green, now bold, now sinuous, now uncertain, had never asked him questions before, had never exasperated him with a meaning. (VI, 176.)

What the horizon revealed to Isaac was a message telling him to go to the city. The farm on which he lives, one of the poorest in the region, has suffered from a late frost followed by drought.

Isaac leaves the farm and goes to Boston where shortly after his arrival he witnesses a murder. According to law, he is required to remain in jail until the trial. During this ordeal his mother dies and before the long-delayed trial takes place, Isaac dies following a fall down the steps of the jail. The plot emphasizes the need for reform of the courts, but throughout the story the rural versus urban theme predominates. The images used by the author are interesting since they are developed more than in other stories in McClure’s. Before he leaves the farm, Isaac notices the "verdure of far-off valleys" and "the hurrying smoke of a locomotive," and similar images of nature and
technology appear throughout. One of the most interesting images is that of granite appearing in the following passage:

It is just such country lads as this—strong, self-reliant, religious—who, when poverty has projected them out of her granite mountains upon granite pavements, each as hard and bleak as the other, by a massive determination have conquered predestined success. (VI, 177.)

Judging from the passage above, it would appear that the author of this story found rural life and city life equally bleak, that even a country boy possessed with "self-reliance" and massive determination could not succeed either on the farm or in the city. In later descriptions, however, the author describes the terrors of life in the city:

The fear of a great city is more teasing than the terror of a wilderness or a desert. There the trees or the rocks or the sand befriends you. But in the city the penniless stranger has no part in people or home or door steps. Every one's heart is against him. It is the anguish of hunger amid plenty, the rattling of thirst amid rivers of wine, the serration of loneliness amid humanity thicker than barnacles upon a wharf pile. (VI, 180.)

The ambivalent attitude toward rural life and toward the past and present is made explicit in a story significantly titled "Progress." The plot concerns a farmer who sold his farm land to the railroad, but retained his house to use as a boarding house and to it added a store, hoping to become wealthy by catering to railroad employees. After ten years of struggling to earn a living, the farmer discovers
that he is bankrupt and will lose his business and his home.
But the farmer's mother, who has been living with him, and
secretly saving money, helps the family purchase a small
house nearby and enough farm land for subsistence.

 Unlike other stories in which the focus is on the plot,
the plot in this story merely serves as a framework for the
attitudes toward past and present and "progress." At the
time that the railroad arrived, the farmer was glad to be
rid of the farm; he looked forward to a "grand new era of
prosperity that was dawning;" he believed "that progress,
with an enormous capital P, was pushing and pulling every
creature in the poor, old, belated South into a financial
paradise." (XIV, 40.) When financial success does not
follow, the farmer reverses his position, and he blames
others for his failure: "But I'm not to blame, please
God ... I didn't go out hunting for any of these things.
They came and shoved 'em on me, and called 'em progress."
(XIV, 42.) Although nostalgia for the past is dominant, the
present and the future are described as full of promise, and
although the farmer fails, the town has grown and continues
to thrive. The representation of the past by the farm and
the present and future by the railroad is typical of most of
the stories of rural life.

 A desire for a return to the past is indicated also in
stories concerned not with the historical past, but with the
adult reader's childhood and early adolescence. In more than
forty stories children were the main characters, and the
theme of most of these stories is that childhood is an idyllic period of one's life, a period in which happiness is marred only by the unreasoning demands of parents, relatives, schoolteachers, and other superiors. The children are glorified; they are described as pure and innocent, as Wordsworthian figures in harmony with nature and in opposition to the discipline and regularity required by parents and teachers.  

William Allen White wrote a series of Boyville stories describing the lives of boys in small Midwestern towns. Josephine Dodge Daskam wrote fiction about boyhood and several verses about childhood. Girls were represented in the fiction of George Madden Martin. William Allen White was more effusive about childhood than other writers, but his attitudes are representative. White wrote in an epilogue to his Boyville stories:

But when the moon's silver had marked itself upon the grass, the boys were lying prone on a haycock behind the royal castle. They chattered idly, and the murmur of their talk rose on the just-felt breeze that greets the rising moon, like the ripple of waters. But the chatter was only a seeming. For in truth the boys were absorbing the glory of the moonlight. And the undertones of their being were sounding in unison with the gentle music of the hour. Their souls - fresher from God than are the souls of men - were acquiver with joy, and their lips babble to hide their ecstasies. In Boyville it is a shameful thing to flaunt the secrets of the heart. As the

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6 The emphasis on childhood is found in several of the verses as well as in the fiction and non-fiction. Representative of most of the verse are the following lines from "A Boy's Point of View": "Sometimes the road to Sunday School/Drags out so hot and dreary,/ But that same road to go trout-fishing,/ It springs along so cheery." (XX, 306.)
night deepened, and the sly stars peeped at
the bold moon, the boys let their prattle ebb
into silence. Long they lay looking upward -
with the impulse in their souls that prompted
the eternal question that Adam left unanswered,
that David cried in passion across his harp,
that the wise-men of the world have left locked
in mystery - the question of the Whence, the
Why, and the Whither. (XIV, 38.)

White's stories describe conflicts between the boys and
their parents, between the boys' desire for freedom and the
parents' interference with this freedom. In one story, for
example, a boy is forbidden by his parents to join the others
at the swimming hole; divided in his loyalties, he decides
to disobey; he is discovered by his father and punished, but
he decides (and White agrees) that the "crime" was worth the
punishment.

The longing for youth is indicated also in a few stories
in which the characters are adults who try to relive their
childhood. Ellsworth Kelley wrote three stories about two
old men who had spent their boyhood days together. In one,
they return to their earlier homes where they reminisce about
childhood. It is a Sunday and one of the men plans to attend
church, but his companion persuades him to walk with him in
the woods instead. They go fishing, they climb a familiar
tree and steal eggs from a bird's nest, they even argue and
engage in a fist fight. And through it all they speak
nostalgically of the early days. At one point one of the
men remarks sadly that boys often skip church on Sunday and
are whipped for it:

An' licked fer what? Jest 'cause you was
a-bavin the only downright, rale good time
you ever got a chance to have. I never had
any boys of my own, but I'll tell you right
here that if I had forty boys, an' they all
wanted to go swimmin' on Sunday, why, they
could go, an' what's more, I'd go with 'em!
(XVI, 475.)

Like the stories of the West and of rural life, the stories
of children and childhood reveal a longing for the past, a
longing for a simple, even primitive life.

Other methods of escape from the present included the
use of animals as major characters in stories, and amnesia
victims who recovered their memories after thirty years and
returned home. There were several stories about supernatural
events; there were mystery stories without a setting; there
were stories of legends, of dreams, and of victims of in-
sanity. In most of these stories, the problems were easily
solved.

Even in the stories in which the setting was America
during the nineties, there was a strong tendency to omit any
mention of evils or of suffering, or to clear them up in a
happy ending. But the author used various mechanical tricks
to indicate that the evils were not real. That the evils
often dominated the story in spite of the author's efforts
to dispose of them indicates that they did exist, and even
stronger evidence of their existence is revealed in the few
stories in which they were permitted to appear unrelieved
to the very end of the story.
A representative story in which the present time is used for the setting is one by Octave Thanet titled "The Spell-Binder." It describes a small farming region in Nebraska where a combination of hard times and drought has ruined the farms and several of the inhabitants have died from starvation. Most of the farms have been purchased at low rates by eastern trusts. The story begins with a group of the men enroute to the village where they will meet a wealthy young man who represents his father's eastern trust company. During their journey they describe their success in scaring several land purchasers away from the area by threatening to do them harm. They agree that if necessary they will resort to violence. The conflict of the story is resolved when the group meets and discovers that the wealthy young man is generous and humane. He informs them that having purchased their land cheaply, he intends to sell it back to them cheaply, and that meanwhile his firm will provide assistance to help them reclaim their farms.

In spite of the happy and implausible ending, the dominant effect of the story comes from the descriptions of the desolation in the area, the plight of the farmers and their families, the hopelessness of their situation. Most of the story is given over to descriptions such as the following:

There were enough lights in the windows to reveal the wide untidiness of the street, the black, boarded windows of the empty shops, the gaps in the sidewalk, the haggard gardens, where savage winds had blown the heart out of deserted
rose-trees and geraniums. In general the skyline was low and the roofs the simplest peaks; but it was broken in a few places by three and four storied brick buildings of the florid pomp on which a raw Western town loves to lavish its money. Now they loomed, dark and silent, landmarks of vanished ambition. Robbins, who was a man of parts and education, with a fanciful turn, felt the air of defeat and desolation hanging over the town choke him like miasma. (VIII, 533.)

Octave Thanet described desolation and suffering in her fiction, but not without some device which proved that all was well.

The most popular stories in which the present served as setting were those describing romantic love. In spite of the use of the present these stories were as far removed from everyday life as were those of historical romance by Anthony Hope. The women were exalted, and looked down from their pedestals with an air of indifference toward their suitors. The men were obsequious, willing to accept any humiliation in order to win the women, and in almost every story they finally succeeded in persuading the woman to marry. In some of the stories, there was another hurdle to overcome: the parents of the woman disapproved of the marriage. The remoteness of these stories strongly suggest that everyday life in the nineties offered little romance.

The women rejected their suitors for various reasons, most of them ludicrous. One heroine complained about modern customs of courtship and longed for the past: "There was a time when a man won his spurs before he expected to win a woman." (XII, 455.) She demanded that her suitor perform
some heroic task before she would marry him. In another story, the man is rejected because of his intellectual failings, his inability to follow the fashions of sophisticated circles:

He did not write, nor sing, nor act; he was not aesthetic, musical, nor socialistic. He was only a big, strong, tender-hearted fellow, pure in soul and sunny of temper, from whose armor of proof... the temptations of modern life rolled like water from a duck's back. He had never done a mean action nor told a slanderous story... Dick's mental acquirements were rather slim, it must be confessed. He read Shakespeare and Macaulay, and Thackeray and Dumas, and he was fond of Wilkie Collins. He had no taste for Buddhism and thought theosophy was "tommy rot." He did not know a thing about Ibsen, and had never heard of Mr. George Meredith. (III, 496.)

Literary qualifications appear in another story where the suitor, who is a writer, is rejected because he writes only "realistic" stories and refuses his sweetheart's request to write at least one "romantic" story for her.

The men finally succeed in winning the women for reasons that are ridiculous. The man who "did not know a thing about Ibsen" wins his girl, not by reading Ibsen but by showing tenderness toward a stray cat. Other suitors are accepted when the woman discover that they are kind to children, aged people, or the poor; or they amuse the women by sending them witty letters or humorous gifts. In general, they all win their women because of their perseverance.

In stories in which the parents oppose the marriage, the marriage always occurs, either because the parents are won over or because the couple elope. One parent sums up the
message of most of the stories when he comments following the elopement of his daughter: "They were bound and determined to have each other, and when people are bound and determined on a thing the thing generally comes to pass."

The virtue of perseverance, which is extolled in a variety of stories in McClure's, seems to be a major theme in stories of romantic love.

The stories of romantic love not only appear ludicrous today, but appeared so to at least one writer and some of the readers then. In a short story titled "The Romance of Dulltown," the author ridicules the typical story of romantic love, and in one reference indicates that such stories were valuable only as an escape from reality:

So a romance is possible anywhere, even in Dulltown. For the ingredients of romance are everywhere, if properly mixed. What are they? Youth, love, ambition, hope, success. Given a poor but gallant youth for a lover; romantic maiden, with regulation blue or hazel or dark eyes; a hard, worldly father; opportunity in the shape of "village sociables," or other levelling and democratic assemblages, where the "rich and the poor meet together," and "the Lord is the father of them all," as the Bible says, to illustrate the levelling function of such meetings; and you have material for a romance even in the Dulltowns of the world. (IV, 236.)

The hero of the story, Johnny Brown, is the son of a widow who does "needle work" to raise her three children. Johnny is a strong, handsome, bashful boy, "ragged, but clean and well groomed," who studies hard in school and is eager to become a success in business. He attempts to make his
fortune so that he can marry a girl who is the daughter of the wealthiest man in town, but he loses his savings in a fire. The father, hearing of this, agrees to the wedding and presents the couple with a check for one thousand dollars. The author uses all of the stock phrases that appear in the other stories and concludes on this note:

And thus ended the "Romance of Dulltown" - or, rather, there it began in reality; for a jollier and more perfectly happy family than the Van Gould-Brown connection would be hard to find in this world of bank failures, mail robberies, and general "cussedness." Long may they wave! (IV, 244.)

A story by Quiller-Couch is exceptional because of its reference to physical attraction and because the heroine pursues the hero. In this story, a young minister is assigned to a congregation, and his arrival is the topic of speculation among the young women in the parish. One night he is called to the window by a young woman who tells him that her mother is dying and asks him to accompany her to visit the mother. Since the young woman lives on the opposite side of the river, they are to make the trip in her boat. Halfway across the river, the girl explains that the mother is not ill, that she used that story as a ruse in order to talk to him because "I'm sick o' love for you, an' I want 'ee to marry me." (I, 521.) The young minister is horrified and demands to be returned to shore, but the female suitor is adamant. As they sit in silence, the author describes the scene:

The moonshine fell on her throat and extended arms. Her lips were parted, her head was thrown back a little, and for the first
time the young minister saw that she was a beautiful woman.
"Ay, look, look at me," she pleaded.
"That's what I've wanted 'ee to do all along. Take my hands; them shapely to look at and strong to work for 'ee."

Hardly knowing what he did, the young man took them; then in a moment he let them go - but too late; they were about his neck.

With that he sealed his fate for good of ill. He bent forward a little, and their lips met. (I, 522.)

