HONOR, GLORY, AND INDIVIDUALISM: PLACING THE AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

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INTRODUCTION

The First World War profoundly changed the countries and peoples involved in the conflict, including the United States. Similar to many countries, the U.S. government reformed to assume more powers and responsibilities. American society altered as women filled new positions as ammunition workers and heads of households and African Americans fought for the United States on European battlefields. The economy experienced new government regulations to coordinate the most global war to that time. Finally, American culture transformed as new values challenged nineteenth-century concepts of warfare and individualism at the popular level.

The changes the war introduced in the United States found either limited success or partial reversal; none achieved complete fruition. The government policies of the Progressives and others who responded to the war slowed under the administrations of Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge. Women received the right to vote but fell far short of the social equality for which many reformers had wished. African Americans and other minorities faced increased social inequality as the Red Scare and the second Ku Klux Klan grew after the war and through the first half of the 1920s. The economy continued to prosper uninhibited by the strict government oversight that lagged after the war until the unchecked market collapsed at the end of the decade. Culturally, traditional values of glorious warfare and individualism persisted despite the common acceptance of new concepts of purposeless war and mass culture as popularized by novelists, philosophers, and advertisers.

Traditional concepts of war in America persisted despite participation in the bloodiest war of the time and the anti-war literature of the 1920s; this attests to the tenacity of traditional values after the war. The First World War produced the first substantial American anti-war literature written by participants. This literature, which was part of the broader literary modernist movement, appeared throughout the 1920s and acquired a wider audience than the pre-war avant-garde literature from which it originated. Anti-war and pro-war literature was one way Americans developed their concepts of what participants individually experienced during the war, whether those concepts were accurate or not.

One indicator of changing cultural values was the shift in literature from the idealism and romanticism of the late nineteenth century to the irony and disillusionment that characterized anti-war authors after the First World War.[1] Before the war, a small group of authors led by Theodore Dreiser and Stephen Crane promoted the philosophy of scientific naturalism in their novels. Scientific naturalism sought to remove idealistic concepts of beauty from nature and accurately present it as brutal and dirty. This style appealed to young soldier-authors after the war who felt betrayed by the idealism they held before the war.[2] Their views of the war, however, were slow to acquire the popularity of traditional novels.

This lack of popularity showed that the shift in the philosophical framework of war literature was not complete. Although the cynical philosophy of modernism found wider acceptance after the war, its novels never achieved the popularity of traditional

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[1] Julie Olin-Ammentorp, Edith Wharton's Writings from the Great War (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 8.

[2] Gerald E. Critoph, "The American Literary Reaction to World War I" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1957), 387.

novels published during and after the war until the publication of All Quiet on the Western Front in 1929.[3] The popularity of the two best-selling pro-war novels, Over the Top by Arthur Guy Empey and Dere Mable by Edward Streeter, remained uncontested for a decade despite the numerous novels published by anti-war authors like Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos.[4] The pro-war atmosphere during the First World War and the high demand for war books during and a few years after the war account for much of the popularity of Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter. The pro-war mood also explains the scant market for the first anti-war novels. John Dos Passos published his first book in 1920 to meager sales because of its anti-war message.[5] Disgust at the war after the United States signed the peace treaty slowly increased sales of anti-war literature. Impersonal, purposeless portrayals of war required a decade to rival the popularity of books that vaunted glory, honor, and individualism.

Pro-war sentiment lasted for just a few years after the armistice was signed. Writers remained optimistic after the war, hoping that the peace treaty would implement America's ideal mission of "making the world safe for democracy." By 1922 when it was apparent that this would not happen, "most of the comment on the American war role was critical or disillusioned."[6] Despite this growing consensus, only All Quiet on the Western Front, published in 1929, achieved considerable popularity.[7] The meager success of earlier anti-war books derived from the frustration Americans felt after the

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[3] Michael Korda, Making the List: A Cultural History of the American Bestseller 1900-1999 (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2001), 42; Alice Payne Hackett, Fifty Years of Best Sellers 1895-1945 (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1945), 101.

[4] Hackett, Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 101.

[5] Alice Payne Hackett and James Henry Burke, Eighty Years of Best Sellers 1895-1975 (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1977), 4.

[6] Ibid., 315.

[7] James D. Hart, The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 226-8.

peace treaty. New developments, however, tempered this frustration. As James Hart comments, "The automobile probably affected the rhythm of America more than the machinegun."[8] By the mid-1930s, the First World War served as only a historical reference in most books, briefly mentioned to place a person or event in 1917 or 1918. Ironically, most anti-war authors of the First World War supported America's entrance into the Second World War.[9] Anti-war authors regarded retribution for the bombing of Pearl Harbor as a solid basis for entering the war as opposed to the Wilsonian idealism of the First World War. This further demonstrates the power of pro-war sentiment in wartime despite peacetime attempts to diminish that sentiment.

Bestseller book lists, secondary literary criticism, histories of the First World War and the 1920s, and newspapers of the time made Empey, Streeter, Hemingway, and Dos Passos obvious candidates on which to focus. Empey and Streeter were the best-selling authors during the war. In his New York Times article published on the fiftieth anniversary of the war, David Dempsey identifies Arthur Guy Empey as the first American participant in the war to give "his country the first big patriotic book in 'Over the Top.'"[10] Dempsey continues by saying Edward Streeter's book Dere Mable was "the big hit of 1918."[11] By 1945, Dere Mable had sold 615, 000 copies and 'Over the Top' had sold 505,000.[12] Secondary literature cites Hemingway, Dos Passos, and e. e.

[8] Hart, The Popular Book, 227.
[9] Critoph, "The American Literary Reaction," 373.
[10] David Dempsey, "Writers of the First World War Marched on a Road from Glory" in the New York Times, 2 August 1964, sec. SM 5.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Hackett, Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 101.

cummings together as the writers who epitomized the war writing of the Lost Generation.[13]

Bestseller lists reflect the culture of a particular period by indicating the books and ideas that gained the most popular appeal, as determined by the economic choice to purchase. Publisher's Weekly, a publishing industry magazine, compiled the bestseller list by determining the actual number of books sold; it did not rely on estimates by individual publishers or booksellers. This avoids the bias of booksellers, who might lie to sell overstocked books, and publishers, who might give inflated figures to boost sales or depreciated figures to reduce author royalty checks.[14] The reliability of the list makes it a good indicator of trends in popular culture. Alice Payne Hackett, who recorded thirty years of bestsellers, anticipated this study by noting, "The yearly lists are more interesting for the student of social history and literary tastes than are the overall lists."[15] She proves this statement by mentioning 'Over the Top' as one of many books that added new words and phrases to the American language. Michael Korda, who has continued Hackett's work, also states, "Taken over the long haul, [the bestseller lists are] a good way of assessing our culture and of judging how, if any, we have changed."[16] He also affirms that bestsellers are more than "just literary history, it's a look at who we are, seen

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[13] For a sample of secondary literary criticism captivated by anti-war Lost Generation literature see Charles A. Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," American Quarterly 3 (Winter 1951): 327; Peter G. Jones, War and the Novelist (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 5; Joseph Warren Beach, American Fiction 1920-1940 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 11, 19, 21; John W. Aldridge, After the Lost Generation: A Critical Study of the Writers of Two Wars (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), 3-11; Frederick J. Hoffman, The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), 58. I have excluded cummings because he mostly wrote poetry and his one war novel, The Enormous Room, centers on his imprisonment in France during the war and not his combat experience.

[14] Korda, Making the List, xvii-xviii.

[15] Alice Payne Hackett, Seventy Years of Best Sellers 1895-1965 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 6.

[16] Korda, Making the List, x-xi.

through what we read."[17] Bestseller lists prove that Americans purchased more books that glorified warfare and emphasized individualism than those that denied concepts of glory and honor and criticized individualism.

Bestseller lists distinguish between books that resonated with contemporary culture and those that critics and reviewers highly regarded. The bestseller list "presents us with a kind of corrective reality. It tells us what we're *actually* reading (or, at least, what we're actually *buying*) as opposed to what we think we *ought* to be reading, or would like other people to believe we're buying."[18] This study centers on what we *actually* read. One of the reasons for the reluctance to publish bestseller lists was the controversy between books that were selling and books that were of superior quality. Most reviewers did not want people to judge the value of a book by its sales. This reluctance persists today. The bestseller list began in 1895 with The Bookman and continued in 1902 with Publisher's Weekly. The New York Times, however, waited until 1942 to establish a weekly list of its own and The Wall Street Journal did not adopt a list until 1994, almost one hundred years after the first list.[19] Despite what reviewers or literary critics want the American public to read, book sales reveal the true interests of the average reader.