The explanation for the appearance of this story in McClure's is found in the story itself. The narrator is relating what took place more than fifty years ago; the minister and his wife are now dead. The setting for the story is England and the author is English. Probably because the story was removed from America and from the present, it was considered acceptable.

American life is idealized in several other stories, among them those describing railroad life. Most of these were written by Cy Warman, Frank Spearman, and John A. Hill, all former railroad employees. Railroad life is romanticized: it is described as an occupation that attracted men who were virtuous, kind, generous, loyal, and heroic. Several of the stories concern train wrecks that reveal the courage of engineers and firemen.

The work of the locomotive engineer was frequently referred to as a profession, and a profession open only to a selected group of men who earned their title after years of apprenticeship. In one of the stories, the locomotive engineer tells a fireman that it was "against his principles
to teach locomotive running to a young man who was likely
to turn out a drunkard or gambler and disgrace the pro-
fession." (XII, 129.) The firemen worked hard in spite of
difficulties until they had proved themselves "worthy" of
becoming engineers.

The popularity of romantic stories of railroad life —
and articles on railroads — was no doubt the result of what
railroads and especially locomotives represented at the time.
One could speculate on the many benefits promised for the
future, benefits to be brought about by science and technology,
but one could see the benefits of the railroad as it conquered
space and time. In the nineties the locomotive engineer was
probably honored as much as the riverboat captain was honored
by the boys of Mark Twain's boyhood.

In the stories of romantic love and railroad life,
every aspect of life was glorified; the obstacles were
relatively minor, sometimes ridiculous, but always easily
overcome. In several other stories, however, there appeared
a description of miseries. This was true in the fiction
where the hero was a man of wealth and the story's "message"
was that such men were kind and generous. Ironically, in
these same stories the miseries described were caused by
economic conditions and the blame for such conditions was
often placed on the wealthy business men. In spite of the
attempt to idealize these heroes, the main focus of the
story was on the economic suffering, described often in
considerable detail. The wealthy hero appeared at the end
of the story to enact an implausible last-minute rescue to assure readers that things were not as bad as they seemed. The readers were, it appears, unwilling to admit in fiction or in fact that conditions were bad or that wealthy men were greedy, dishonest, and selfish. At the same time, by implication they did admit it. Ironically, after 1901 business men were attacked in the muckraking articles published in McClure's.

In the Octave Thanet short story referred to earlier, the wealthy hero arrives at the desolate Nebraska town not to exploit the people, but to help them. In the same story, however, references are made to wealthy men who came earlier to buy up land and to inhabitants who died of starvation. The message in this story would seem to be that no matter how bad conditions are, no matter how many wealthy men ruin a town and cause starvation and death, if the townspeople are patient and honest a benevolent man of wealth will eventually appear to save them.

In a short story with an enigmatic title - "Badness" - the author, John J. A'Becket begins with a heavy description of despair:

John MacDowell sat in the kitchen of his East Side tenement-house quarters, with the look on his face of one whom hope had deserted ... In his face were the eloquent hollows of emaciation ... Despair looked from his honest blue eyes.

It is not the best moment for well-regulated thinking when a man realizes himself as the center of radiating blind alleys of misfortune. Nor was the kitchen of a small tenement-house apartment the fittest spot for brooding in, on that sweltering day in August. But Mrs. MacDowell,
by the prerogative of the dead, had the dark-
ened front room to herself, and, happily, the
fire in the kitchen stove, in modest imitation
of the flame of life in John's wife, had also
gone out. John, only five months before, was
a cheery, sanguine, young stone-cutter, with
good wages, whose wife was an earnest, sympa-
thetic helpmate, and true mother to his two
plump-faced little girls ... The air of their
street and of the stived-up rooms, only one of
which ever knew what sunshine was, proved a
good field for miscible activity, Mrs. MacDowell
fell ill of consumption ....

Then John had been stabbed in his forearm
while trying to keep a drunken man from pettishly
knifing his wife. The wound threw John out
of work for three months ... and he lost his
job. He had worn out his shoes, and, inci-
dentally, his heart, while running round looking
for another ....

By this time the blasting heat of summer was
at hand, and sickness and mortality thrived
apace. John came home one day, after another
disheartening quest for employment, to find
his wife panting her last.

...............................

The rent had been unpaid for two months,
To be sure, there was the excellent reason,
from the tenant's standpoint, that there
wasn't any money to pay it with. But every-
body knows how inadequately that placates a
landlord. After John had fallen short the
first time, the agent promptly raised the
rent from twelve to fifteen dollars a month.
It was a neat device for getting rid of an
undesirable tenant. (IX, 949.)

The miseries of John MacDowell include most of those that
appeared in the other stories of suffering. Certainly the
combination was sufficient to cause despair for the hero and
to jerk tears from the readers: a dead wife, two children
to support, unemployment, the rent unpaid, and "the blasting
heat of summer was at hand."

John MacDowell deplores his situation and considers his
landlord's good fortune in contrast to his plight: "That
other man, no older than he, was surfeited with wealth. Everything he wanted was his for the taking... Wasn't there something wrong somewhere?" (IX, 950.) John decides to call on his wealthy landlord to ask for mercy, but a butler refuses him admission. As John is leaving the estate, a young child breaks away from her nurse and runs to the nearby river where she falls in. John rescues her. She is, of course, the landlord's daughter. The landlord pays for the funeral of John's wife and hires John as a gardener; John and his two daughters move into "a small, ivy-covered cottage on the young man's place, with softly swaying elms about it, and birds whistling in their leafy boughs as if life was nothing but a holiday." (IX, 955.) John's earlier question, "Wasn't there something wrong somewhere?" remains unanswered. The other tenants of the tenement-house remain unknown. The story suggests strongly that a lot of John MacDowells are made to suffer, but there is also an attempt to soften this by the weak suggestion that the wealthy are generous once they discover how bad conditions are, or perhaps once their children have been rescued from death.

The wealthy man was not only generous; he was described in several stories as a man burdened by the responsibility of wealth, who longs for the freedom enjoyed by those who do not have money. This attitude is most explicit in a story titled "The Turning of the Ways," published in May, 1900. There is a suggestion throughout the story that the hero's problem resembles the problem of the United States
in 1900: the newly discovered power of the United States is a burden but one that must be accepted. The hero has recently inherited the family wealth following the death of an uncle.

At twenty-seven he was at the turning of the ways, like his nation. To be rich was to be perplexed; to be free - an end some few of the moderately well-to-do and the unincumbered rich may reach - was to be liable to an abuse of freedom; to be powerful was to be a subject. In the Square he saw the passing throng.

"They envy me, I suppose. I don't envy myself," Carl said. (XV, 15.)

At the beginning of the story, Carl is confronted with the problem of deciding how to vote a large number of shares owned by his family; he is being pressured to vote according to the advice of a financier described by Carl as one who "represents all the combinations ... And he wants me - for his puppet." (p. 15.)

Yes, in this autumn, 1899, the financier represented a power that, founded on trade and the combination of trading interests into a few hands, aspired to secure and to hold in the hollow of one mighty hand the whole world, making and unmaking public opinion, shaping the policy of governments, subduing all to its own ends. (p. 15.)

From such a beginning it would appear that the story was to be concerned with monopolies, with the conflict of an honest, idealistic, young man and a dishonest, greedy combination. The story moves on, to other conflicts, however, without resolving the conflict posed at the beginning. Even the urban versus rural theme appears in Carl's decision to spend a fortnight in the country in order to make up his mind -
"He would have none of the artificialities of the city to disturb him. He would try to see clearly." (p. 15.) Romantic love too enters the story when Carl meets a young woman he had known earlier, now engaged to be married. Carl accepts an invitation to dinner at her home; when they arrive an accident has just taken place; the young lady orders the victim, an old woman, to be taken inside, saying "I feel wicked - wicked! I never knew such poverty. She has been suffering for the necessaries of life." (p. 18.)

Later in the evening, Carl discovers that the young woman is no longer engaged and he asks her to marry him. She accepts. This settled, Carl realises that he should remain wealthy, and he associates his new responsibility with that of the nation:

For the nation new responsibilities; for every man new responsibilities; for himself an endless vista of business details, of demands for charity, for loans, and the importunities of poor relatives on the head of the family. (p. 19.)

As the story ends, Carl has asked the financier for more information about the shares he is expected to vote. The elder man is impressed by Carl's request, saying "I wish you were a son of mine. I don't know whether you are wrong or right. I am tired out, but - at your age I was like you. At mine, you too will be tired out." (p. 19.) The story ends with the message "For it has been written that for king or rich man who is a true man there shall be no rest." (p. 19.) The criticism of trusts in the beginning is buried in the midst of generosity toward the poor, romantic love, an
emphasis on the responsibilities of wealth, and a vague reference to American imperialism. The note of criticism in this and other stories is a foreshadowing of the muckraking articles which made no attempt to soften the charges.

In the stories mentioned thus far, various figures were idealized - children, romantic lovers, railroad employees, and wealthy men. Other stories presented glorified pictures of soldiers and sailors, politicians, burglars, tramps, farmers, the aged, factory workers, but in these the emphasis seemed to be more on idealizing American life than on the occupation or the status of the individual. In the majority of the stories not previously mentioned, the emphasis was on particular virtues rather than on persons or situations. The virtues included honesty, kindness, generosity, devotion to family or to a worthy cause, perseverance, courage, and shrewdness. Like the stories of the wealthy heroes that seemed to be saying greed and dishonesty were rare, the stories extolling simple virtues seemed to be saying that these virtues did exist and were not uncommon, but the strained efforts to make the point strongly suggest that the virtues represented were not as common as they had been in the past.

In the stories of wealthy heroes, the emphasis is on the individual, on the one wealthy man who is generous and who provides salvation. The evils that were described in these stories were the evils not of an individual but of a group - a corporation, a trust, a monopoly. It is implied
in these stories that one honest man is capable of opposing the dishonesty of an organization. Similarly, the individual possessing the virtue provides relief for the suffering of others. Implied was a belief that a "fairy godmother" will always arrive on the scene at the crucial moment. In these, as in other stories, the descriptions of misery were more plausible than the mechanical, last-minute appearance of the rescuer.

In one of the stories extolling virtue, for example, the central characters are a Mrs. Bridges and her daughter, who live with the rest of their family on a farm. The Bridges possess all of the necessities of life and have now arrived at a point where they can reach out for some of the luxuries they feel they deserve. They have saved enough money to purchase an organ for the daughter and a horse and buggy for the family. It is at this point that a neighbor calls on them to report that an old woman who lives nearby can no longer maintain herself and is going to be placed in the poorhouse. Throughout most of the story, Mrs. Bridges and her daughter explain to each other the many reasons why they cannot be expected to offer a room in their house to the old woman who at one time owned the house in which they are living. The end of the story consists of a change of heart on the part of Mrs. Bridges and her daughter as they see the buggy approaching their house carrying the old woman to the county home. Mrs. Bridges suggests offering the old woman a room and her daughter agrees; they decide to give up their
plans for the organ and the horse and buggy. The motivation for their change of plans is interesting; Mrs. Bridges says: "We'll show the neighbors that when we do take people in, we take 'em in all over." (IX, 89.) In the absence of charity, the old woman is saved by the strong desire to astonish the neighbors.

There was at least an element of plausibility in the story referred to above. In another story about an old woman, the author depended on the mechanical introduction of an implausible character and her implausible action. It concerns an old woman who lives in a part of a house with her brother and his wife. Although the house was left to the woman and her brother by their parents, the brother partitioned a small space from the rest of the house for his sister. She suffers from poverty and even more from loneliness and ill-treatment by her brother and sister-in-law. She places an advertisement in a Boston newspaper offering room and board to a young woman; strangely enough, the advertisement is answered. Even more strangely, when the young woman arrives and sees the size of the apartment she is to share with the old woman, she remains, providing comfort for the lonely old woman during her stay. Prior to her departure, she purchases a cow for the old woman so that she will be financially independent of her cruel brother. The "fairy godmother" of this story is only slightly more ludicrous than in other tales.

In other stories, a politician loses an important
election because he took the time to do a trivial errand for his mother instead of campaigning; another politician refuses a bribe and loses the election; a famous surgeon performs without charge an operation on a young man's eyes, and the young man, previously shunned by people in the village and treated cruelly by his brother because he was cross-eyed, begins a new life; a farmer is tyrannical toward his wife and children; even after his wife dies from overwork, he continues his tyranny over the children, but finally undergoes a change of heart when his daughter dies to save his life; and old negro is loved by everyone in a small town except one man until the negro rescues the man's children during a severe storm; a young father loses his savings in a real-estate investment, is seriously injured when he falls from a horse; an eccentric old woman nurses him to health and gives him money to replace what he lost. In all of these stories, the descriptions of suffering appear plausible; the last-minute rescues, the changes of heart appear tacked on in order to prove that misery will never be unrelieved.

There were, however, some thirty stories published in McClure's in which various miseries were described without any attempt to provide relief. These stories seem to indicate that prior to the publication of the muckraking articles, readers were prepared to accept references to unpleasant aspects of life provided that these appeared in fiction, not in factual articles. In several of these stories, in fact, the subject matter is similar to the
subject matter of the muckraking articles.

Of these thirty stories, only ten appeared prior to 1898, indicating that the change of attitude on the part of readers was gradual and that this change was influenced by the Spanish-American War and events following the War. Included in these ten stories were such miseries as alcoholism, the cruelty of a mother, the drudgeries of farm life, life in a Jewish ghetto in England, a labor strike, inhumane practices in the courts, the Civil War, and filibustering activity before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War.

Three of the ten were obvious propaganda stories. Two were concerned with alcoholism. The first on "the evils of drink" describes the life of a young man whose fiancée waits with Griselda-like patience while the man begins drinking, loses his position, is sent to prison for stealing, and finally dies. (I, 441-449.) The second, by Octave Thanet, uses only the framework of fiction for a discussion of the best method to cure alcoholism. A group at a party discuss the problem, each describing what he thinks is the best cure. The last man to speak is a judge whose opinion is highly respected. He tells about a man he knew who cured himself by working toward the cure of another drunkard, essentially the method employed by Alcoholics Anonymous today. The judge's story ends when he relates how the first man lost his leg in an unsuccessful attempt to rescue his friend from beneath the rails of a train. These two stories are not surprising examples of unrelieved misery; the "evils
of drink" story, intended as propaganda, was accepted by the most squeamish readers, but it is one of the anomalies of popular fiction that such stories were intended to portray "the facts," to portray "truth," and were not intended to be read for pleasure.

The story referred to previously in which the rural boy attempts to earn a living in the city, witnesses a murder, is held in jail and later dies, was also intended as propaganda. The editorial references to the story contain interesting glimpses of the concept of fiction in McClure's. In "Editorial Notes" two months after the publication of the story, the editors of McClure's announced that the author wrote this story as the first of a series intended to "exhibit in dramatic form some monstrous imperfections in the present modes of judicial procedure." (VI, 399.) The editors also reprinted editorials from two newspapers in which reference is made to the story published in McClure's. One of the editorials contains the statement: "This story is fiction, but it is not overdrawn. Such horrible things do happen in these fin-de-siecle days in a civilized country." (VI, 399.) Both of the editorials go on to cite actual instances of witnesses who were treated as was the hero in the story. The suggestion here is that fiction is customarily "overdrawn," that occasionally it does describe "reality," and in this story, it did. It was necessary when fiction coincided with fact to underline this for the readers.

Two of the most depressing stories to appear in McClure's
were by the British writer, Israel Zangwill. Both described life in a charity hospital for incurables situated in the ghetto of London. In one, Zangwill describes the lonely thoughts of an old woman who is dying and who reviews her early life: The depressing effect of the story consists of its bleakness; nothing happens, and the old woman in thinking of the past can recall only sadness. More depressing is his other story titled "Incurable." Here he describes a young Jewish woman who is dying and whose husband has not visited her. One of the nurses writes to the husband urging him to come to see his wife. When he arrives, he explains that he is living with another woman whom he plans to marry after his wife's death, rationalizing his action on the basis of her incurable ailment and his youth and loneliness. Reluctantly, but courageously, the wife offers to permit him to divorce her; he accepts, and even brings his new wife for a last visit. There is not a note of hope in the entire story, nor does Zangwill attempt to portray the wife as suffering from the indifference of a cruel husband. He includes vivid descriptions of the charity hospital - "two corner houses knocked together" - the loneliness and the physical pain of the patients - "blood-curdling screams from the room above, sounds that reminded the visitor he was not in a Barnum show, that the monstrosities were genuine." (I, 478-479.) There is no attempt to gloss over the miseries of ghetto life or the horrors of the hospital. These are stories, however, about life in a Jewish ghetto in London, written by a British
writer, and perhaps these facts explain why such depressing stories found their way into a magazine in which the fiction was largely designed to cheer rather than to depress the reader.

Three of Stephen Crane's stories appeared prior to 1898: "The Little Regiment," a story of the Civil War; "The Veteran," a story of a Civil War veteran and his grandson's disillusionment upon discovering the veteran once ran away from a battle; and "Flanagan," a story of filibustering prior to the Spanish-American War. The Civil War story is unlike the others on the subject in that Crane described the horrors of battle, whereas the others romanticized the war and stressed its humorous aspects or described the comradeship of soldiers or the friendliness of opposing troops during lulls in battle. Crane's focus is on two brothers in the same regiment who quarrel constantly. Following a battle, one of the brothers is missing and believed dead; the remaining brother regrets the many quarrels. Later, the missing brother returns to his regiment. Crane succeeds in avoiding sentimentality with such a plot largely because of his description of the soldiers, the battle scenes, and the men's fear. A brief description of one scene illustrates what Crane does throughout the story:

The enclouded air vibrated with noises made by hidden colossal things. The infantry tramplings, the heavy rumbling of the artillery, made the earth speak of gigantic preparation.
Guns on distant heights thundered from time to time with sudden, nervous roar, as if unable to endure in silence a knowledge of hostile troops massing, other guns going into position. These sounds, near and remote, defined an immense battle-ground, described the tremendous width of the stage of the prospective drama. The voice of the guns, slightly casual, unexcited in their challenges and warnings, could not destroy the unutterable eloquence of the word in the air, a meaning of impending struggle which made the breath halt at the lips. (VII, 12.)

At another point Crane describes the feelings of one of the soldiers before a battle:

His heart was cased in that curious dissonant metal which covers a man's emotions at such times. The terrible voices from the hills told him that in this wide conflict his life was an insignificant fact, and that his death would be an insignificant fact. They portended the whirlwind to which he would be as necessary as a waved butterfly's wing. The solemnity, the sadness of it came near enough to make him wonder why he was neither solemn nor sad. (VII, 14-15.)

Crane made no effort in his stories of the Civil War nor in any of his stories in McClure's to avoid the unpleasant or having described it, to gloss over it.

In "The Veteran," Crane describes the boy's disappointment when he learns that his hero-grandfather once ran away during a battle. Later in the story, the grandfather proves his heroism when he dies in an effort to rescue his horses from the barn during a fire. This is a typical McClure's story on this theme, but Crane's restraint, and his ending the story without further reference to the boy's feelings, avoids the sentimental.

The Civil War was a popular topic during the period, and
although Crane's story of the battle emphasized the horrors of war where other stories dismissed this aspect in favor of more romantic treatment, McClure's acceptance of it is not surprising. Though Crane could not find a publisher who was willing to accept his novelette, *Maggie: A Girl of the Street*, his Civil War novel, *The Red Badge of Courage*, was among the best sellers of the period.

While the Civil War was a remote event during the nineties, labor strikes were not; yet the fiction in McClure's avoided references to strikes except in one or two stories. It is surprising to discover as early as 1894 a short story concerned with a strike. Titled "The Mistress of the Foundry," the story was published as one selected for fifth prize in a McClure's short story contest. It was divided into two parts, the first concerned with embezzlement, the second with a strike. Vaguely uniting both parts was the fact that the heroine, a young woman, was managing the foundry during her husband's absence. Part II is the more significant since it includes a detailed description of the violence of the strike. The author does not propagandize in favor of management or labor, focusing only on the charm and efficiency of the heroine.

The workers state their cause in detail throughout the story, one of them commenting about the owner of the foundry: "Why don't he share his money with us workingmen? We're the producers. His foundry belongs to us. We made the money that paid for it. Manufacturers ought to divvy up the
profits that the men make." (III, 268.) Other strikers describe the cruelties of the wealthy owners of the foundries, their inhumane treatment of workers, their adamant refusal to install safety devices for the men. On the other hand, there are descriptions of homes burned down by the strikers. The home of the female manager is protected by her employees because of her kindesses toward them. The leader of the strike, one of the men employed by the young woman, was forced to leave town after the fires, and at the end of the story word was received that he had been killed while leading a strike in another city. Hearing this news, the woman manager commented: "poor, misguided Luke!" (p. 271.) This story describes labor-management problems, including violence, without any attempt at editorial comment, and without trying to relieve the unpleasantness on both sides by mechanical tricks.

A story of a blizzard on the Western prairies and the death of a family was referred to earlier. The author of this bleak tale, Mrs. E. V. Wilson, had published as early as August, 1893 another story of unrelieved misery. The narrator describes a conversation overheard on a train in which two women discuss a neighbor woman and her son. The son married and brought his wife to the mother's farm where she was treated cruelly and overworked until she and her newborn child died. The husband left home for California. The story resembles the many stories of suffering in which at the last minute a generous person arrives on the scene to
provide relief; this particular story is significant in that no such person arrives, and the story ends on the same note of bleakness with which it began.

From 1893 to 1898 there were ten stories describing some unpleasant aspect of life without attempting to gloss over it or to provide implausible relief at the end. From 1898 until 1903 there were more than twenty such stories, several of which resembled the non-fictional muckraking articles in their obvious intention to point up certain existing evils in the hope of providing reform. The change after 1898 not only in the number of stories published but also in the kind of stories is no doubt related to changed attitudes following the Spanish-American War.

Eight of the stories published after 1898 were obvious attacks on business "concealed" within the framework of a short story. Ray Stannard Baker, who later wrote several of the muckraking articles, contributed a story, titled "At the Tunnel's End," which described the work of a dishonest contractor who endangered the lives of workers in the construction of a tunnel underneath the river. News of leaks in the tunnel reached the public and resulted in an investigation by a "Committee of Five." The contractor entertains the committee lavishly prior to their visit, and guides them on their tour of the tunnel so that they will not notice the shoddy work being performed. Shortly after the committee has approved the work, a large leak traps two of the workers who are saved just before it is too late. The
contractor pays the two men well so that they will not talk to reporters and will continue to work under the same conditions.

Labor strikes were the focus in two of the stories which favored the workers. One by Octave Thanet is interesting because it included several complications not found in other stories about labor-management problems. For eleven pages - an unusually long story for McClure's - the author gives the details of a strike in a steel mill, including the reasons for the strike, the management's use of "scabs," the attitude of the workers and their wives, the suffering caused by the strike. The hero is a worker who refuses to strike because of his loyalty to the company and especially to its former owner, now dead, who had treated him with kindness. The author is in sympathy both with the strikers and the one worker who remains at the mill. When the strike ends, the workers insist on the dismissal of the man who was loyal to the firm, and in spite of a previous promise to repay the man for his loyalty, the firm gives in to the union demand. Later, the president of the firm regrets his action and desires to make amends, but is informed that his loyal worker is now in the insane asylum. Here, except for the insanity, Octave Thanet manages to avoid the implausible happy endings that characterized her other stories in McClure's.

The most significant stories about business were the five about Wall Street by Edwin Lefèvre; these and three others were published in book form in 1901 under the title
Wall Street Stories, creating, according to Grant Knight "a mild sensation because of their literalness in showing how speculative fortunes were made and lost; two of them, "The Break in Turpentine" and "The Lost Opportunity," were almost manuals of instruction in how to play the market." The general theme of Lefèvre's stories was that dishonest speculation was common on Wall Street, that speculators had no regard for the many people who would suffer from dishonest speculators. In "Pike's Peak or Bust" the author traces the gradual degradation of a telephone boy in Wall Street who begins by making small sums for providing secret information to speculators and eventually becomes a speculator himself, winning a small fortune largely by such unfair methods as using the money belonging to his customers. At the end of the story the young man loses all of his money and the money belonging to others. Lefèvre provided considerable detail on how the stock market operated, on how common dishonesty was among the speculators.

Five stories published after 1898 contained propaganda urging the acceptance of immigrants in the United States. In the many stories about Irish immigrants the emphasis was on the Irish as good workers and on their love of gayety and their sense of humor. It was obvious from these stories that the Irish were accepted. The five stories on immigrants

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7 The Stranguous Age in American Literature (Chapel Hill, 1954), p. 29.
included two stories on Italians, two stories on Syrians, and one story on a group of eastern Europeans on a ship heading for America.

All emphasized the poverty suffered by these groups and the scorn they faced from native Americans. In a story of the Italian quarter in San Francisco, the author's description summarizes the general theme of the other stories:

"It is beyond the power of onlookers to estimate the horror of tragedy hourly going on in our imported population. Out of the droves of ignorantly hopeful people who come herding over to us, their souls glowing not only with impossible fancies of wealth and power to come, but with equally preposterous expectation of present welcome, only a rare few gain independence, while the rest slave and suffer, sicken, die, and rot to form an awful human fertilizer for the land they came to share. The animal hunger and desperation shining from their eyes appeal to us merely as an unpleasant, but inalienable, attribute of the "lower classes," not at all as the signs of the death struggle of a lonely brother man. Loneliness fills as many graves as whisky. The loneliness of Italians in California is pitiful: they come with notions of placer mining in their back yard and cultivating grapes in their front yard, with the presidency always hopefully in reach. (XV, 170-171.)"

The propaganda is even more obvious in a story titled "The Promised Land," sub-titled "A Narrative After the Fact."

A United States senator and his wife are returning from Europe aboard a ship carrying hundreds of Assyrians, Cossacks, and Roumanian Jews to the United States. The senator, described as "not a politician in the common acceptance of the word, but an honest, conscientious legislator," has
prepared a bill "aimed at a radical restriction of immigration." He and his wife comment on "the mass of unwashed and unkempt humanity on the lower deck," citing their reasons for wishing to restrict their entry into the country: they are ignorant of sanitary laws, they are paupers who will rely on the state for subsistence, and their low wages will menace the American workingman. Before the ship arrives in New York, the senator and his wife have changed their views; they have talked to the immigrants through an interpreter, they have witnessed Jewish services, they have seen a child buried at sea, and because of this they realize that "The United States is the refuge to which the oppressed of every land are looking." (XV, 71.) The attitude of the senator and his wife indicates that their original opinion of the immigrants was common at the time; their revised opinion uncommon.

Reform characterized four other stories in McClure's after 1898, stories in which the propaganda was not only obvious throughout, but was often underlined by the editor's comments at the beginning. These four were concerned with the problems of child labor, cruelty in a state orphanage, and - in two stories - reform in the courts. Three of the stories painted a vivid picture of the horrors involved in their topic, implying the need for change. But one story, on the need for reform in the courts, ended on a positive note made in a speech by a judge who was trying a young man for stealing. When the judge discovers that the young man
stole so that he could marry a girl who had helped to reform him, he dismisses the case with the comment:

As it is, any act which falls within a certain classified and arbitrary list is forthwith named an offense against the State. But little attention is given to the motive underlying the act. Nor is the good of the criminal himself taken largely into consideration in administering penalties, save upon the theory that to punish him by restricting his liberty will give him time and opportunity for turning penitent. The accepted doctrine seems to be that he who had done any one of these things is of necessity by temperament and nature an enemy of his brothers.