The bestseller list of Publisher's Weekly demonstrates the importance of war literature to the United States during the war. The demand for war books pressed Publisher's Weekly to create a separate classification for them.[20] The impressive demand, however, did not keep these novels in popular memory. These war books and

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[17] Korda, Making the List, x-xi.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Korda, Making the List., xxi.
[20] Hackett, Fifty Years of Bestsellers, 101.

their authors "have been pretty much forgotten" due to the eventual literary importance of later anti-war books.[21] Despite this amnesia, these books exposed more readers to their concepts of the war than most subsequent literature.

Anti-war literature failed to surpass pro-war literature in sales during most of the 1920s in America because of the limited exposure it garnered, the popularity of novels that glorified war, and the persistence of traditional values that continued throughout the 1920s. Ironically, popular mass culture favored traditional novels of war that stressed individualism while a more select or elite audience preferred novels that emphasized the loss of individual autonomy in mass culture and removed the notions of glory and honor traditionally associated with the war. Forces such as the demobilization of the army, the failure of a reconstruction plan, the disappointment with the Versailles Peace Treaty, the Red Scare, the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan, and Prohibition, broadened the appeal of modernist anti-war literature and demonstrated the persistence of traditionalism. The growing number of those opposed to the conservative politics, isolationism, and nativism after the war increased the interest in anti-war literature, but the strength of those same forces in politics and society showed the continued popularity of traditional values.

Although this study and other cultural histories distinguish between modern and traditional trends during and after the First World War, many scholars have shown that the distinction often is unclear. Charles Lindbergh, a national hero brought to prominence by the modern manifestations of new technology and mass media, held America's fascination because "the people celebrated both the self-sufficient individual

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[21] Korda, Making the List, 17. Literary and stylistic innovations do not concern this study. Hemingway and Dos Passos were a part of a powerful new literary force regardless of the number of books they sold. They introduced new themes as well as a new way of writing. This study focuses on their themes, book sales, and cultural history, regarding literary treatments only when necessary.

and the machine."[22] Similarly, evangelists like Aimee Semple McPherson and Billy Sunday broadcast traditionalist messages over the modern medium of the radio. Thus, modernism and traditionalism often blurred, which complicates the dichotomy often attached to them.

Both popular war literature and modernist war literature authoritatively portrayed the war experience; the difference was the philosophical platform the authors used and the cultural context in which the authors wrote. In my first chapter, I examine the dominant themes in popular war literature, concentrating on Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter. My second chapter looks at major topics in modernist war literature, emphasizing the novels of Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos. The third chapter places the romantic, traditional ideas of honor, glory, and individualism and the modernist concepts opposed to these ideas within a cultural framework from American entrance in the war until the end of the 1920s.

The first chapter deals with the shared war experience of Empey and Streeter, their specific biographies, the differences between their literature and propaganda, their books' themes, and the recurrence of those themes in other popular literature. I emphasize four themes in Empey's novels. First, I assert that Empey regarded combat experience as necessary to write about warfare. Second, I analyze his initiation into the war experience. Third, I consider the heroic portrayals of fighting in his books. Last, I examine his theme of the war as a fight to save civilization. After focusing on Empey, I shift to a brief biography of Streeter. I address six themes in his books. First, I investigate Streeter's emphasis on the clearly defined dichotomy between the good Allies and the evil Germans. Second, I study his reverence for military structure. Third, I

[22] John W. Ward, "The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight," American Quarterly (Spring 1958), 16.

explore his humor toward the apocalyptic nature of the war. Fourth, I assess Streeter's regard for newspaper coverage of the war. Fifth, I consider his belief that the war fundamentally would not change the men who experienced it. Finally, I appraise Streeter's influence on writing of the Second World War.

The similar war experiences of Hemingway and Dos Passos, their specific biographies, and their literary themes about the war comprise the second chapter. I look at four themes in Hemingway's novels. First, I inspect his belief, which parallels Empey's belief, that war experience was necessary for authoritatively commenting on combat experience. Second, I recount his initiation into the war. Third, I deal with his emphasis on the impersonality of the fighting. Fourth, I analyze his comments on the influence of the war on veterans and post-war society. I concentrate on six themes in Dos Passos's novels. First, I consider his depiction of the war as a struggle against technology. Second, I study his portrayal of the loss of individuality due to the oppressive military structure. Third, I examine his apocalyptic representation of the war. Fourth, I explore the destructive influence of newspapers and propaganda in his novels. Fifth, I analyze the effect of the war on veterans. Sixth, I assess Dos Passos's impact on writers of the Second World War.

The final chapter briefly describes the differing cultural atmospheres between the war and the 1920s and the relation pro-war and anti-war literatures had with that atmosphere. The immediacy of the war, the Committee on Public Information, and the political idealism during the war all contributed to the popularity of pro-war books. Political problems with the demobilization of the army, the formation of a domestic reconstruction plan, and implementation of the Fourteen Points into the peace treaty

contributed to social reactions like the Red Scare, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, and disagreement over Prohibition. To some modernists like Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos, the war created these political and social problems. Hemingway and Dos Passos portrayed the war as devoid of honor, glory, and individualism because of these post-war troubles.

The conclusion reiterates the study and suggests a possible application. Some history teachers have employed A Farewell to Arms and Three Soldiers in the classroom to help describe the First World War to students. Although these books accurately recount the details of the war, they do not address the optimism for the war found in most novels contemporary with the war. They are more useful for showing how a growing number of writers began to understand the war in the 1920s. Over the Top and Dere Mable better capture the tone of most novels written during the war.

Literary attitudes toward the war markedly changed from the few novels that anticipated the war to the books written during and after the war. In his thorough treatment of this change, Gerald E. Critoph identifies attitudes toward war as "either all wrong, destructive of human values, or as the source of glory and honor" and these themes manifested themselves in novels written before, during, and after the war.[23] Once the war commenced, American authors closely followed the government position of neutrality to support for American participation.[24] They moved from suspending judgment on war or regarding war as wrong to favoring war as an honorable cause.[25] By late 1915, most American authors sided with the Allies but were unsure of what action

[23] Critoph, "The American Literary Reaction," 9.
[24] Ibid., 374.
[25] Ibid., 25, 77, 82.

America should take.[26] By 1917 and 1918 most American writers enthusiastically supported President Wilson's war platform. This fervor eventually contributed to post-war disillusionment.[27]

As valuable as Critoph's study is to the literature of the First World War, it has limitations. It assumes that government policy represents public opinion.[28] This assumption ignores minority opinions that might have had wide appeal but were not in accordance with wartime aims. Furthermore, Critoph analyzes non-fiction, fiction, poetry, and theater, which gives him a broad sample of literary currents but allows him little analysis of literary themes within individual works. Finally and most importantly to this study, Critoph does not evaluate literature in terms of cultural influence.[29] He analyzes poems and books equally, seldom uses book sales as an indicator of popularity, and assumes that newly published literature represented new trends wholly adopted by the culture regardless of the reception given the literature. In this study, I will use bestseller lists to determine the two most popular authors who participated in the war, compare their literature to the two participant authors most popular in secondary literary and cultural histories, and explain the reasons popular authors outsold innovative authors that critics regarded as better writers.

A recent dissertation by David Michael Hudson entitled "'Out of the Impact': Soldier Narrative and the Formation of the Great War Prose Canon" also uses best seller lists, secondary literature, and combat experience to determine and compare popular war

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[26] Ibid., 96-7.
[27] Critoph, "The American Literary Reaction," 277.
[28] Ibid, 3.
[29] Ibid., 1. Critoph uses the Literary History of the United States for literature; war anthologies, poetry collections, and established poetry journals for poetry; and other literary journals and magazines for high literature, popular books, and magazine writings. Nowhere does he employ bestseller lists.

authors to subsequent anti-war authors. Hudson isolates pro-war authors, like Arthur Guy Empey, Coningsby Dawson, and Harold Peat and highly acclaimed authors, like John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, and Erich Maria Remarque. Hudson argues that the works of popular war authors are not "the model for later narratives, but that they are a model."[30] Primarily concerned with the literary influence of popular war books, Hudson does not compare the different themes of the novels but focuses on the stylistic similarities.[31] This study varies from Hudson's study by focusing on changing cultural trends between the war and the 1920s and thematic differences between glorified portrayals and critical depictions of the war.