In my judgment, that policy is not broad enough - not elastic enough. It aims at crushing out effects, not at the alleviation of causes. The prisoner himself has rights - rights far beyond the mere matter of securing a hearing by an impartial jury and beyond the admission of evidence according to established usage. He has the right to have his motive considered. I think it should be the business of the courts to inquire as fully as possible into the motives which foreshadow the acts complained of; and in meting punishment for those acts a court should seek to avoid the danger of spoiling a potentially useful citizen.

(XIII, 309.)

In this and in the other reform stories, it is obvious that McClure's was interested, as Ida Tarbell said, in playing "a citizen's part," but the editors were at first cautious, publicizing conditions in fiction first and later in factual articles.

Involved in these stories on specific evils was an element of hope - hope that reform would follow when the public became aware of conditions. Although such stories are significant, appearing as they did in a magazine devoted largely to edifying and consoling its readers, an even more
significant series of stories were four of Jack London's, published in 1900 and 1901, embodying a naturalistic philosophy of life. They were "Grit of Women," "The Man with the Gash," "The Law of Life," and "The God of His Fathers." These stories emphasized the value of physical strength and courage, the survival of the fittest, and the acceptance of death as a relief from the burden of life. The characters in these stories discuss their attitudes toward life and death, and what little action occurs is obviously intended to illustrate the virtues of a naturalistic attitude.

In London's stories, suffering is more common than pleasure, death is looked upon as routine among men as well as animals - a striking contrast to the Pollyana stories in McClure's. The comment by one of the characters sums up the "message" found in London's fiction:

Life is a strange thing. Much have I thought on it, and pondered long, yet daily the strange-ness of it grows not less, but more. Why this longing for Life? It is a game which no man wins. To live is to toil hard and to suffer sore, till Old Age creeps heavily upon us and we throw down our hands on the cold ashes of dead fires. It is hard to live. In pain the babe sucks his first breath, in pain the old man gasps his last, and all his days are full of trouble and sorrow; yet he goes down to the open arms of Death, stumbling, falling with head turned backward, fighting it to the last. And Death is kind. It is only Life, and the things of Life that hurt. Yet we love Life, and we hate Death. It is very strange. (XV, 328.)

Throughout the non-fiction articles in McClure's the emphasis is on the present and the future, and the tone of these articles indicates that conditions were growing better
and better each day. Until the muckraking articles appeared, the confident tone continued to characterize the non-fiction, but from the beginning of McClure's in 1893 the fiction revealed glimpses of the insecurity, the fears and doubts that more nearly characterized the attitude of the readers. The fiction in McClure's indicates that the muckraking articles were almost inevitable, that they finally appeared when public sentiment was prepared to accept them, or perhaps appeared only after the editors of McClure's realized that the public was prepared to accept them.
CHAPTER FOUR

STATUS OF THE WRITER

In a passage from his memoirs quoted earlier, S.S. McClure said of his attitude toward writers: "If I believed in a man, I could give him a large audience at once; I could give him that gaze of the public which is the breath of life to a writer." McClure did this for several writers, some who failed to achieve popularity, others who became popular by appearing in McClure's. He is credited with having discovered O. Henry and Booth Tarkington, and with helping to popularize in America the work of Kipling, Stevenson, and Conan Doyle. McClure might have added that he provided his readers not only with the work of writers, but also with a "gaze" at their private lives.

In every issue of the magazine biographical or autobiographical articles appeared, more of them devoted to writers than to persons of any other profession. Of the 274 articles concerned wholly with a single figure, 60—almost 22 per cent—described writers. Of the 131 persons described in biographical or autobiographical articles, 32, or 24 per cent, were writers. In articles concerned with two or more persons, 33 other writers were

1 McClure, p. 234.
described; five other writers were described at some length in "Editorial Notes" and two others were introduced to readers through full-page photographs. Writers from England, Scotland, France and Russia were described as well as Americans. Either as a contributor or as the subject of a biographical sketch, sometimes as both, the writer was indeed a popular figure.

Of the 32 figures described in articles devoted entirely to one person, the emphasis was on contemporary writers of fiction and on writers whose work was already popular. Five of the writers had died during the nineties - Francis Parkman, John Greenleaf Whittier, Robert Louis Stevenson, George Douglas, and Alfred Lord Tennyson; only one, John Keats, had died earlier. The Brontë sisters shared in a series of five articles. There were articles on five poets, two playwrights, two prose writers, and Monsieur de Blowitz, the French journalist.

Almost all of the writers described were authors of popular works: Francis Marion Crawford, Eugene Field, Edward Everett Hale, Bret Harte, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, James Whitcomb Riley, Mark Twain, Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, "Ian Maclaren," Robert Louis Stevenson, and Jules Verne. Several of the figures described whose major work had appeared earlier than the nineties were perhaps less popular for their writing than revered for their names; this probably accounts for the articles on Francis Parkman, John Keats, John Ruskin, the Brontë sisters, and to some extent, John Greenleaf Whittier.
Most of the writers whose works were not popular were described not for the literary distinction of their work, but for a variety of other reasons. Emile Zola, described in one article, was a figure known to the reading public because of the controversy about his fiction. The inclusion of brief references to Thomas Hardy, Matthew Arnold, Henry James, and others in the series of articles by the English publisher, George Smalley, explains itself; the articles were devoted to Smalley's gossip about a number of literary figures he had known personally, and he stresses the personal rather than the literary aspect of each writer. Similarly, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, in her twelve-chapter autobiography, refers to Emerson, Longfellow, and Holmes, stressing her friendship with them.

A number of writers were described at some length, but there were no biographical articles on such earlier figures as Melville and Whitman; on Crane, Dreiser, Norris, and London, whose work appeared in the magazine, and no full-length treatment of Henry James. The editors were interested in S.S. McClure's policy of providing the readers with what they liked, and if this occasionally included Kipling's Kim, or Crane's "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," or an article about the private life of Howells, Ruskin, or Tennyson, it was because the readers liked these stories and articles at the same time that they liked the sentimental stories of Ian Maclaren or the genteel autobiography of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.

Despite the absence of a genuine interest in "good"
literature and "good" writers, the editors of McClure's did introduce their readers to several writers of literary distinction and to certain aspects of writing and of literature that were of importance. In the article on William Dean Howells, for example, Howells described his "conversion" to realism and made several comments on the value of realism in fiction. The subject of realism appeared also in one of the chapters of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' autobiography, where the author challenged the arguments of Howells, thus indicating to the readers of McClure's that there existed a literary controversy about realism versus romanticism. Zola, in the article describing him, defended the naturalism of his novels. James Whitcomb Riley argued that he was not a poet but a writer of popular verse, insisting that this distinction in favor of the poet be maintained in referring to his work.

What the editors emphasized in articles on writers reveals something of what the readers wanted to know. The most notable characteristic of these sketches was the attempt to show that writers, like other figures, were "human," were very much like the readers of the magazine in their private lives, in their habits and interests, differing only in their attention to writing and in their fame. This was true in the sketches of other figures too, but it is more noticeable in the sketches of writers. Readers knew more about the work of soldiers, sailors, politicians, editors, actors and actresses, and inventors than that of writers. Readers wanted to know too where
writers obtained ideas, how they went about writing a
novel or a play, how much time they devoted to their work.
In explaining these details, biographers tried to show
that the writer was not the mysterious, perhaps suspect
figure he was thought to be, that he had no "tricks,"
that he was an "ordinary" person who worked hard at his
profession. A pious and proper woman in one of the
stories in McClure's, when asked if she had read a certain
novel, replied that she was not "addicted to the reading of
fiction." Occasional comments in stories and articles
indicated that fiction was frowned upon by some readers.

The necessity to defend the writers accounts to some
extent for the predominance of biographical articles on
these figures, and if it is true that they were in need of
defense, the editors of McClure's were less interested in
helping them than they were in serving their own interests:
the writer contributed to the high circulation and the
popularity of the magazine. What accounts to a much
larger extent for the popularity of the articles on writers,
however, would appear to be the same thing that accounts
for the present day popularity of articles on entertainers,
on figures from the movies, television, the stage, and
nightclubs. During the eighteen nineties, in the absence
of radio, television, and movies, the writer perhaps more
than any other figure was the national entertainer. Actors
and actresses might have been known by name throughout the
country, but only a small proportion of the population
witnessed these celebrities in a play. Even the lecturers
who traveled the country, performing in small villages as well as large cities, could not be heard by everyone; writers, on the other hand, were published not only in popular magazines but even in small newspapers which purchased their work from syndicates.

The articles on writers treated these figures as celebrities. Readers were promised an intimate glimpse of the writer's private life, invited to spend "A Morning with Bret Harte" or "An Afternoon with Oliver Wendell Holmes," or to obtain a glimpse of "Jules Verne at Home." Here as in articles on other figures, the intimacy was enhanced by the fact that many of the interviewers or biographers were close friends of their subject. H.H. Boyesen stressed the fact that his friendship with William Dean Howells was "of twenty-two years standing, and that during all that time not a single jarring note had been introduced to mar the harmony of our relation." (I,3.)

Ian Maclaren was described by a classmate of his at Edinburgh. An editor of a paper in India for whom Kipling worked wrote an article describing "Kipling in India."

George W. Smalley, in his series of articles on English men of letters, played up his personal relationship with these men. One of the articles on Mark Twain was written by his nephew, Samuel Moffett, and the editor's comment accompanying the article says that Twain requested his nephew to write about him to counteract the many unauthorized accounts that had appeared in other magazines. Even in the article on Keats, some personal relationship is involved, although
a far-fetched one: the author of the article is the grandson of Keats's brother, George Keats, who emigrated to Kentucky.

The editors were quick to exploit an author who had recently died. Articles on Parkman, Whittier, and Tennyson who died early in the last decade of the century, appeared during the nineties. Prior to Stevenson's death in 1894, McClure's had described him briefly in "Human Documents" and had published his essay titled "My First Book," which was semi-autobiographical. Immediately after his death, the pages of McClure's were filled with eulogies, biographical sketches, and portraits of this popular author. In February, 1895, an article described Stevenson's popularity among the natives of Samoa before his death; in the same issue J. M. Barrie published a poem about Stevenson, S. R. Crockett discussed "Mr. Stevenson's Books," and "Ian Maclaren" wrote "In Memoriam: R.L.S." The issue for July, 1895 published Edmond Gosse's poem, "To Tusitala in Vailima"; Stevenson's address to the Samoan chiefs, and a copy of his will. In the same year Sidney Colvin wrote an introduction to seven pages of letters written to Colvin by Stevenson. Stevenson's popularity increased after his death and McClure's was quick to exploit it. The exploitation of a writer's recent death is even more pronounced in the appearance of two articles following the sudden death of George Douglas, a Scotsman who had written only one book, The House With the Green Shutters, and who had never published for McClure's. Eugene Field, interviewed by
Hamlin Garland earlier, was described again after his death in 1895 in an article titled "Eugene Field and His Child Friends."

The biographer or interviewer in most of the articles expressed his own opinions. Robert Barr, in his interview with Conan Doyle, criticized the English interviewer because he "blazons forth as much of his own personality as possible, using his victim as a peg on which to hang his own opinions." He added that "In America you get the real thing; the American interviewer hides himself as if he were a plate glass window in a store front, allowing one to see inside without any awareness that anything stands between."

(III, 503-4.) The American interviewers in McClure's, however, were more "English" than "American." Hamlin Garland, in interviewing Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley, reveals almost as much of Garland as of his subjects. He ridicules Howells and other eastern writers, praises the West and condemns the East generally, and comments on a variety of literary and non-literary topics. Edith Thomas, in her interview of Frank Stockton, describes so much of herself that it appears as if Stockton is interviewing her.

The organization and content of most of the articles on writers is similar to that of biographical articles on non-writers: a description of the writer's present residence, physical appearance, dominant character traits, ancestry, boyhood, early life and education, his start as a writer and subsequent development, his habits of working and his hours, his methods of writing, his attitude toward his work
and toward his success. Usually, too, the writer being interviewed or sketched comments on both literary and non-literary topics: on other writers, on the status of literature or the literature of a particular country, on literary creeds, on art and morality, on the difficulties of writing, on the reading public; or such non-literary topics as life in America or England, France, Scotland, or Russia; or religion, reform, politics, and various current controversies.

In describing the living quarters of the writer, the biographer follows the pattern of articles on non-writers, attempting to relate the exterior and interior of the house to the writer's character and work. The importance of this aspect of the person is indicated not only in the inclusion of it in almost every article, but in the explanations included in articles that omit this description. For example, Boyesen apologizes for not being able to say much about the New York apartment, "literally honeycombed with modern conveniences," in which Howells is residing at the time of the interview. Boyesen stresses, however, as more characteristic of Howells the man and writer, his boyhood homes in Martins Ferry and Columbus, Ohio. Francis Marion Crawford, like Howells, was living in temporary quarters in New York at the time he was interviewed, and his interviewer writes: There is no need to localize this conversation with F. Marion Crawford, for he is equally at home in a dozen great cities of the world ... he is a thorough cosmopolite." (IV, 316.)
It is interesting to observe that most of the American writers live in simple surroundings while most of the foreign writers live in the midst of luxury and ornamental bric-a-brac. Perhaps the simplest of all homes is that of James Whitcomb Riley in Greenfield, Indiana. Hamlin Garland uses the surroundings to emphasize Riley's achievements as a poet. The article opens as follows: "Riley's country, like most of the state of Indiana, has been won from the original forest by incredible toil." Garland then proceeds to show that Riley's verse has been won from unpromising material by Riley's skill:

But Greenfield as it stands to-day, modernized and refined somewhat, is apparently the most unpromising field for literature, especially for poetry. It has no hills, and no river nor lake. Nothing but vast and radiant sky, and blue vistas of fields between noble trees. Life is apparently slow-moving, purposeless, and uninteresting; and yet from this town, and other similar towns, has Whitcomb Riley drawn the sweetest honey of poetry ... (II, 219.)

Riley's house is described as "unpretentious," his room as containing only a bed, a table, and about a dozen books. Garland speaks favorably of these surroundings, finding them not only typical of Riley, but of the Middle West as well. Toward the end of his article, Garland reiterates the relation of Riley's work to his surroundings, drawing from the union of both a lesson:
Genius, as we call it, defies conditions. It knows no barriers. It finds in things close at hand the most inexhaustible storehouse. All depends upon the poet, not upon materials. It is his love for the thing, his interest in the fact, his distribution of values, his selection of details, which makes his work irresistibly comic or tender or pathetic. (I, 233.)

Describing Riley as "the poet of the plain American" whose schooling had been "in the school of realities," Garland relates his thoughts as he walked through the town after his visit with Riley:

As I walked down the street, it all came upon me with great power - this production of the American poet. Everything was familiar to me. All this life, the broad streets laid off in squares, the little cottages, the weedy gardens, the dusty fruit trees, the young people sauntering in couples up and down the sidewalk, the snapping of jack-knives, and the low hum of talk from scattered groups. This was Riley's school. This was his material, apparently barren, dry, utterly hopeless in the eyes of the romantic writers of the East, and yet capable of becoming world-famous when dominated and mastered and transformed, as it has been mastered and transformed by this poet of the people. (II, 234.)

Herbert Ward, in his interview with Edward Everett Hale, relates the house to his subject. His article begins: "To one fond of perceiving the innate or accidental fitness of things, it is, perhaps, more than a coincidence that Doctor Hale lives on Highland Street, and that his house reminds one, with its massive front and Ionic columns, of a Greek temple." (I, 291.) Ward continues his far-fetched analogies in describing the interior of the house:

Books and pictures and statuary are the man, just as much as his style. They are his most subtle expression. They are his unlying interpreters. As you walk into Doctor Hale's parlor, resting upon the floor, there confronts you a realistic colored photograph of the compelling Matterhorn.
That picture, with its glacier, its precipices, and its summit, conquered only by cooperative achievement, is a fit emblem of a family climbing from height to height. (I, 292.)

The relationship of the man and his surroundings is stressed also in the sketches of European writers. R. H. Sherard describes the home of Jules Verne:

Right in front of the house, on the other side of the boulevard, is a railway cutting, which, just opposite Verne’s study window, disappears into a pleasure ground, where there is a large music kiosk, in which during the fine weather the regimental band plays. This combination is to my thinking a very emblem of the work of the great writer: the rushing train, with all the roar and rattle of ultra-modernism, and the romance of the music. (II, 118.)

The interior of Verne’s home is described as simple. The drawing room is "richly furnished," but the interviewer quickly points out that it is seldom used since Jules Verne and his wife are "very simple people, who care nothing for show, and all for quiet and comfort." (II, 117.)

Sherard also interviewed Émile Zola. He is surprised to find his home luxurious, remarking that because of "the immensity of his work" and "the democratic feeling with which the Rougon-Macquart series is pervaded," he expected to find in his lodgings evidence of "hard work" and "simplicity." Instead he finds himself in "the house of a dilettante, of a lover of bric-a-brac." (II, 411.) The interior seems to him more for show than for intrinsic worth and reveals a lack of artistic taste. The ecclesiastical predominated. One of the seats for visitors was a set of oaken stalls from a cathedral chancel. Images
of the Virgin are found throughout the house. Sherard lists among the items in the house statues of Buddha, Chinese and Japanese pottery, Oriental cabinets, pictures of Madonna and Child, and stained glass windows. To account for all this, Sherard quoted Zola's statement:

"I have never known what it is to live. Now that it is in my power, I will draw from life all that it can afford."

The most luxurious of all homes is that of Pierre Loti. His home, unlike the others, is not looked upon as a reflection of his character or his work. Madame Adam, who describes his home, says in the beginning of her article that those who wish to know Pierre Loti the man should look for him in his work. Of his residence, she remarks: "it is the most astonishing habitation imaginable."

Its facade attracts no attention, provides no glimpse of what lies inside. The first drawing room looks out on a pagoda brought back in pieces from Formosa and reconstructed by Loti himself. The next room is a Turkish salon that copies the interior of an Arabian dwelling. Madame Loti's room is a bed-chamber of the First Empire, copied with "the most absolute exactitude and scrupulousness of style."

The dining room is medieval. Loti's chamber is a copy of the room of a Breton peasant.

In his interview with Daudet, Sherard describes his apartment as "simply furnished, and is in great contrast to that of Zola or Dumas." (III, 137) Despite the simplicity throughout the house, the staircase is described as "the most elegant staircase of any apartment house in Paris."
George Du Maurier's home is lacking in the luxury of Zola's or Dumas's, but the room in which he works is described as "luxurious." Luxury is found too in the dwellings of Sardou and Rostand.

The writer's physical appearance was not only described in the biographical articles, but was made visible in the photographs accompanying each article. The emphasis on photography has been referred to in an earlier chapter, but it is interesting to observe that one of the writers described, Pierre Loti, had written earlier in *McClure's* on the value of photographs. A quotation from his *Book of Pity and Death* was used as a heading for one of the "Human Documents" articles:

How strange and startling it will be a century or two hence for our descendants to turn over the photographs of their ancestors! . . . The portraits left by our forefathers, expressive though they may be, whether painted or engraved, can never produce in us an impression equally vivid; but photographs are the very reflections of living beings, fixing their precise attitudes, their gestures, their most fleeting expressions. What a curious thing it will be, what an awe-inspiring thing for future generations to study our faces when we shall have fallen into the dead past! (I, 119.)

Apparently Loti expresses the view of the editors of *McClure's* on the value of providing photographs of prominent persons.

As in sketches of non-writers, the physical appearance of the writer is related to his character. Hamlin Garland begins his interview with Eugene Field by saying: "Now there are two ways to do this thing. We can be as
literary and as deliciously select in our dialogue as
Mr. Howells and Professor Boyesen were, or we can be wild
and woolly ... as those Eastern fellers expect us to be."
(I, 195.) Garland chooses the "wild and woolly," stressing
it in his description of Field's physical features:

... a tall, thin-haired man with a New England
face of the Scotch type, rugged, smoothly shaven,
and generally very solemn — suspiciously solemn in
expression. His infrequent smile curled his
wide, expressive mouth in fantastic grimaces
which seemed not to affect the steady gravity of
the blue-gray eyes. He was stripped to his shirt
sleeves and sat with feet on a small stand. He
chewed reflectively upon a cigar during the opening
of the talk. His voice was deep but rather dry
in quality. (I, 195.)

Field is the only writer described as appearing for his
interview in shirt sleeves, chewing upon a cigar.

Note the detail in the following description of
James Whitcomb Riley, also by Garland:

He is a short man, with square shoulders and a
large head. He has a very dignified manner —
at times. His face is smoothly shaven, and,
though he is not bald, the light color of his
hair makes him seem so. His eyes are gray and
round, and generally solemn, and sometimes stern.
His face is the face of a great actor — in rest,
grim and inscrutable; in action, full of the most
elusive expressions, capable of humor and pathos.
Like most humorists, he is sad in repose . . .
His mouth is his wonderful feature; wide, flexible,
clean-cut. His lips are capable of the grimmest
and merriest lines. When he reads they pout like
a child's, or draw down into a straight, grim line
like a New England deacon's, or close at one side,
and uncover his white and even teeth at the other,
in the sly smile of "Benjamin F. Johnson," the
humble humorist and philosopher . . .
His eyes are near-sighted and his nose prominent.
His head is of the "tack-hammer" variety as he
calls it. The public insists that there is an
element of resemblance between Mr. Riley, Eugene
Field and Bill Nye. (II, 220.)
Garland finds Riley's mouth his "wonderful feature,"
but in most descriptions of writers, the eyes were emphasized.

Edward Everett Hale is described as follows:

Doctor Hale's face wrinkles in a curious way around his eyes. These are the features of his face. They are fine, deep, sad, careless of human opinion - except it has to be conciliated for a high purpose - and alert as a boy's, ready for a truth or for a friend. I believe that a divine physiognomist would read Doctor Hale's career in his gray eyes and their high ramparts. . . . It struck me oddly that . . . Doctor Hale's eyes had been a mirror of his life. (I, 295.)

The eyes are the dominant feature of Ruskin too:

But it is his eyes that pin you - bright, clear, frank blue eyes that look you through and through, and make you wonder - eyes so pure and truthful that they seem to disarm at once all disingenuousness, but keenly intelligent, notwithstanding, and full of fun; the eyes, in short, that the novelists tell us 'dance' upon occasion. Their strong blue - of the intensity of the Italian sky - for all that in these latest years they are to be seen through the screen of the bushy, overhanging eyebrows. . . . (II, 316.)

Zola is described as looking like an ascetic, "a man of sorrow," but he is greatly interested that his pale and careworn face lights up, that his remarkable eyes flash fire, and the inner man betrays himself through his insignificant envelope." (II, 412.)

In a character sketch of Twain, Robert Parr says that as he writes he has before him a recent photograph: "Any portrait of Mark Twain shows a strong face, worthy of serious study. The broad, intellectual brow, the commanding, penetrating eye, the firm, well-molded chin, give the world assurance of a man . . . I have always regarded him
as the typical American, if there is such a person. If ever the eyes and the beak of the American eagle were placed unto a man's face, Samuel L. Clemens is that man." (X, 246.) Harr then quotes from the first published description of Twain written more than thirty years previously by Dr. Hingston: "His eyes are all light and twinkling," and from W.T. Stead of Twain: "His eyes are gray and kindly looking."

Harr adds:

They Twain's eyes are kindly-looking for the man himself is kindly, and naturally his eyes give some index of this, but their eagle-like, searching, penetrating quality seems to me their striking peculiarity. They are the eyes that look into the future; that can read a man through and through. I should hate to do anything particularly mean and then have to meet the eyes of Mark Twain. I know I should be found out. (X, 247.)

In an earlier issue of McClure's, Bret Harte had mentioned his first meeting with Twain, recalling especially Twain's "aquiline eye - an eye so eagle-like that a second lid would not have surprised me." (IV, 47.)

The attempt to present writers as "human" was most apparent in the description of character traits, among which the most prominent was affability. Very few writers were not praised for this virtue; readers must have obtained the impression that affability was a characteristic per se of all writers. Edward Everett Hale said of Oliver Wendell Holmes: "Nobody is more accessible than Doctor Holmes. I doubt if any doorbell in Boston is more rung than his. And nowhere is the visitor made more kindly at home." (I, 99.) Nowhere, except perhaps at the homes of most of the other
writers: the French journalist, De Blowitz is "the most amiable, the most tolerant of men." (I, 187.) John Ruskin's biographer says of him: "In no other man have I seen sweetness, gentleness, genial frankness, and sympathetic cordiality so perfectly allied with virility and activity of mind." (II, 315.) R.H. Sherard says of Daudet:

Though now grown wealthy, and one of the first personages of Parisian society, being the most welcome guest in such exclusive drawing rooms as that of the Princess Mathilde, the simple and good-hearted Alphonse Daudet is the most accessible man in Paris. I don't believe that any one is ever turned away from his door.

Nothing can be more charming than the welcome which the master of the house extends to even the stranger who calls upon him for the first time.

His good humor and unvarying kindness to one and all are the more admirable, that, always a nervous sufferer, he has of late years been almost a confirmed invalid . . . and it is consequently with surprise that those who know him see that he never lets an impatient word or gesture escape him, even under circumstances when one or the other would be perfectly justifiable. (III, 137.)

Sherard tells of a writer who came to Daudet in rags asking for help in paying his rent, and who went away a happy man. Mark Twain is described as kind, and Robert Barr speaks of the amount of time Twain wastes in writing letters of counsel or encouragement to utter strangers "who have the brazen cheek to make this or that demand upon his energies . . ." (X, 248.) Andrew D. White, American ambassador to Germany, interviewed Tolstoy in Russia, and remarked that "Nothing could be more kindly than his greeting." (XVI, 507.)

Affability is not a characteristic of three writers.
George Du Maurier is "a quiet man of no great stature, who at the first sight of him impresses one as a man who had suffered greatly, haunted by some evil dream or disturbing apprehension. His welcome is gentle and kindly, but he does not smile, even when he is saying a clever and smile-provoking thing." (IV, 392.) Even less gregarious than Du Maurier is Pierre Loti, who

cannot be said to have a happy nature. He is disturbed to excess by an enemy; he instantly scrutinizes an agreeable event and looks at the dark side of it. . . . Pierre Loti speaks little, and listens but for an instant. Devoted to his friends, he takes interest in all that renders them either joyful or sad; but spare him empty phrases, the slow lengths of a story that could be told in a few words. His eyes soon take on that look, directed inward, which it is so difficult to recall or catch again. (IV, 478.)

None of the writers had a personality less warm than Edmond Rostand:

In his right eye was a single staring glass that fixed you rather coldly, and added to his general impassiveness. You felt that here was a man to keep his reserve until he saw reason for leaving it and make sure such a person was worth talking to before he said much. This self-withholding attitude is, no doubt, part of the armor he has learned to wear since his great success came; for a whole city, and that Paris, has flung itself at his head, with women pursuing him, and all sorts of people lying in wait for him on all sorts of pretexts, the only certainty being that they all waste his time. (XIV, 441.)