Recent studies of literary modernism in the United States have reasserted the importance of modernism in American culture after the First World War by citing the extensive advertising for modernists' novels.[32] Catherine Turner argues, "As much as critics and academics, publishers' advertisements for modern novels reveal, much more than sales figures, how much modernism was part of a popular market place and what part it played in the American public imagination."[33] Critics, academics, and advertisements partially determine a book's cultural influence, but scholars should not underestimate sales figures.

Massive advertising did include modernist literature in the popular book market but sales figures, more than advertisements, indicate modernism's effect on American

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[30] David Michael Hudson, "'Out of the Impact': Soldier Narrative and the Formation of the Great War Prose Canon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1994), 6.

[31] Ibid., 169.

[32] Catherine Turner, Marketing Modernism Between the Two Wars (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 3. Turner describes the intricacies of the new advertising-based interpretations in her first chapter. She mentions Jennifer Wicke, Advertising Fiction: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) and Lawrence Rainey Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1998) as the major works on which her book builds.

[33] Turner, Marketing Modernism, 9.

culture or "public imagination." Turner admits that most ads for modernist novels, even those on war, referred to nineteenth-century authors or traditional literary classifications. Advertisements often compared modernists to Romain Rolland, Gustave Flaubert, and Thomas Hardy.[34] Likewise, publishers advertised anti-war novels like A Farewell to Arms by Hemingway and 1919 by Dos Passos as a war and love story and an adventure novel, respectively.[35] Although modern advertising did serve as a departure from traditional forms of marketing, the modernist ads themselves reinforced traditional concepts of the war. Exposure to modernism came through reading the anti-war books but the bestseller list showed that this was more limited than the consumption of traditional war novels.

No study analyzes the advertising of traditional novels perhaps due to the lack of academic interest in traditional novels or because publishers spent less on advertising pro-war novels, relying instead on the popularity of the genre. Studies of advertising help justify the attention Hemingway and Dos Passos received beyond their innovations in literary style and later cultural significance despite their relative obscurity in terms of sales during the 1920s. Considering the popularity of Empey and Streeter during the First World War, no one has had to study the advertising of pro-war books to justify their study. Original copies of Empey's books "Over the Top" and First Call advertised other pro-war books like The First Hundred Thousand by Ian Hay. Perhaps the popularity of the books allowed them to advertise themselves. Obviously, this speculation requires more research to determine the nature of advertising for popular war literature.

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[34] Turner, Marketing Modernism, 218.
[35] Ibid.

Recent studies of American literature in the 1920s include modernist, post-modernist, and gendered interpretations. Ellis Hawley's book, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order is a thoroughly modernist approach to the subject. Hawley maintains that mainstream American culture was specializing in the 1920s. The college culture epitomized by F. Scott Fitzgerald's literature, the black-assertive culture of the Harlem Renaissance, and the bohemian culture of Greenwich Village were movements away from the cultural consensus.[36] During this fractionalization, both traditionalist and modernist literature "were incapable of becoming the nuclei of a new cultural consensus" because they failed to idolize the businessmen and managers who came to control mass culture and mass consumption.[37] Babe Ruth, Will Rogers, Henry Ford, and Herbert Hoover became modern heroes with traditional values but the 1920s ended without a major novel centered on these characters.[38] In conclusion, Hawley summarizes that the traditional and modern novels of the 1920s were competing for dominance in a society searching for values.[39] Without a cultural consensus, the reading public did not recognize any literature as representative of cultural values.

Marc Dolan's Modern Lives is a recent example of a post-modern study that attempts to place the Lost Generation in a cultural context. Like Hawley, Dolan also realizes that the Lost Generation emerged from the cultural fractionalization of the 1920s.[40] He claims cultural factions influenced each other and tracing these influences

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[36] Ellis W. Hawley, The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 169-72.
[37] Ibid., 163.
[38] Ibid., 168.
[39] Ibid., 162.
[40] Ibid., 186.

gives a broader understanding of the cultural forces in the 1920s.[41] Dolan focuses on the Lost Generation as one faction but fails to show how other factions influenced it or to trace those influences to provide a larger cultural context. He concludes, "By itself, [the Lost Generation] can tell us absolutely nothing, for neither as fact, discourse, myth nor symbol can it possibly encompass the entirety of early-twentieth-century American experience."[42] This assertion contradicts his earlier statement that parts of culture could reveal other pieces of the entirety. Dolan ends his book with this puzzling statement, "When speaking of as vast and complex a thing as national culture, one can never be sure [whether the Lost Generation represented progress]; there are too many simultaneous growths that one needs to take into account. But the Lost Generation was history, of a sort. If nothing else, it was evolution."[43] Again, he declines to connect the Lost Generation with a larger cultural context. By placing both modernist and traditional literature written about the First World War in a cultural context, this study provides the perspective Dolan's book lacks.

Edith Wharton's Writings from the Great War by Julie Olin-Ammentorp is a gendered study of First World War literature that contrasts the cultural role of male participants and women authors interested in writing about the war. Edward Streeter's and Arthur Guy Empey's participation in the First World War gave them cultural authority to comment on the war. All four authors—Empey, Streeter, Hemingway, and Dos Passos—insisted, either implicitly or explicitly, that to comment on combat required

[41] Marc Dolan, Modern Lives: A Cultural Re-reading of "The Lost Generation" (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1996), 7.
[42] Dolan, Modern Lives, 183.
[43] Ibid., 186.

participation on the front line.[44] Some women authors and most of the reading public accepted these authors' assumption. Julie Olin-Ammentorp states that scholars continue to ignore Edith Wharton's war writings because of the belief that one had to participate to know the war.[45] Interestingly, Wharton herself "seemed" to accept this belief.[46] More importantly to this study, Wharton's inclusion of a battle scene in her novel, The Marne, "may in part account for the novel's eventual fall into oblivion" because of her depiction of "an experience she as a woman could not have had."[47] Most authors and readers considered combat experience a prerequisite to writing about warfare and that made it a male experience.

Modernist, post-modernist, and gendered studies of First World War literature and culture show the different views of the effects that literature and culture had on one another. Ellis Hawley shows that literature written during the 1920s failed to address mainstream cultural developments but focused on emerging, specialized cultural groups or concentrated on the war. Marc Dolan promises an analysis of the influences different cultural groups exerted upon each other through a study of the Lost Generation but fails to provide such an analysis. Julie Olin-Ammentorp proves that Edith Wharton and other women writers contributed to war literature during and after the war but cultural discrimination against women writers stunted their contribution both contemporarily and in subsequent studies. Olin-Ammentorp and other gendered studies provide a more complete understanding of First World War literature. All three authors fail to look at the

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[44] Arthur Guy Empey, Tales from a Dugout (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), vii-viii; Edward Streeter, Dere Mable: Love Letters of a Rookie (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1918), 40; Ernest Hemingway, The Torrents of Spring (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 57; John Dos Passos, The Big Money (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), 16, 33-4.

[45] Olin-Ammentorp, Edith Wharton's Writings, 18.

[46] Olin-Ammentorp, Edith Wharton's Writings, 25.

[47] Ibid., 73.

different literary depictions of the war from America's entrance through the 1920s and the popularity of these portrayals.

After the First World War, the failure of the peace treaty, the Red Scare, the Ku Klux Klan, Prohibition, and other cultural forces broke the cultural consensus. Traditional novels continued to dominate the bestseller lists but a more selective, "high" culture emerged to which anti-war, modernist authors, such as Hemingway and Dos Passos, contributed. Although more popular than their predecessors before the war, these modernists never rivaled the popularity of pro-war authors during the war and never succeeded in displacing any traditional author from the bestseller list. Pro-war and anti-war books shared some qualities. They both relied on the authority of participant authors and shared scenes of graphic violence. The books disagreed, though, on the meaning and values of the war, specifically glory, honor, and individualism. Anti-war authors of the 1920s have received ample attention because of their later cultural significance, but pro-war authors also contributed to subsequent culture. They transmitted traditional values into the modern age through popular culture.