Sherard, who also described Daudet, attempts to justify Rostand's impassiveness, referring to it as "part of the armor" he must wear to defend himself against the public. In describing Daudet, however, Sherard praises him for his willingness to welcome everyone in spite of ill health.
Other traits varied with different writers. Edward Everett Hale was praised for his charity, his religious work, and his success in several endeavors; Jules Verne was described as valiant because at the age of sixty-six, disappointed because he had never been accepted into the French Academy, he persevered in his work. Bret Harte, interviewed in England by an Englishman, was cited for his "nicety" in all things - in his manner, in his dress, and in his writing; "a gentleman as far removed from the Bret Harte of popular fancy as is the St. James Club from Mount Shasta..." (IV, 39.)

Throughout the descriptions of character, personality was emphasized rather than the writer's special talent or his intellect. A note of anti-intellectualism appeared in the special praise given to writers who popularized their talent. Hall Caine was praised for his "Extreme dignity... the sense of responsibility which an author owes to the public and himself... firmness of principle." (VI, 80. italics mine) Ian Maclaren is praised by one of his classmates for having accepted a call to a small village congregation in spite of his "knowledge of life, his literary culture, his intellectual alertness." (VII, 394.) The author of the article goes on to say that Maclaren was "in the best sense, a true democrat. He had deep sympathies with the common people; he saw the poetry of their humble life, and believed in its heroisms." (VII, 395.) John Ruskin was praised for his vivacious and intelligent conversation, for the versatility of his
knowledge, but also for his kindness to laborers and to children, for "his sincerity, the keystone of his character." (II, 320.) The popular author, Francis Marion Crawford, was described as "a virile, strong, intellectual man . . . a man of the world in the best sense, and a scholar in the best sense, whose knowledge is a delight to him . . ." (IV, 323.) Once it was revealed that the writer was affable, it was "safe" to mention his intellectual qualifications. The latter usually appeared in last place, and were often qualified or made vague; for example, "intellectual alertness," "the versatility of his knowledge," "a scholar in the best sense" and one "whose knowledge is a delight to him."

Some mention was made in each of the articles of the writer's ancestry, the environment of his early youth, and his education. In general, it appeared that heredity and/or environment accounted for the man's talent as a writer, either because one or both were conducive to developing a writer, or if not, provided a challenge for the writer to overcome. James Whitcomb Riley told Garland that his ability to write verse came from his mother's side of the family, all of whom had a knack for writing verse and who frequently wrote letters to each other in verse. Garland, however, finds Riley's talents more complex in origin:

Riley is a logical result of a union of two gifted families, a product of hereditary power, cooperating with the power of an ordinary Western town. Born of a gentle and naturally
poetic mother, and a fearless, unconventional father (lawyer and orator), he has lived the life common to boys of villages from Pennsylvania to Dakota, and upon this were added the experiences he has herein related. (II, 232.)

Both Garland and Riley agree too that Riley's ability to describe farm life is the result of Riley's having lived near a farm but not on a farm; Garland says that had he lived on a farm he would have failed in perspective - that "The actual work on a farm doesn't make poets." (II, 222.)

The description of Edward Everett Hale stresses the fact that Hale's ancestors included Edward Everett and Lyman Beecher. Kipling is described as coming from a literary and talented family, providing him with hereditary traits and a literary environment conducive to writing. When Jules Verne says that he is a mixture of Breton and Parisian blood, R.H. Sherard, his interviewer, says:

These particulars are interesting from a psychological point of view, and assist one to understand the character of Jules Verne, who unites with the gayety and savoir-vivre and joy of life of a boulevardier . . . the love of solitude, the religiousness, and adoration of the sea, of the Breton. (II, 117.)

Most of the writers speak of literary influences on their early lives, of parents who read and who gave them books or, in lieu of books, encouragement. Howells credits his father for his incentive to read; Jules Verne says that his parents' interest in culture gave him his incentive. Hall Caine mentions the opposition of his parents to his reading, which only spurred him on to read
more, and to read books rather than to play with other boys. Both Zola and Daudet say that they were encouraged to write in order to break away from the poverty of their early lives.

In descriptions of the writers' education, the anti-intellectual note appeared again, not in the mere mention that several of the writers lacked formal education, but in the tone with which this information was given. The interviewer made much of Howells' statement that his education was derived largely from his work in a printer's shop, that Pierre Loti claimed to have educated himself, that James Whitcomb Riley praises his McGuffey readers for what they taught him. Eugene Field said that he entered college in poor health and left without obtaining a degree when neither his health nor the health of the college improved. Zola was said to have failed his examinations for a degree because he failed to remember a date in history. Du Maurier failed his baccalaureate examination at the Sorbonne, but blamed his laziness as a student for his failure. On the other hand, Jules Verne received a degree as a barrister, and the popular writer, F. Marion Crawford studied in the United States, England and Italy, even learning Sanskrit while in Italy and enrolling as a special student at Harvard to continue his study of this language. Both Verne and Crawford had already achieved popularity, hence were acceptable as scholars; readers might be interested in knowing that popular writers could also be scholarly, but the popular writing came first.
Journalism was considered important to their development by several writers; they credited it with providing not only employment, but also experience in writing and sometimes with the incentive for writing fiction. Eugene Field insisted that he was a newspaper man, not a writer, and certainly not a poet. Among those who worked for newspapers prior to writing novels were Howells, Bret Harte, Francis Marion Crawford, Mark Twain, Kipling, Zola, Daudet, Du Maurier (who drew cartoons for Punch), and Hall Caine. Both Edward Everett Hale and Ian Maclaren found inspiration in the ministry, but both insisted that they were ministers first and writers second, that fiction was a part of their evangelical work.

What characterized the biographies of writers and distinguished them from the biographies of non-writers was the interest in the development of a writer, in his incentives, his methods of working, his hours of work. One of the stock questions asked by the interviewers was how and why each of the writers began to write. Several writers claimed that they began writing at an early age: Jules Verne, influenced by Victor Hugo, began to write poetry at the age of twelve; Emile Zola wrote an historical novel about the Crusades at the age of twelve; Daudet published a poem at the age of fifteen; Bret Harte published a poem at eleven; Hall Caine was writing political pamphlets when he was sixteen. Others were attracted by writing at a much later age and for a variety of reasons. Edward Everett Hale left his parish during the Civil War and
during that interlude wrote his first book; Francis Marion Crawford described a person he had met in India to his uncle, and at his uncle's encouragement, turned the description into his first novel, *Mr. Isaacs*. George Du Maurier was drawing cartoons for *Punch* when he met Henry James; he offered James the plot of *Trilby*, but James refused it and encouraged Du Maurier to write the novel that became such a popular success in America during the nineties. Hall Caine was writing reviews for the *Athenaeum* and *Academy* at the age of thirty when he resolved to try writing fiction instead of reviewing what others had written. Bret Harte's success came after he wrote "The Heathen Chinee" to fill out space in *The Overland Monthly*.

Most of the writers were asked also to comment on their struggles prior to success, on the various influences on their writing, on their attitude toward their work and toward the public's reception of their work. This aspect of the writer's activity served to "humanize" him, and also indicated to the readers of *McClure's* that writing was hard work. Few writers described in the magazine achieved success without considerable struggle. Most of them spent years working at a variety of jobs before they were successful - on newspapers, in printing or publishing houses, as clerks, or in a variety of jobs unrelated to writing.

Several received some help during their struggles. Howells attributes much of his success to his Venetian experience, Jules Verne to encouragement received from Dumas the younger,
James Whitcomb Riley to an encouraging letter from Longfellow, Zola to a publisher who believed in his work when the public was strongly opposed to it, Daudet to the aid of his patron, the Duc de Morny, Crawford to encouragement from his uncle, Du Maurier to advice from Henry James, Hall Caine to Rossetti's interest in him and advice from Matthew Arnold, and Daudet to his wife. Oliver Wendell Holmes spoke highly of the encouragement he received in letters from strangers who were inspired by something he wrote. Pierre Loti, alone among the writers, claimed to have been wholly self-made.

Not all of the writers were happy in their success. Edward Everett Hale disclaimed his talent as a novelist, insisted that five-sixths of his work was parish work and that he wrote to inspire rather than to entertain.\(^2\) Eugene Field did not accept his popularity, insisting that he was and always had been a newspaperman who wrote verse, not poetry. He said that he had only temporarily caught

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\(^2\)The implication in Hale’s statement is that novels are intended for inspiration, and writing them in order to entertain is secondary. His distinction is interesting since the editors of McClure’s vacillated between a concept of fiction as entertainment and as inspiration, stressing the latter concept more frequently than the first in the kind of stories they published. It is ironic too that the editors made no distinction between poetry and verse and yet Eugene Field insisted on this distinction in regard to his work. The editors also made no distinction between the work of Stephen Crane and Ian Maclaren, or the work of Emile Zola and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. McClure’s seemed intent on popularization, but the highly popular writer did not always agree that he should be listed among the artists who wrote belles lettres.
the mood of the public and his work would not live. Jules Verne was described as a sad man who at the age of sixty-six had written sixty-six volumes but had not been accepted by the French Academy. He was not consoled by his recent promotion as officer in the French Legion of Honor nor by his financial success as a novelist who was popular in America as well as in France. He could only repeat while being interviewed: "Je ne compte pas dans la littérature Française." Zola was described as unhappy, striving desperately to enjoy life after his years of poverty and struggle, but without success. Sherard said he was an "ascetic looking man" who seldom smiled. Daudet was portrayed as "haunted by some evil dream or disturbing apprehension." Pierre Loti, living in the midst of luxury, "suffers unconsciously from being an artist at the same time as a man. . . . He can never be satisfied with what he comes across, real things being always inferior to those realized by an incomparable imagination like his." (IV, 476.) Rostand suffered from his popularity, from people besieging him whenever he appeared in public, wasting his time and interfering with his work.

It is perhaps significant that Zola, Rostand, and Loti were described as unhappy, probably because they lived in luxurious surroundings. The American Puritan imagination would seem to be at work here, revealing to the readers that those who seek luxury are punished by finding unhappiness in their achievement. The simple-living James Whitcomb Riley is described as happy, living once again in
a small town in his boyhood home. The interviewer of Jules Verne, on the other hand, is sympathetic about Verne's unhappiness, agreeing with him that he should have been accepted by the Academy and chiding the French for their refusal to accept him. Verne, it will be remembered, was one of the writers who lived simply too.

The readers of McClure's were perhaps most curious about the "mysteries" of the writer's "magic," his ability to transport them or to encourage them. The biographers and interviewers asked such questions as how long it took a writer to complete a novel, whether or not he revised it frequently, how he obtained the idea for his novel or story, and how he went about writing it. Did he work all day? Was he inspired or did he write regardless of his mood? These were the topics covered in almost every article.

In the article on Frank Stockton, Edith Thomas says that her muse provides her with suggestions through reading, an expression, an object seen or heard, and dreams; Stockton says that he obtains ideas from daydreams. The article is made ridiculous by her overwriting and inane examples. At one point she speaks of her efforts to write a poem about the American Indian, saying that her first try resulted in the line: "Now, get thee on, beyond the sunset _____" and here she stopped "for lack of half a foot." For several days she tried to fill out the line, one day receiving the inspiration to write: "Now, get thee on, beyond the sunset - git!" (I, 471.) Miss Thomas says
that her difficulties were caused by her too deliberate resolve to write about the Indians, causing the muse "to turn upon her votary with the most inhuman cruelty." She goes on to say that for poets it is the words that sometimes come first, "the sense, the import and whole motive sometimes arrive much later." Stockton offers his sympathies to her, and says that writers of fiction cannot wait for luck or chance, but must "begin something." Thus the interview goes on, Miss Thomas coyly disclosing secrets of writing poetry to the readers, Stockton suggesting that novelists use models as painters do in order to achieve reality, the two collaborating in a verse at the end of the article.

In spite of the ludicrous aspects of the above inter-
view, there is considerable emphasis, mostly by Stockton, on the difficult, painful work of writing. This emphasis is characteristic of most of the articles. Jules Verne describes his method of working:

I rise every morning before five - a little later, perhaps, in the winter - and at five am at my desk, remaining at work till eleven. I work very slowly and with the greatest care, writing and rewriting until each sentence takes the form that I desire. I have always at least ten novels in my head in advance, subjects and plots thought out... But it is over my proofs that I spend most time. I am never satisfied with less than seven or eight proofs, and correct and correct again, until it may be safely said the last proof bears hardly any traces of the original manuscript. This means a great sacrifice of pocket, as well as of time, but I have always tried my best for form and style, though people have never done me justice in this respect. (II, 117.)
Zola describes in even more detail the care with which he plans and writes his novels:

I have always been very methodical. I don't believe in overwork, but I am a firm believer in regular work. . . . My faith is that hard work, that is to say regular work, is the first essential for the production of a book. I am no impressionist, and I don't believe in work rapidly dashed off. The creation of a book takes much trouble and exacts actual pains. When I start a book I never have any idea as to its plot, only at most a general idea of the subject, and the first thing that I do is to prepare a sketch or outline of the story. This I do, pen in hand, because ideas come to me only when I am writing. I can't think while sitting idle. I write as though I were talking to myself, discussing the people, the scenes, the incidents. The sketch is a kind of chatty letter addressed to myself, which often equals in length the novel which is to spring from it. I then draw out the plan of the book, the list of characters, and a most elaborate scenario. Then each character is studied in detail, the scenes that are to be described are visited and noted down, the incidents elaborately evolved. Thus for "La Curée," I spent long days in studying the carriages described, interviewing several leading carriage builders. For Saccard's Hotel I spent hours outside the hotel of M. Menier in the Parc Monceau. The conservatory of Renée was described from the conservatory of the Jardin des Plantes. (II, 422.)