CHAPTER I

POPULAR PRO-WAR LITERATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter recognized that the First World War was different from previous wars in scope, weaponry, and tactics, but the authors believed that their notions of glory, honor, and individualism persisted despite the war's immensity. No war had ever included so many countries, so many soldiers, and the mobilization of so many home fronts. Machine guns, gas, shells, and tanks created a defensive war in Western Europe unprecedented in history. The conditions created by such devastating weaponry led some to later claim that traditional concepts associated with war were obsolete. Unlike these subsequent anti-war authors, Empey and Streeter conveyed their experiences in modern warfare with traditional concepts of honor, glory, and individualism. Arthur Guy Empey's books "Over the Top", First Call, Tales from a Dugout, and A Helluva War outline Empey's attitude toward combat and the motives he felt justified the war. Streeter's novels Dere Mable, "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!", and "That's Me All Over, Mable" demonstrate Streeter's perception of the war, and his hope for the future of the soldier after the war. Empey's and Streeter's portrayals of the war resonated with the American reading public who wished to read vivid descriptions of the war framed with ideals of honor, glory, and individualism. "Over the Top" and Dere Mable best displayed Empey's and Streeter's popularity by being the two best-selling war books during the war. The inclusion of these themes in other pro-war literature, such as Carry On and The Glory of the Trenches by Coningsby Dawson, "The Good Soldier" by

N. P. Dawson, One of Ours by Willa Cather, Fix Bayonets! by John W. Thomason, The Great Crusade by Joseph Dickman, 100% by Upton Sinclair, and A Son at the Front by Edith Wharton, further demonstrates their cultural influence.

Both Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter were officers in the United States Army during the First World War. Empey was in the United States Cavalry for six years before joining the British Royal Fusiliers after the Germans sank the Lusitania.[48] The British briefly used him as a recruiting tool. The logic was that if an American would join the British Army this would "shame" other British men to join.[49] When this did not work as well as hoped, Empey was sent to the front.[50] When America entered the war, Empey rejoined the U.S. Army and returned to America for bond rallies of which two of the biggest were at Carnegie Hall in 1917 and Chicago in 1918.[51] His speech in Chicago berated drafted Americans and, unfortunately for Empey, President Wilson attended the rally. Empey failed to gain his promotion to captain because of this comment.[52] Edward Streeter graduated from Harvard in 1914 and joined the 27th New York Infantry Division in 1917 where he attained the rank of first lieutenant.[53] Streeter first published Dere Mable in a series of submissions to the 27th Division magazine, Gas Attack.[54] These shared experiences in the war gave both authors authority to comment on the war, and they wrote of the war in terms of honor, glory, and individualism.

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[48] Arthur Guy Empey, "Over the Top" by an American Soldier Who Went (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 237, 1-5.

[49] Ibid., 8.

[50] Ibid., 9-10.

[51] New York Times, Oct. 15, 1917; New York Times, August 12, 1918.

[52] New York Times, August 12, 1918.

[53] Edward Streeter, Dere Mable: Love Letters of a Rookie (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1918), v.

[54] Meyer Berger, New York Times, "What Soldiers Print and Laugh At," June 22, 1941, SM 8.

Not only did participation account for cultural authority for commenting on the war but also participation differentiated the pro-war authors' accounts from those of propaganda. Although Empey and Streeter showed some signs of propaganda, they did not display the fervent patriotism of books like Common Cause by Samuel Hopkins Adams or The Thunders of Silence by Irwin Cobb, who was an executive committee member of the American literary propaganda effort, "Vigilante."[55] Both Common Cause and The Thunders of Silence focused on newspaper editors who contributed to the war effort by denouncing the insidious activities of German subversives. Common Cause dealt with the fictitious town of Centralia in southern Illinois, which had a majority of German-Americans who tried to foil the American war effort. The book viciously attacked German-speaking schools and newspapers and praised Jeremy Robson, the courageous small newspaper owner who defied the German forces and eventually won. The replacement of the American flag with a German one at the state capital was the climax of the action in the book.[56] In Thunders of Silence, a congressman opposed the war and newspapers gave him attention because of his minority view. This attention allowed the congressman to draw large crowds. To combat this, two lowly editors called their friends in the newspaper business and asked them to discontinue their stories about the congressman. When the newspapers agreed to stop giving the congressman attention, his popularity diminished and the congressman eventually committed suicide. The

[55] Charles V. Genthe, American War Narratives 1917-1918 (New York: David Lewis Publisher, 1969), 29.

[56] Samuel Hopkins Adams, Common Cause: A Novel of the War in America (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 279.

"thunders of silence"[57] killed the congressman. These books nowhere criticize the American war effort, which makes them obvious examples of propaganda.

Edward Streeter's experience in the war muted the hyper-patriotism of propaganda and caused his writing to anticipate the themes that anti-war writers would dwell on in their subsequent anti-war literature. In Dere Mable, Streeter's protagonist, Bill, signed his letter to his sweetheart, "Yours till the war ends"[58] instead of the typical "forever yours" implying that the war could last forever. Hemingway, Dos Passos, William Faulkner, and other anti-war writers developed this theme to highlight the hopelessness soldiers felt about the longevity of the war. Streeter's description of honor, like anti-war novels, was without glorious illusions. Bill recognized, "In the army honer [sic] and hard work are the same thing."[59] Streeter addressed the expendability of men when a lieutenant tells Bill that the upcoming push across No Man's Land will require many runners because "when two went back with a message an [sic] got killed he could send two more."[60] Dos Passos elaborated on this theme by comparing the expendability of men to machines. Although Streeter understood the problems that the war presented to his values, he believed soldiers can remain individuals and achieve glory and honor, even if those concepts had a different meaning than he expected.

Empey was more graphic and blunt in his recognition of the negative aspects of the war, moderating his positive portrayal of the war and causing him to deal with themes shared by anti-war authors. Although he maintained that soldiers retained their individuality, Empey realized the strain the war placed on individualism. Governments

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[57] Irwin Cobb, The Thunders of Silence (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), 28.
[58] Streeter, Dere Mable, 3
[59] Edward Streeter, "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!" (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919), 92.
[60] Streeter, Same Old Bill, 55.

issued soldiers identification disks to distinguish from "one of a million men, a tiny cog in a great machine."[61] Of course, shells could destroy even this small measure of individuality.[62] John Dos Passos emphasized the loss of individuality in the military machine as a major theme of his war novels. The first fatality Empey witnessed did not die in a glorious charge across No Man's Land but as Empey's friend returned to the front he simply "crumpled up without a word."[63] This scene parallels many character deaths in anti-war novels where soldiers died suddenly and unexpectedly. In one of his most gruesome portrayals, Empey recounted living in a trench with decomposing bodies for six days. Empey described the bodies' faces "becom[ing] swollen and discolored."[64] This macabre scene rates with that of the most powerful anti-war novels including All Quiet on the Western Front by Remarque and Under Fire: The Story of a Squad by the French author Henri Barbusse. As with Streeter, Empey also observed the strain that modern warfare placed on honor, glory, and individualism but believed that these concepts persevered.

The attention the New York Times dedicated to Empey's and Streeter's deaths compared with that of Hemingway and Dos Passos shows the increased importance of the latter authors. Empey's and Streeter's obituaries occupied a short, three-line obituary and a two column story respectively. Hemingway's suicide was front-page news and Dos Passos's death received considerable space. The New York Times examined the literary

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[61] Arthur Guy Empey, First Call: Guide Posts to Berlin (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), 38.

[62] Arthur Guy Empey, "Over the Top" by an American Soldier Who Went (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 24.

[63] Ibid., 31.

[64] Ibid., 174.

work of Hemingway and Dos Passos whereas Streeter's work received brief mention and the paper never mentioned Empey's work.[65]

Arthur Guy Empey was born in Ogden, Utah on December 11, 1883, became well known during the war, and lost that fame after the war.[66] He wrote another novel about the war in 1927 and wrote unsuccessful screenplays in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[67] He died February 22, 1963 at the age of seventy-nine in Wadsworth, Kansas.[68] The war was the most notable event of his life.

Empey regarded participation in the war as a necessity for commenting on the psychological effects that combat had on soldiers. No one on the home front could realize the horror of the war until that person suffered; "he must see war, must live war, must breathe war."[69] If people at home saw the war, it would shock them but they would also "be filled with joy and pride for the fighting men of America"[70] as those at home witnessed their bravery in the midst of the war. Empey explained the purpose of Tales from a Dugout as "fill[ing] the void" between those fighting at the front and those at home by showing non-combatants the courage and honor of soldiers in the face of terror.[71]

Empey not only used his own initiation into the war experience to inform those at home but also to prepare those who were becoming soldiers. His book, "Over the Top"

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[65] New York Times, "Hemingway Dead of Shotgun Wound," July 3, 1961, 1; New York Times, "John Dos Passos Is Dead at 74," September 29, 1970; New York Times, "Edward Streeter, Humorist, Dies at 84," April 2, 1976, 29; New York Times, "Obituaries," April 1, 1963, 35.