None of the other writers claimed to have given as much attention to their writing as Zola, but most of them agreed with Zola that regular working hours were best. Conan Doyle, described as a methodical worker, told of the work involved in an historical novel. He said that he read and took lengthy notes, sometimes using two volumes of notes for a mere two pages in his novel. Bret Harte, in describing his methods, took advantage of an opportunity to correct several errors about his writing
habits that had appeared in American and British newspapers. Harte quotes from two clippings in which he is described as a writer who can work only in seclusion, as "the laziest man in America," and one who never reads his proofs or makes any changes in what he has written. Harte insists that he cannot work in seclusion, that he writes regularly but only in the morning, and reads all of his proofs with care. (IV, 49.) Pierre Loti, a lieutenant in the French Navy, combines this career with that of a writer. He says that he usually writes from two to six in the afternoon, and boasts that he once completed a volume in a few months. Hall Caine says that he writes regularly, but his methods differ from those of other writers. Caine says: "I write in my head to begin with, and the actual writing, which is from memory, is done on any scrap of paper that may come to hand . . ." (V, 195.) Caine also reports that he writes throughout the entire day instead of during limited hours.

The method of writing regularly and during certain hours of the day is not accepted by all of the writers. Edmond Rostand, in fact, scoffs at regularity: "I never force my pen . . . If I feel that my vein is tiring, yet might run on for an hour or two, I stop and let it rest." (XIV, 442.) Cleveland Moffett, who interviewed Rostand, adds to his statement: "Not at all a man this to say, with the business-like positiveness of certain authors: 'I write so many words an hour, sir, so many before dinner, so many after dinner; in a week I do so many pages, in
a month so many chapters; and here is my time-table of novels for three years ahead, if you care to glance it over." (XIV, 442.) Daudet said, "My way of working is irregularity itself." (III, 144.) He claimed that he often went months without doing any writing, that when he did write he often wrote for eighteen hours a day for several days.

A few writers even boast of their ability to complete a novel or story in a short period of time. P. Marion Crawford says that he wrote Marzio's Crucifix in ten days for serial publication, adding two more chapters prior to publication in book form. He claims to have written The Tale of a Lonely Parish in twenty-four days, completing a five thousand word chapter each day. Hall Caine says that he wrote his Life of Coleridge in three weeks, but regrets "that he threw away on a book of this kind all his knowledge of his subject," adding "I could have written the life of Coleridge." (VI, 90-91.) Later in the same interview, Caine describes the agony of writing a novel: "Shall I ever forget the agony of the first efforts? . . . It took me nearly a fortnight to start that novel, sweating drops as of blood at every fresh attempt. I must have written the first half volume four times at the least." When his two volumes were completed, Caine showed them to a friend who suggested an important addition. Caine said: "To work this fresh interest into my theme . . . half of what I had written would need to be destroyed! It was destroyed . . ." (IV, 442.) He goes on to say
that every book he has written since has offered even greater difficulties and in writing each one he had determined never to write another.

Readers of McClure's learned that writers varied considerably in what they knew when they started to write. Jules Verne spoke smugly about the ten novels he had completed in his head before he began, while Zola told of starting to write with no concept of plot at all. Crawford said that for him the germ of a novel was a character, not a situation. He explained that he always saw the end of his story before he began, divided his novel into chapters and filled in for each chapter some phrase or catchword to indicate what it would contain. After his chapter-by-chapter skeleton was completed, he began the task of writing out each chapter. The playwright, Sardou, said that he put down on paper the idea for a play whenever it came to him, later adding notes and writing a scenario of a few pages, then putting it aside. He reported having from seventy to eighty such skeletons of plays in his files. Hall Gaine said that he started his novels not with a character, a plot, or a scene, but with an idea, "a spiritual intent." The central motive in all of his books was, he said, the same: "It is . . . the idea of justice, the idea of a Divine Justice, the idea that righteousness always works itself out, that out of hatred and malice comes Love." (VI, 95.)

Each writer was asked which of his books he considered to be the greatest. Howells chose A Modern Instance,
saying of it: "I have there come closest to American life as I know it." (I, 11.) Eugene Field said that he had never had a high estimate of his verse and considered his best work the satirical pieces he wrote for the newspapers. Edward Everett Hale claimed In His Name as his best work of the past, even though he was better known for "The Man Without a Country." He said that his sermons represented his best literary work of the present. Jules Verne refused to choose any one book; he merely stressed the importance he gave to style in all of his work. Zola took pride in his Rougon-Macquart series, but spoke with more pleasure about his Doctor Pascal because:

through Doctor Pascal as my mouth piece, I should answer all the objections made against my work and my person: should refute the accusation people delight to bring against me that I revel in filth, and should equally rebut the argument that I am convicted out of my writings of being a sceptic and a misanthrope. On the contrary, I have proved that I have great faith in the future of humanity, if only the terrible question of heredity, which indeed makes the children bear the sins of their fathers, can be overcome by a process of logical selection, if I may use the word, in contradistinction to natural selection, in the union of the sexes. (II, 424.)

George Du Maurier did not select any one of his works as the greatest, but he did assert that the success of his works was no indication of their merit:

So "Peter Ibbetson" was sent over to America and was accepted at once. Then "Trilby" followed and the "boom" came, a "boom" which surprised me immensely, for I never took myself au sérieux as a novelist. Indeed, this "boom" rather distresses me when I reflect that Thackeray never had a "boom." And I hold that a "boom" means nothing as a sign of literary excellence, nothing but money. (IV, 399.)
Du Maurier's denial of his seriousness as a writer is similar to the denials made by Eugene Field and Edward Everett Hale.

Several of the writers not only mentioned the difficulties involved in writing, but stressed the unromantic problems of writing for a living. The most volatile commentator on this subject was Elizabeth Stuart Phelps in her twelve-chapter autobiography. She said: "Of all the methods of making a living open to educated people today, the profession of literature is, probably, the poorest in point of monetary returns. . . . A successful teacher, a clever manufacturer, a steady mechanic, may depend upon a better income in this country than the writer whose supposed wealth he envies. . . . One cannot live by bread or magazine stories alone." (VI, 366.) Bret Harte spoke less strongly, but blamed his own lack of confidence rather than conditions. He said: "I became an editor, and learned to set type, the ability to earn my own living as a printer being a source of great satisfaction to me, for, strange to say, I had no confidence until long after that period, in literature as a means of livelihood. I have never in my life had an article refused publication, and yet I have never had any of that confidence which, in the case of many others, does not seem to have been impaired by repeated refusals." (IV, 42.) Conan Doyle cited the difficulties of writing for magazines as his incentive for turning to novels. Doyle said that after ten years of
hard work he had averaged less than fifty pounds a year from his writing; that, although he had written for the "best journals," for Cornhill and Temple Bar, for example, his contributions were published anonymously, and he remained unknown after years of writing. Doyle continued: "And so at last it brought home to me that a man may put the very best that is in him into magazine work for years, and reap no benefits from it, save, of course, the inherent benefits of literary practice." (III, 226-7.) Stevenson's complaint was similar; he said that when he was thirty-one, "I had written little books and little essays and short stories, and had got patted on the back and paid for them - though not enough to live upon. I had quite a reputation. I was the successful man . . . yet could not earn a livelihood." (III, 284-5.) Like Conan Doyle, Stevenson turned to novel writing and his first result was Treasure Island. Comments such as the ones made by these and other writers certainly indicated to readers that there was not as much romance in the profession of writing as many of them might have expected; by publishing such comments, McClure's performed a useful service for all writers.

In several of the articles on writers some discussion was included on the conflict between art and morality and brief mention was made too of the conflict between realism and romanticism. In these discussions, there was very little controversy, since most of the writers favored morality over art and romanticism over realism. The view of both art and of realism was frequently naive, although
one is occasionally surprised to notice a statement that
brings clarity in where vagueness had been dominant.
Edward Everett Hale, insisting that although he had written
twenty-five books he was a minister and not an author,
said: "I don't care a snap for the difference between
Balzac and Daudet. That isn't important in life." (I, 297.)
He went on to tell his interviewer that although people
complained because his books always carried a moral, "I
wouldn't write if they didn't." (296.) The interviewer,
Herbert D. Ward, agreed with Hale on the value of his
work, saying: "To make an era in Christian self-surrender,
to girdle the world with unselfish crosses, to hammer high
purposes into young souls, that is a better life than to
have written the best novel of the decade." (I, 297.)

Ward continued:

In these days, when some of our eminent critics
consider a moral purpose detrimental to the
literary value of a story, it is refreshing to
learn from the mouth of one of our most popular
authors that his success is due entirely to the
inspiration of a Christian ideal. It takes the
modern school of critics to pat the Lord Jesus
Christ upon the back. Charles Kingsley and
Doctor Hale will not be snuffed out by them
because they have chosen to Christianize their
literary work. (I, 297.)

Writing at some length on this topic, Elizabeth
Stuart Phelps defended the writer of "moral" fiction and
attacked those who objected to such fiction. Her sim-
plictic defense made the conflict even more confusing:
she referred to the "realist," the "romanticist" and the
"idealist"; to William Dean Howells, to Hall Gaine, to
Victor Hugo, and sprinkled throughout her discussion such
terms as "art," "truth," "life," "ethicism," and "morality" as if each of these words had a single meaning shared by herself and her readers. Miss Phelps said:

In a word, I believe it to be the province of the literary artist to tell the truth about the world he lives in: and I suggest that, in so far as he fails to be an accurate truth-teller, he fails to be an artist.

Now, there is something obviously very familiar about this simple proposition; and, turning to trace the recognition down, one is amused to perceive that here is almost the precise language of the school of writers to which one distinctly does not belong. Truth, like climate, is common property; and I venture to suggest that the issue between the two contending schools of literary art to-day is not so much one of fact as of form; or, perhaps I should rather say, not so much one of theory as of temperament in the expression of theory.

The quarrel arises when the artist defines his subject and chooses his medium. The conflict begins when the artist proffers his personal impression as to what life is. (VIII, 80.)

Miss Phelps then goes on to quote Howells' statement that "Of our great New Englanders . . . Their art was Puritan . . . it was marred by the intense ethicism that pervaded . . . and still characterizes the New England mind . . . They still helplessly pointed the moral in all that they did." (VIII, 80.) Miss Phelps replies to Howells' criticism by saying:

. . . Moral character is to human life what air is to the natural world - it is elemental.

Strike "ethicism" out of life, good friends, before you shake it out of story! Fear less to seem "Puritan" than to be inadequate . . . Fear less to point your moral than to miss your opportunity. It is for us to remind you,
since it seems to us that you overlook the fact, that in any highly formed or fully formed creative power the "ethical" as well as the "aesthetical sense" is developed.

In a word, the province of the artist is to portray life as it is, and life is moral responsibility. (VII, 80-81.)

Not only did most of the writers agree with Miss Phelps, but most of the fiction published in McClure's exemplified her argument.

Hall Caine would have agreed with Elizabeth Phelps about the purpose of fiction, despite his comment that he turned to the writing of fiction because he was not making money writing reviews or articles. Caine, as had been mentioned previously, stressed the "spiritual intent" of his novels, and said that his central motive was always "the idea of a Divine Justice." Like Miss Phelps, however, Caine resorted to rhetoric that said very little about fiction; for example, in his statement: "My theory is also - on the matters which divide novelists into realists and idealists - that the highest form of art is produced by the artist who is so far an idealist that he wants to say something and so far a realist that he copies nature as closely as he can in saying it." (VI, 95.)

Tolstoy, in his interview, did not comment explicitly on his theory of art and morality, but his views were expressed by implication. His interviewer, Andrew White, comments on Tolstoy's theories of art and literature:

There is in them, toward the current cant regarding art and literature, a sound, sturdy, hearty contempt which braces and strengthens
one who reads or listens to him. It does one good to hear his quiet sarcasms against the whole fin de siecle business - the "impressionism," the "sensationalism," the vague futilities of every sort; the "great poets," wallowing in Persian mud; the "great musicians," with no power over melody or harmony; the "great painters," mixing their colors with as much filth as the police will allow. His keen thrusts at these incarnations of folly and obscenity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and especially at those who seek to hide the poverty of their ideas in the obscurity of their phrases, encourages one to think that in the next generation the day of such pretenders will be done. His prophesying against "art for art's sake"; his denunciation of art which simply ministers to sensual pleasure; his ridicule of art which can only be discerned by "perople of culture"; his love for art which has a sense not only of its power but of its obligations, which puts itself at the service of great and worthy ideas, which appeals to men as men - in these he is one of the best teachers of his time and of future times. (XVI, 515-6.)

White's rhetoric is devoted as much to White's views of art as to Tolstoy's, but it indicates nonetheless the moral bias of Tolstoy's views of art. Certainly, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps would have agreed with Tolstoy (and with White). Tolstoy's bias is made even clearer when in answer to White's question as to what part of American literature he liked best, "he said that he had read some publications of the New York and Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, and that he knew and liked the writings of Felix Adler." Tolstoy, asked to name the "greatest American writer," surprised White by naming Adin Ballou. 3

3XVI, 510. Felix Adler was founder of the New York Society for Ethical Culture and author of Creed and Deed (1877). Adin Ballou was a Massachusetts clergyman, founder of the Hopedale Community there, and author of such books as Practical Christian Socialism (1854) and Primitive Christianity and Its Corruptions (1870).
In one of the many eulogies written after Stevenson's death, "Ian Maclaren" praised Stevenson for his romantic writing and for his religious sentiment. Maclaren described him not only as "a great writer," but also as "a good man with faith in God and man," as "the perfect type of the man of letters - a humanist whose great joy in the beautiful was annealed to a fine purity by his Scottish faith."