[66] William Jeremiah Burke, American Authors and Books, 1640-1940 (New York: Gramercy Publishing Company, 1943), 196.

[67] David Michael Hudson, "'Out of the Impact': Soldier Narrative and the Formation of the Great War Prose Canon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1994), 100.

[68] New York Times, "Obituaries," April 1, 1963, 35.

[69] Arthur Guy Empey, First Call: Guideposts to Berlin (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), 1.

[70] Arthur Guy Empey, Tales from a Dugout (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), vii-viii.

[71] Ibid., viii.

"appeared at the psychological moment of June 1917. As the publisher contended, it told prospective soldiers pretty nearly what is waiting for them."[72] Empey's wounds further initiated him into the war (as wounds initiated Hemingway) giving his admonishment to new soldiers that "mud, rats, cooties, shells, wounds, or death itself, are far outweighed by the deep sense of satisfaction felt by the man who does his bit."[73] Empey made this comment with authority because he had experienced all those privations save death.

Empey wrote four novels about the war. The first was "Over the Top", which recounted his experiences with the British army after he joined after the sinking of the Lusitania. Empey presented "Over the Top" as a guidebook to prepare American soldiers for the war experience. Empey included concepts of glory, honor, and individualism along with useful descriptions of the war. An interesting feature of this book was the dictionary of trench terminology that accompanied it. It defined everything from "cooties" to "Blighty" to "going over the top." The second book, First Call, was a reassurance to the home front. It used less military vocabulary and reminded the population at home that American soldiers were equipped with the best possible knowledge and gear. First Call recounted the heroic deeds of French, British, and American soldiers on the Western Front. Tales from a Dugout, Empey's third book, was his first fictional account. It dealt with three British soldiers who recounted different experiences to each other. One tells a story of an artillery shell killing his friend and another narrates a tale of a haunted forest. Empey intended Tales from a Dugout as another book to relate the experience of the war to those on the home front as soldiers related their experiences to each other. Helluva War was Empey's final book. It was a

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[72] James D. Hart, The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 225.

[73] Empey, Over the Top, 279-80.

fictional account of the war centered on Private Terrance X. O'Leary, a simple Irish soldier. O'Leary was humorously antagonistic toward authority, privations, and the Germans. The book was an amusing portrayal of the war published in 1927 when humorless anti-war books generally had replaced other depictions of the war.

Honor, glory, and individualism of combat were some of the main themes that Empey's novels addressed. Empey assigned honor to countries, organizations, and primarily to individuals. His veneration of Allied countries essentially amounted to propaganda. The Red Cross elicited Empey's highest praise for an organization. Mostly Empey praised the heroics of his fellow soldiers.

Empey justified his praise of other countries through his personal experience. Before the First World War, Empey traveled in the United States Cavalry. This exposed him to different people and attitudes and "through this elbow rubbing, and not from reading, I have become convinced of the nobility, truth, and justice of the Allies' cause."[74] This virtuous appraisal made America's entrance into the war on the Allied side a rational decision because the Allied virtues were "the principle of the United States of America, democracy, justice, and liberty."[75] Englishmen in particular epitomized the righteousness of the Allied cause. "Tommy Atkins," the typical Englishman, "is willing to sacrifice everything but honor in the advancement of the same."[76] Empey reiterated this feeling in Tales from a Dugout by introducing his British characters not as individuals but as soldiers "fighting in the British Army for Justice, Democracy, and

[74] Empey, Over the Top, v.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

Liberty."[77] Focusing on America's close ties with Britain and other Allied nations, Empey emphasized the bond by identifying shared values of honor and glory.

The organization of the Red Cross embodied the highest values to Empey. Using an implied biblical reference, Empey calls the Red Cross "the symbol of Faith, Hope, and Charity."[78] This echoes the evaluation of St. Paul in First Corinthians that the highest values of a Christian are faith, hope, and charity with charity being the highest of the three. This description of the Red Cross opposed that of Dos Passos who considered his ambulance unit mostly as a tool of propaganda. Unlike Empey, Dos Passos observed, "We are here for propaganda it seems—more than for ambulance work."[79]

Empey closely related his ideas of individualism and honor. Empey's novels stress the individual role of the soldier in combat as opposed to the mass treatment and slaughter of soldiers of anti-war novelists. As individuals, soldiers won honor and glory for themselves. Empey especially honored those who suffered for the cause and assigned the highest honor to those who died in combat.

Most of Empey's accounts of honor involved individual soldiers in combat. One of Empey's characters, Old Scotty, was a frontiersman from the American West who demonstrated that soldiers could retain their individuality. Instead of charging the German trench, Old Scotty "used to draw two or three days' rations and disappear with his glass, range finder, and rifle, and we would see or hear no more of him, until suddenly he would reappear with a couple of notches added to those already on the butt of his

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[77] Empey, Tales from a Dugout, x. Coningsby Dawson also lauded the British soldier as doing "heroic things daily, which in a lesser war would have won the Victoria Cross, but in this war are commonplace." Coningsby Dawson, Carry On: Letters in War Time (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1917), 17.

[78] Empey, Over the Top, 279.

[79] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle: Letters and Diaries of John Dos Passos, ed. Townsend Ludington (Boston: Gambit Incorporated, 1973), 115.

rifle."[80] Old Scotty maintained his individualism in the midst of modern warfare. Another character that asserted his individuality was Private Terrance O'Leary, the main character in Empey's novel, A Helluva War. O'Leary convinced a German battalion that he was an Irish spy for the Germans in the United States Army, and he managed to expose the German position. In the ensuing battle, O'Leary reflects, "the two armies were staging a battle for him!"[81] Empey maintained that one soldier affected the war.[82]

The ultimate height of glory for an individual was dying for the Allied cause. When Empey's friend Pete died in combat, Empey wrote a poem commending his friend to "the Roll of Honor of heroes passed."[83] Empey further expounded his idealization of honor in Tales from a Dugout. One character explained "the little wooden cross settles all debts in this world. Dying for one's country in a righteous cause, according to my view, entitles one to a reserved seat in Heaven."[84] Death entitled individual soldiers to the highest honor.

Other authors echoed this sentiment. Alan Seeger, a soldier/author in the war, wrote, "Death is nothing terrible after all. It may mean something more wonderful than life. It cannot mean anything worse to the good soldier."[85] Similarly, when Willa Cather's character Claude realized he and his troops would die on a raid, he knew that his friend David "might find them dead, but he would find them all there. They were to stay

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[80] Empey, Over the Top, 279.

[81] Arthur Guy Empey, A Helluva War (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), 219.

[82] To reconcile the individual to the collective nature of the war, Coningsby Dawson placed the individual in a larger context. Despite the enormous numbers of men, Dawson argued that divisions, battalions, and batteries consisted of individuals who all depended on each other. Thus, individualism persisted even in groups. Coningsby Dawson, The Glory of the Trenches: An Interpretation, (New York: John Lane Company, 1918), 120.

[83] Empey, Over the Top, 56.

[84] Empey, Tales from a Dugout, 57.

[85] N. P. Dawson, "The Good Soldier": A Selection of Soldiers' Letters, 1914-1918 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918), 69.

until they were carried out to be buried. They were mortal but they were unconquerable."[86] In the microcosm of war, death on the front line was paramount to sainthood.

Another frequent topic in Empey's books was the fight for civilization. Empey pursued this topic in two veins. First, the war morally improved men by giving them a cause above themselves, which was the defense of civilization. Second, and more emphatically, the war insured democracy abroad and created democracy in the trenches.

The themes of improvement of the men by the war and the spread of democracy overlapped. Empey thanked the mothers of the men for willingly giving their sons "to the cause of Justice, Democracy, and Liberty."[87] He continued by reminding the mothers that the war helped their sons learn "the meaning of true democracy, good fellowship, and self-reliance, being far removed from the evils and temptations that they would ordinarily encounter in civil life."[88] Empey implied that civilization and specifically democracy would improve through these men protecting it from German militarism. They were the soldiers who brought "Freedom and all that makes life precious," improving themselves by defending and advancing democracy. [89]

This theme occurred in many other pro-war novels. N. P. Dawson made several comments on the war for civilization. This was a war not for one country "but for everyone; a war…against those who would 'kill the light.'"[90] Richard Davis anticipated a better England after the war in his book With the Allies. The ideals for which a soldier

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[86] Willa Cather, One of Ours (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1922), 453.
[87] Empey, First Call, 6.
[88] Ibid., 7.
[89] Empey, First Call, 320.
[90] N. P. Dawson, The Good Soldier, ix; Dawson often returns to the theme. Other good examples are on pages 85 and 116.

fought bettered him "and when peace comes his country will be the richer and the more powerful."[91] Harvey Allen recounted that, as soldiers helped the wounded, they galvanized their commitment to defend civilization.[92] Although an anti-war novelist, William March's character, Sylvester Keith, believed that winning the war would secure civilization for posterity.[93] Even ardent socialists like Upton Sinclair were not immune to this idea. In Jimmie Higgins, Sinclair advocated American participation in the war to combat the threat of German militarism to civilization.[94] Such a wide range of books demonstrates the broad appeal of understanding the Great War as a fight to defend civilization and democracy.