Maclaren said that Stevenson's kinship was not with Boccaccio and Rabelais, but with Dante and Spenser, that "Never did he weary us with the pedantry of modern problems. Nor did he dally with foul vice to serve the ends of purity." (IV, 292.)

Edmond Rostand denied that he was concerned directly with any moral effect in writing, but his qualifications place him in a similar class to the writers recently mentioned:

"The chief business of a playwright, I take it, is to entertain his public . . . . Yet I recognize the responsibility of a dramatist . . . . Whether he intends it or not, it is certain that his plays do teach and influence many people for good or ill. I hope I shall always keep to the purpose that has so far guided me, of setting forth the fine and worthy in life rather than the despicable, and inspiring rather than the perverted. In a broad sense, "Cyrano" was intended as a lesson; that is, a stirring of sympathy for loyalty and chivalry and courage..." (XIV, 444.)

In contrast, it is refreshing to read the humble statements of a very minor writer, Beatrice Harraden, author of one book, _Ships That Pass in the Night_. Miss Harraden espouses no creed, and says that she was surprised by the success of her book. "It was really written for the few who might perhaps care for that kind of story - a story without a plot, without a motive, without, indeed, any sort of _raison d'etre_; without any striking situation or subtle
development of circumstance." (IV, 144.) She said that the book was turned down by a well-known publisher because "it was morbid and pessimistic from beginning to end." Miss Harraden mentioned that the unhappy ending of her book had been much criticized, but she defended the ending as "in keeping with the irony of life." In reply to readers' complaints about "the general tone of pessimism and hopelessness pervading the story," she wrote: "I was merely anxious to paint a truthful picture, and I am quite sure that I have not used too strong colors." (IV, 147.) This briefly popular author, unknown today, was satisfied merely to tell a story without any intention of inspiring or teaching readers.

As might be expected, there was no detailed discussion of "realism" and "romanticism" in any of the articles on writers; the phrases appeared occasionally, mixed with other phrases, such as "idealism" or "sensational" or "the clean and beautiful" as opposed to "the ugly" or "the: perverted," but the phrases were defined only by implication, and what little was said about the two theories of art indicated that the readers were in favor of "romanticism" or "idealism" or "the noble and inspiring." Elizabeth Phelps's defense of "ethicism" and her attack on Howells represented the lengthiest discussion on this topic, but hardly exposed the readers to the controversy going on at the time, or indeed to what Howells and his followers believed. Even in his interview, Howells alluded only briefly to realism, expressing his pleasure with Goldoni's work: "His exquisite realism
fascinated me. It was the sort of thing which I felt I ought not to like; but for all that I liked it immensely."

When Boyesen asked Howells why he ought not to have liked it, Howells replied:

> Why, I was an idealist in those days. I was only twenty-four or twenty-five years old, and I knew the world chiefly through literature. I was all the time trying to see things as others had seen them, and I had a notion that, in literature, persons and things should be nobler and better than they are in the sordid reality; and this romantic glamour veiled the world to me, and kept me from seeing things as they are . . . . I believe this was the beginning of my revolt. (I, 7.)

Howells does not go on to elaborate on his revolt and Boyesen moves the interview to another topic.

In his interview with Eugene Field, Hamlin Garland describes himself as a "veritist" and Field as "romantic." Field explains his attitude:

> I hate logarithms. I like speculative astronomy. I am naturally a lover of romance. My mind turns toward the far past and future. I like to illustrate the foolery of these society folks by stories which I invent. The present don't interest me - at least not taken as it is. Possibilities interest me. (I, 202.)

When Garland said, "I like the probable. I like the near-at-hand. I feel the most vital interest in the average fact," Field said that he liked these things too when Garland was through with them, "but I don't care to deal with the raw material myself. I like the archaic." Most of the article follows the same lines, Garland pretending seriousness, playfully attempting to annoy Field, but neither figure seems interested in debating about this topic.
Garland finds James Whitcomb Riley a better subject for the discussion, but both writers seem to defend the romantic in their attempt to defend the realistic. Riley comments on his treatment of characters in verses of farm life: "I don't try to treat of people as they ought to think and speak, but as they do think and speak. In other words, I do not undertake to edit nature, either physical or human." (II, 228.) Riley objects to readers who accuse him of making fun of one of his characters, Benjamin F. Johnson: "They seem to think that if a man is out o'plumb in his language he must be likewise in his morals . . . . I tell you, the crude man is generally moral, for Nature has just let go his hand . . . . When I deal with such a man I give him credit for every virtue; but what he does and the way he does it, is his action and not mine." (II, 229.) Throughout the article, Riley seems to find the use of dialect the distinguishing characteristic of realism; Garland finds realism in the kind of material the writer uses, praising Riley for making the "apparently barren, dry, utterly hopeless" Indiana farm life "beautiful and musical, and radiant with color and light and life." (II, 234.)

In a few of the articles brief references are made to the conflicting attitudes about English and American literature. In his two lengthy articles, "Men of Letters: Personal Recollections and Appreciations," the English publisher, George Smalley expresses his anti-American bias. His superciliousness is manifested in the opening paragraph of the first article:
Whether the world or those hundreds of thousands of its inhabitants who read this magazine have much curiosity about men of letters seems a little uncertain. And nothing is more difficult than to gratify a curiosity which does not exist; it is like creating the appetite you have to appease. However, the men of letters are perhaps interested in each other, and they are numerous enough to constitute an audience by themselves; unhappily, but not necessarily, a critical audience. (XX, 53.)

Readers of McClure's must have been puzzled by this passage since their curiosity about writers - "men of letters" or journalists - was by this time obvious in the amount of space devoted to writers in the magazine.

Smalley was apparently a great lover of social life, for he praised those writers who were gregarious, scorned those who rejected society. He included in his rejections a few English writers, but for the most part attacked American writers for their removal from social life. He said that Howells had lately mentioned that American writers did not want to be a part of New York society, and used Howells' comment as an excuse to praise English writers for their opposite attitude:

The English writer does not hold himself superior to society; nor, on the other hand, does English society refuse to stretch out the hand of good fellowship to him who lives by pen and ink, provided he lives well and attains to a certain distinction in his business of book-writing. For English society is eclectic; it chooses out the best; and the best only, in many differing kinds. It does not readily tolerate eccentricity or ill manners or outlandish dress; since conformity in such manners is necessarily a condition of admittance. If a man does not choose to wear a dress coat, it is presumed he does not care to dine where dress coats are worn. From what I have said above, it will be seen what place the great men of letters of the immediate past held, and how they valued it. And will anybody explain how the novelist who deals
with social life is to deal with it accurately if he never finds himself in contact with it? (XX, 55.)

Smalley then cites Henry James as an example of a writer who excludes himself from society; he appears to have been personally provoked by James's "withdrawal." He praises James for having lived in the various societies of Boston, New York, Paris, Rome, Florence, and Venice, and then adds:

His novels are exact and admirable studies of these societies, or they were until he chose to concern himself with a world which neither he nor anybody else can do much more than guess at. It is something more than a coincidence that the changes in his methods of work and of life occurred about the same time. He renounced London where for many years he had been known and sought after; where everything was open to him; where clubs and drawing rooms knew him almost equally well. Because he thought there would be more leisure for writing if away from all these sources and inspirations of his own kind of writing, he banished himself to Rye. There he lives the life of a recluse, tempered by the visits of friends . . . . It is perhaps for this reason that he had turned his mind inward. What is there to observe outwardly? (XX, 55)

Smalley finds James Russell Lowell very much interested in social gatherings and conversation, but lacking in the grace required for such activity:

Lowell had the honor of the flag to maintain as well as his own, besides which, a habit of correcting the errors of his pupils at the University clung to him in the world, which he regarded as a larger university. His impatience of inaccuracy showed itself heedlessly among people to whom pedantic accuracy in mere dates and facts, or even in the pronunciation of a word, seemed less vital than ease and security in convivial moments. (XX, 53.)

Smalley did concede that in time Lowell's manner and methods softened; "He learned to keep the critic and the pedagogue under, and to be himself," but this was made possible because "England taught him much." (XX, 54.)
Smalley is critical too of the American press for its attacks on the poet laureate of England, Alfred Austin. England likes him, Smalley points out, but makes no attempt to defend his verse. He praises him for the editorial prose he has written for *The Standard*, and for his ability to ignore criticism: "Well, in days when we are all supposed to expect the immediate verdict of the democracy and to abide by it, there is something fine in the attitude of a poet who regrets it with contumely and goes his way and writes more verse to be met with real dispraise." (XX, 58.)

Kipling, too, is defended against his many critics, and Smalley may have had American critics in mind when he says of Kipling: "Beyond dispute he is the poet and herald of imperialism. England so regards him and accepts him. He has, in the judgment of the English people, struck the true imperial note: not once, not twice, but again and again, and it echoes round the globe." (XX, 296.)

Although the anti-American bias represents a large part of Smalley's two articles, most of his comments include gossip about a number of writers he has known. He tells of Browning who dined out every night while the London season lasted, and who "talked with prodigious energy in a strident voice ... was a little prone to discourse, to monologue rather than talk, and certainly he liked a gallery." (XX, 53.) Although Browning was, he says, the most overpowering personality, Matthew Arnold was the best loved. Smalley praises Anthony Hope for his interest in society, an interest "which
saves him as a writer from errors of inaccuracy." (XX, 56.) He praises John Morley as a man of letters and a man of politics, but says that he was "austere, unbending, uncompromising, at times narrow, at all times a fanatic," but these faults were redeemed by "a sweetness of nature and a sweet reasonableness in talk which I can only call lovable." (XX, 56.) Smalley expresses his dislike of Swinburne and Hardy, both of whom live away from society. The emphasis throughout is on gossip, and the critical evaluations Smalley glibly provides are no more than the "appreciations" referred to in the title of the articles, but "appreciations" based on the writer's attitude toward society.

Conan Doyle comments on American and English writers in his interview. Doyle's interviewer, Robert Barr, hesitates to ask his opinion on English writers since Doyle would have "to keep up the pretence that there is such a thing as literature in England at the present moment"; Barr mentions Howells "who has no English axe to grind, and he, from the calm, serene, unprejudiced atmosphere of New York, frankly admits that literature in England is a thing of the past, and that the authors of to-day do not understand even the rudiments of their business." (III, 505.) Doyle ignores the sarcasm in Barr's comment and proceeds to say that he does not think there was a time when the promise for English literature was better, listing a dozen writers of promise at the time: "Barrie, Kipling, Mrs. Olive Schreiner, Sarah Grand, Miss Harraden, Gilbert Parker, Quiller-Couch, Hall
Caine, Stevenson, Stanley Wayman, Anthony Hope, Crockett, Rider Haggard, Jerome, Zangwill, Clark Russell, George Moore - many of them under thirty and few of them much over it. There are others, of course. These names just happen to occur to me." (III, 506.) Doyle, when asked to name a dozen American writers of promise, replies:

I have not read a book for a long time that has stirred me as much as Miss Wilkin's "Pembroke." I think she is a very great writer. It is always risky to call a recent book a classic, but this one really seems to me to have every characteristic of one. (III, 506-7.)

Doyle mentions other American writers: George W. Cable, Eugene Field, Edgar Fawcett, Richard Harding Davis, Harold Frederic ("I think Harold Frederic's "In the Valley" is one of the best of recent historical romances"). (III, 507.)

Doyle comments in general on American fiction:

The danger for American fiction, is, I think, that it should run in many brooks instead of one broad stream. There is a tendency to over-accentuate local peculiarities; differences, after all, are very superficial things, and good old human nature is always there under a coat of varnish. When one hears of a literature of the West or of the South, it sounds aggressively sectional. (III, 507.)

More particularly:

James, I think, has had a great and permanent influence upon fiction. His beautiful, clear-cut style and his artistic restraint must affect every one who reads him. I'm sure his "Portrait of a Lady" was an education to me, though one has not always the wit to profit by one's education. I admire Howells' honest, earnest work, but I do not admire his attitude towards all writers and critics who happen to differ from his school. One can like Valdes and Bourget and Miss Austen without throwing stones at Scott and Thackeray and Dickens. There is plenty of room for all. (III, 508.)
In his last statement, "There is plenty of room for all," Doyle stated the critical policy of McClure's toward fiction and fiction writers.

In the articles devoted to an interview or sketch of a single writer and in the many references throughout these articles to other writers, the readers of McClure's were at least introduced to the names of writers from the early part of the century and from the period, American and foreign. For the most part, there were only glimpses, and the details were often trivial and far-fetched, more promising of intimacy than they were intimate. This much, in a sense, one expects in a popular magazine. There were, however, several virtues in what McClure's published about the lives and opinions of writers. Perhaps of paramount importance was the insistence in these pages on the hard, painful work involved in writing fiction, drama, or verse. Writing was seen not as a mystery, not as something accomplished by "tricks" or by "magic," but by hard and usually regular work, long hours, and constant revising. Writing was also shown as an unprofitable profession, and an unromantic career. Of perhaps equal importance was the picture of the writer not as Bohemian, but as ordinary human being, a picture too often exaggerated indeed, but one that must have helped form for many readers a new conception of the man who writes. Too, several useful distinctions were made in the commentary on writers, distinctions often opposed to the practice of the editors, distinctions that were probably unfamiliar to most
of the readers. Certainly, there was a marked contrast between the attitudes toward writers in the nineties and the attitudes prevalent today. In recent years several writers have become well-known to the readers of popular magazines and newspapers not for their writing but for their personal lives: Arthur Miller for his marriage to a Hollywood movie star, Dylan Thomas because of the mystery and romance of his death as a young man and the reports of his drinking, Ernest Hemingway for his adventurous life. In the attempt to provide readers with what they wanted to know about writers, McClure's at times provided them with information of value.
APPENDIX A

CORRELATION OF VOLUME NUMBERS
WITH MONTHS AND YEARS

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