Most pro-war authors observed the spirit of equality they were defending in the trench. Empey remarked, "This war is gradually crumbling the once insurmountable wall of caste" and "has welded all classes into one glorious whole."[95] Empey attributed this to mutual suffering of all classes, shoulder to shoulder, in the trenches. He concluded that democracy would improve after the war if civilization succeeded.

Empey was not alone in his presumption concerning the advance of democracy. Coningsby Dawson's book, The Glory of the Trenches, frequently repeated this topic. He argued that the war taught men to share their scant resources with each other furthering a sense of equality.[96] Dawson himself credited the bravery he learned "to the new equality, based on heroic values, which this war has established."[97] One early history of the war attributed this democratic impulse in the trenches to a "brotherhood of

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[91] Richard Harding Davis, The War on All Fronts: With the Allies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 155.
[92] Harvey Allen, Towards the Flame: A War Diary (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934), 48.
[93] William March, Company K (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), 9.
[94] Upton Sinclair, Jimmie Higgins (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1970), viii.
[95] Empey, Over the Top, 152, 279.
[96] Coningsby Dawson, The Glory of the Trenches, 26-7.
[97] Ibid., 102.

suffering."[98] War authors envisioned a renewal of equality once this new equality returned home with the soldiers.

This egalitarian vision opposed the belief of some that the war was a capitalistic struggle of the rich to maintain their power. Coningsby Dawson's father, N. P. Dawson, argued against this capitalistic interpretation in his collection of soldiers' letters, "The Good Soldier". He claimed "No one can read the letters of these glorious boys and not resent the belittling assumption that all the fighting men are dumb victims of a 'capitalistic' war."[99] William March's character, Private Emil Ayres, refused to listen to "his college educated colleagues talk about the war being fought for monied interests."[100] These beliefs in the purpose of the war changed after the peace treaty was signed and some pro-war authors had to adjust their positive assessment. Willa Cather, a staunch pro-war author, wrote One of Ours in 1922. The protagonist, Claude, died in the war and his mother later speculated that Claude would have become "disillusioned" after the peace "went so wrong."[101] Cather continued to hold the romantic version of the war by giving Claude a heroic death before the war ended so he avoided the postwar cynicism. One of Ours correctly understood the honor, glory, and individualism that characterized Americans' portrayals of the war and blamed the subsequent disillusionment on the botched peace treaty.

Edward Streeter was less active in personally promoting the war than Empey, but he was more successful after the war. Streeter was born August 1, 1891, in New York

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[98] Preston William Slosson, The Great Crusade and After, 1914-1928 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), 1.

[99] N. P. Dawson, The Good Soldier, viii.

[100] March, Company K, 59.

[101] Cather, One of Ours, 458.

City.[102] After graduating from Harvard and before he left for the war, Streeter worked as a reporter for the Buffalo Express of Buffalo, New York.[103] This contributed to his writing abilities, which he used during the war to write his Mable books. When he returned from the war, he became "an officer of the Bankers Trust Company and later the Fifth Avenue Bank, now the Bank of New York, from which he retired in 1956 as vice president."[104] Streeter died at the age of eighty-four on April 1, 1976, at Roosevelt Hospital in New York City. He was best known for his best-selling novels Dere Mable and Father of the Bride.[105]

Most pro-war accounts recorded humorous aspects of the war. Edward Streeter was the best-selling author of humorous war stories as his sales figures indicate. In his preface to "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!", Streeter explained that he was not "making light of that splendid, almost foolhardy, bravery which has characterized the American soldier."[106] Instead, "it was he himself who made light of it, as he did of the whole war, and probably would of doomsday."[107] Soldiers were aware of the "sentimentality" of the war and "died many times making fun of the things he was dying for."[108] Streeter recognized that humor accompanied the combat experience.

Streeter wrote three novels about the war: Dere Mable, "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!" and "That's Me All Over, Mable". Dere Mable followed the protagonist, Bill, from boot camp to the war. "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable" recounted the end of the war and the demobilization of the soldiers. "That's Me All Over, Mable" continued Bill's story in

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[102] Burke, American Authors and Books, 620.
[103] New York Times, "Edward Streeter, Humorist, Dies at 84," April 2, 1976, 29.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Edward Streeter, "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!" (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919), iii.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid., iv.

civilian life. All three books have the same format. Through installments of letters to Bill's sweetheart Mable, the reader witnesses Bill experiencing and dealing with the war in his simple, humorous manner.

Other pro-war authors also observed the dark humor of the war. Empey acknowledged that soldiers' descriptions of the war to each other sounded "flippant" to readers at home because of the humor they used.[109] Coningsby Dawson believed that "tragedy always has its humorous aspect."[110] In his account of a Marine battalion, John Thomason regarded humor as a psychological safeguard to remain sane. One of his characters worried about a scout officer commenting, "This war's hard on Jim—he takes it too seriously."[111] Pro-war authors included humor as a vital aspect to the combat experience.

As obvious as it sounds, pro-war authors viewed the German army they faced as the enemy in the war; anti-war authors saw the war in terms of humans versus technology. Describing the war in a poem to his girlfriend Mable, Streeter's character Bill clearly considered the Germans as the enemy. He wrote, "Biff, an from there lare/The shreeks of Germans rent the air/Bloody lims lie on the ground/Bits of Huns go flyin round."[112] Bill encouraged Mable to read the poem to her friends "to give em a good idea of what war is."[113] As with most of Streeter's passages, he exaggerated this poem for humorous effect but he clearly understood the Germans to be the enemy.

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[109] Empey, Over the Top, vi.
[110] Coningsby Dawson, The Glory of the Trenches, 123.
[111] John W. Thomason, Fix Bayonets! (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), 204.
[112] Streeter, Dere Mable, 40.
[113] Ibid.

Empey also vilified the Germans. The first destroyed village he saw was his "first sight of the awful destruction of German Kultur."[114] Empey's negative use of "German Kultur" indicted not only the German army for the destruction of the village, but the German people as well. To Empey, destruction of western civilization was the aim of the entire German people and it manifested itself in the French countryside.

Streeter believed the information the newspapers provided about the war whereas other writers such as Dos Passos expressed skepticism. Bill asked Mable to keep his letters as a record of the war. He knew of nothing else that would provide a record of the war "except the newspapers."[115] Bill speculated that his letters contained a personalized version of the war that the papers would miss but that newspapers would be faithful to the facts. Dos Passos believed "everything said & written & thought in America about the war is lies."[116]

Postwar author Joseph Dickman more directly addressed the accuracy of newspapers in his book, The Great Crusade. Even as late as 1927, Dickman denied that "any attempt was made to stimulate the combativeness of our soldiers by stirring up exaggerated hatred, by depreciating the enemy's fighting qualities, or by vain boasting. However, to confirm their confidence…the men were told the facts."[117] Belief in the accuracy of the newspapers continued despite the cynicism of the anti-war novels in the 1920s. The investigation of the Creel Commission by scholars when the Commission's papers became available in1937 dispelled the trust pro-war authors had in the newspapers. Interestingly, the papers proved the early speculation of Harold D. Lasswell,

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[114] Empey, Over the Top, 30.
[115] Streeter, Dere Mable, 3.
[116] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 92.
[117] Joseph T. Dickman, The Great Crusade: A Narrative of the World War (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1927), 26.

who concluded that the outlined goals of war propaganda were "to mobilize hatred against the enemy" and "to demoralize the enemy,"[118] points which directly contradicted Dickman's assessment.

Streeter's novels praised the military and the discipline it demanded. Streeter's Bill venerated the military structure in his ideal vision of the way the war should end. Bill "thought General Fosh [sic] would come ridin out on a big white horse and General Hindenburg on a big black one. Hed [sic] hand Fosh his sord [sic] or whissel or whatever it is that Generals carry nowdays."[119] To Bill, the end of such a momentous war should have included the pinnacles of the opposing military structures. Streeter dedicated Dere Mable to those who obeyed orders and respected discipline. Although soldiers grumbled, cared less about understanding orders, and always were anxious to start something new, discipline allowed them "to serve as a matter of course."[120] Streeter respected the military structure and the discipline it demanded.

Coningsby Dawson and Arthur Guy Empey also commented on the positive effects of military discipline. Dawson noted the unselfishness discipline developed in soldiers and the effect discipline had on shaping his belief in God.[121] Discipline and unselfishness forced an individual to acknowledge forces larger than themselves and, to Dawson, logically culminated in a new or renewed belief in a superior Being. Empey distinguished the reaction of new and old soldiers to discipline. He said, "To a recruit discipline is a nasty medicine and seems unnecessary. To an old soldier it is a nectar of

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[118] James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, Words the Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information 1917-1919 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1939), ix.

[119] Streeter, Same Old Bill, 88.

[120] Streeter, Dere Mable, iii.

[121] Coningsby Dawson, The Glory of the Trenches, 36, 139.

the gods and indispensable."[122] To these like-minded soldiers, the old soldier held the correct attitude about discipline.

Unlike anti-war literature that portrayed veterans as unable to adjust to post-war society, Streeter believed that the war would not change soldiers and they easily would re-integrate into society. Streeter's post-war novel "As You Were, Bill!" continued Bill Smith's story after the war. Bill found a job and continued his antics with no complications from his war experiences. In "Same Old Bill, Eh Mable!", Bill did not believe the newspapers' and magazines' speculations that soldiers would return from the war changed men. He did not sense any change in himself and promised not to constantly talk about the war "like that fello down at Henry's barber shop that just sits around all day tryin to get somebody to lissen to the Battle of Gethisburg."[123] Streeter believed soldiers would becomecivilians without difficulty, even with less difficulty than Civil War veterans.

Streeter's novels written during the war influenced soldier-authors during the Second World War. In his article in the New York Times, Meyer Berger noted, "Seven out of ten new Army publications seemed to have cribbed the 'Dere Mable' idea from the 1917 Gas Attack."[124] Even the 27th Division that published the Gas Attack magazine "published a Dear Myrtle series by a fictitious 'Joe.'"[125] Humorous portrayals of the Second World War continued despite the more modern nature of that war. Bill

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[122] Empey, First Call, 41.
[123] Streeter, Same Old Bill, 119-120.
[124] Berger, "What Soldiers Print and Laugh At," New York Times, SM 8, June 22, 1941.
[125] Ibid.

Mauldin's "Willie and Joe" cartoon series serves as a clear example that humor usually attended warfare.[126]

The books of pro-war authors like Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter are typical of the hopeful attitude Americans felt toward the country's participation in the First World War. Censorship did exist during the war and the Committee on Public Information did an excellent job of rousing pro-war sentiment in the United States. Censorship and the CPI, however, were not the only reason pro-war literature enjoyed such popularity. The popularity of pro-war books suggests that American readers genuinely hoped that participation in the war would morally renew Europe. Europeans also initially believed the war would bring about moral rejuvenation believing soldiers would fight for a higher cause for about six months and return better men. After the first six months became two years and the battles of Verdun and the Somme took a million and a half French and English lives in 1916, attitudes toward the war shifted in Europe. The United States declared war on April 7, 1917, but the country required a year to mobilize before landing the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) in France. The AEF never sustained the heavy losses of Britain and France and only experienced the victorious last months of the war. In his famous book about the home front during the First World War, David Kennedy claimed that despite the Civil War, Americans had a medieval belief in the glory and honor of combat.[127] Without heavy casualties and with the war so far away and so brief, the American public retained their traditional concepts of war and expected pro-war books during the First World War. The immense popularity

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[126] For a collection of Mauldin's wartime cartoons, see Bill Mauldin, Up Front (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1945).

[127] David Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 178.

of Dere Mable and "Over the Top" attest to this fact. The CPI might have encouraged authors and publishers to write pro-war accounts, but they did not force people to buy them.

Anti-war books, which became popular in England and France during the war, did not become common in the United States until the mid to late 1920s.[128] These anti-war books reflect attitudes developed after President Wilson's Fourteen Points failed to guide the peace settlement. The books also demonstrate the disgust of the authors with America's return to isolationism and the weakness of the League of Nations. Instead of a "war to end all wars," anti-war authors like Hemingway and Dos Passos saw that the bungled peace treaty would produce another war. Their books view the war through this post-war prism.

[128] The first big anti-war book was Henri Barbusse, Under Fire: The Story of a Squad (London: Everyman's Library, 1926). Originally published in 1917, Under Fire had a profound influence on subsequent war literature. Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, the two big anti-war English poets, read Under Fire before they published any of their works, and the influence Barbusse's book had on subsequent French anti-war literature is apparent. It also influenced the great American novelists Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos. Interest in the book today resides almost exclusively in its historical significance.

CHAPTER II

ANTI-WAR LITERATURE OF THE 1920s

The First World War was a watershed for Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos, who took from it "the feeling of having lived in two eras almost on two different planets."[129] Their war experiences and postwar disillusionment changed and reinforced Hemingway's and Dos Passos's views on life and provided a platform from which to espouse these views. Specifically, Hemingway and Dos Passos used the scope, weaponry, and tactics of the war to question concepts of honor, glory, and individualism traditionally associated with combat. Hemingway's novels The Torrents of Spring, In Our Time, The Sun Also Rises, and A Farewell to Arms and Dos Passos's novels The Big Money, One Man's Initiation—1917, Three Soldiers, and U.S.A.: 1919 demonstrate the authors' use of combat in the First World War to discredit romanticized versions of war. As a brief survey of other anti-war authors reveals, Hemingway's and Dos Passos's themes exercised broad influence on postwar literature.

In 1917, volunteering for the ambulance service provided an opportunity for many young people to experience war and to fulfill a humanitarian impulse. Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos, along with other literary figures, joined the ambulance corps. Although they believed the war would provide valuable material for their writing, their motives were not altogether selfish. Traditional values of individualism and honor

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[129] Malcolm Cowley, A Second Flowering, Words and Days of the Lost Generation (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), vii.

convinced Hemingway and Dos Passos as well as others that volunteering would be glorious and morally uplifting.[130] These attitudes were typical during the war.

Due to an injury, Hemingway's service as an ambulance driver and later as a supply officer was brief. Being a driver was not exciting enough for Hemingway and, after only two weeks, he volunteered to take supplies to Italian soldiers at the front. Less than a week later, a barrage of artillery fire and machine gun fire occurred when Hemingway was at the front. Although Hemingway's versions of the story often conflict, the accepted version is that Austrian artillery wounded Hemingway in the leg. His accounts vary from artillery hitting him while he was waiting at the front to machine gun bullets hitting his legs while he carried a soldier to safety on his back. Regardless of the story, the war was over by the time he recuperated.[131]

Later, Hemingway explained the effect wounds had on him and others. Before being wounded, they "were brave because [they] didn't think anything could hit [them]."[132] They had a "great illusion of immortality."[133] When they "found out different," they became "good hard-boiled soldier[s]."[134] Being in combat initiated soldiers into the war experience, wounds initiated people "double fold."[135]

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[130] Cowley, A Second Flowering, 9; Charles A. Fenton, The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway: The Early Years (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1954), 51; Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," American Quarterly 3 (Winter, 1951): 326-7.

[131] Michael Reynolds, "Ernest Hemingway 1899-1961: A Brief Biography," in A Historical Guide to Ernest Hemingway, edited by Linda Wagner-Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23; Ernest Hemingway, Ernest Hemingway: Selected Letters 1917-1961, edited by Carlos Baker (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 21. Much debate surrounds the events after the explosion. See Robert W. Lewis, "Hemingway in Italy: Making It Up," Journal of Modern Literature 9 (May 1982), 215-20; Malcolm Cowley, "Hemingway's Wound—And Its Consequences for American Literature," Georgia Review 38 no. 2 (1984): 231.

[132] Ernest Hemingway, The Torrents of Spring (New York: Scribner's, 1926), 56.

[133] Ernest Hemingway, ed., Men at War: The Best War Stories of All Time (New York: Bramhall House, 1979), xii.

[134] Hemingway, The Torrents of Spring, 56-7.

[135] John Atkins, Ernest Hemingway: His Work and Personality (New York: Peter Nevill, 1952), 126.

Although never injured, Irwin Cobb's character Duval vividly experiences initiation into the war experience. After the first artillery barrage he experienced, Duval felt like a "different person" and realized, "that that spot on the road was the place where he had ceased to be a boy."[136] Once Duval experienced the initiation, he better understood the veterans in his company. The war experience was the ultimate rite of passage into the elite fraternity of combat soldiers.

Hemingway used war experiences as a platform to express his ideas. In Torrents of Spring, Hemingway criticized Willa Cather, a contemporary female novelist, for writing about the war in her novel One of Ours. He accused her of taking "the action in the Birth of a Nation" and using it for the last part of the book, criticizing her lack of actual combat experience.[137] This passage was unique in Torrents of Spring and constituted an attack on Cather by Hemingway.[138] To Hemingway, experience in combat was necessary to write about war.

Other anti-war writers agreed with Hemingway's insistence on combat experience as a requisite for war writing. Harvey Allen also believed that experience was necessary to write about combat and that glory and honor had no place in war narratives. Describing his book Toward the Flame, Allen insisted, "There is no plot, no climax, no happy ending to this book. It is a narrative, plain, unvarnished, without heroics and true."[139] When Allen wrote his book in 1926, it was no longer popular to use a framework of honor and glory to portray the war. A "book that shows how it looked

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[136] Humphrey Cobb, Paths of Glory (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), 43.
[137] Ibid., 57.
[138] Jackson J. Benson, "Ernest Hemingway: The Life as Fiction and the Fiction as Life," American Literature 61 (October 1989): 347; Richard B. Hovey, "'The Torrents of Spring': Prefigurations in the Early Hemingway," College English 26 (March 1965): 462.
[139] Harvey Allen, Toward the Flame: A War Diary (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934), vii.

'over there'" required participation in combat and a narrative stripped of high-flung values. [140]

Hemingway's letters from Italy in the summer of 1918 described the impersonal nature of combat.[141] In a letter to his family, he wrote, "The machine gun bullet just felt like a sharp smack on my leg with an icy snowball."[142] He eagerly compared blood to "current [sic] jelly" and described his friends as "splattered." [143] This language appears mild today, but it was impersonal, graphic, and upsetting in 1918 when people conceived of war in terms of glory, honor, and heroics.[144]

Instead of heroic fighting, death came in an impersonal way. John Atkins, one of Hemingway's many biographers, regards the lack of personal connections or even intimacy as the center of Hemingway's and the Lost Generation's attitude toward death and war. During the war, "killing was to be carried out in as impersonal a manner as possible."[145] In a scene from In Our Time, Hemingway's characters encountered Germans climbing over a wall. As the first one climbed over, they shot him. Three more mindlessly followed the first and "we shot them. They all came just like that."[146] War was not honorable; it was violently monotonous.

Other anti-war writers recorded the impersonal fighting. In Through the Wheat, Jack Pugh loathed to return to the front because of impersonal fighting. He stated, "A full battalion starting off and not a fifth of them coming back. And what did they do? What did we do? We never even saw a German. They just laid up there and picked us

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[140] Ibid.
[141] Fenton, The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, 65.
[142] Hemingway claimed that a bullet also struck his leg after the shell explosion; Hemingway, Selected Letters, 14.
[143] Hemingway, Selected Letters, 14.
[144] Fenton, The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, 65.
[145] Atkins, Ernest Hemingway, 117.
[146] Ernest Hemingway, In Our Time (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 29.

off."[147] With a faceless enemy, the war lost its purpose. For some, the impersonality of the war extended to themselves. In Paths of Glory Langlois "looked at the men around him. Some of them were condemned to be dead within the half hour. Perhaps he was one of them. The thought passed through his head, a strangely impersonal one, as if it had not been a thought of his at all, but some story he was reading."[148] Langlois resigned himself to the faceless chance of the war. One of the best examples of the impersonal nature of the First World War was William March's character the "Unknown Soldier" in Company K. While he was dying in No Man's Land after an unsuccessful charge, the soldier disposed of his dog tags and papers so no one could use him as a heroic example, which only perpetuated wars. He whispered to the night sky, "'Nobody will ever use me as a symbol. Nobody will ever tell lies over my dead body now! I have broken the chain. I have defeated the inherent stupidity of life.'"[149] In the ultimate sacrifice to stop the traditional concepts of war, the "Unknown Soldier" threw away his identity so society would not honor war vicariously through him.

The presence of dead soldiers in No Man's Land and in the trenches reinforced the impersonal nature of the war. Watching their friends decompose shook soldiers' beliefs in retaining their own individuality. Harvey Allen repeated this theme often in Toward the Flame. Allen recalled that the dead "lost all personality, and to the soldier the process of their incorporation with the mineral kingdom is a visible one. It is my honest opinion…that the sight of battlefields must always be a great blow to the lingering belief in personal immortality."[150] If there was no hope for those decaying men, soldiers

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[147] Thomas Boyd, Through the Wheat (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 209.
[148] Cobb, Paths of Glory, 124.
[149] William March, Company K (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957), 123.
[150] Allen, Toward the Flame, 121.

supposed there was no hope for themselves. Allen returned to this theme when he addressed the thought of bringing dead soldiers home for burial and the unfortunate business of collecting ID tags and burying the dead.

The impersonal nature of the war convinced Hemingway that heroes and heroics no longer existed. In other letters to his family, he recounted, "There are no heroes in this war."[151] Chance, and not valorous acts, decided heroes. All soldiers—those in the trenches, those participating in a charge across No Man's Land, and those retiring to the rear—had a chance of death, wounding, or safety. The bravery and honor of wounds or death was a gamble.[152] It could happen in the most ignominious circumstances. Hemingway expressed this idea in A Farewell to Arms. The protagonist, Fredric Henry, received a wound similar to the one Hemingway received. His friend Rinaldi asked him if the wound came during a "heroic act." "'No,' I [Fredric Henry] said. 'I was blown up while eating cheese.'"[153] Chance replaced heroics as technology and violence took on life and killed with mechanical indifference.

Hemingway's denial of honor and heroics existed in many anti-war novels of the 1920s and these anti-war novels persuaded some literary historians that soldiers only used terms like honor and glory as military etiquette. In Thomas Boyd's Through the Wheat, two lieutenants discussed the order to charge the German trench without artillery support. Hicks, the protagonist, complained to Ryan, "'that's murder, not to have a barrage. What can these fool officers be thinking of?' 'Glory,' Ryan answered."[154] Glory became a folly that led to wholesale death instead of a quality soldiers sought. William March

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[151] Hemingway, Selected Letters, 19.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ernest Hemingway, A Farewell to Arms (New York: Scribner, 2003), 63.
[154] Boyd, Through the Wheat, 76.

provided a great example of a character that rejected all notions of glory and honor. After experiencing combat, a captain detailed Private Sylvester Wendell to write letters to families notifying them of soldiers' deaths. Wendell "gave every man a glorious, romantic death" but became tired of lying. Finally, he wrote one family the truth of their son's death:

> Your son, Francis, died needlessly in Belleau Wood. You will be interested to hear that at the time of his death he was crawling with vermin and weak from diarrhea. His feet were swollen and rotten and they stank. He lived like a frightened animal, cold and hungry. Then, on June 6th, a piece of shrapnel hit him and he died in agony, slowly. You'd never believe that he could live three hours, but he did. He lived three full hours screaming and cursing by turns. He had nothing to hold on to, you see: He had learned long ago that what he had been taught to believe by you, his mother, who loved him, under the meaningless names of honor, courage and patriotism were all lies.[155]

Wendell's rejection of honor and glory became vindictive, although he never sent the letter. Other authors, like Irwin Cobb and William Faulkner, noted that medals awarded for bravery and glory either were arbitrary or, if awarded posthumously, unattachable to the mangled body. Continual study of such graphic rejections of glory and honor could convince some that soldiers never believed in glory and honor. John Atkins concludes, "The glory words are not usually used by soldiers though some adopt them because they think it is part of the war, like saluting to the left and other bits of military nonsense."[156] Contrary to such compelling descriptions against honor and glory, Empey, Streeter, and most popular authors asserted that most soldiers during the war did believe in such concepts and fought for them.

Hemingway and other anti-war authors occasionally broke from an impersonal view of the war and forwarded the belief that fate had an ultimately cruel, deeper purpose

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[155] March, Company K, 63.
[156] Atkins, Ernest Hemingway, 120.

in war. To Hemingway, chance killed those with the most talent, be they soldiers or writers. The disillusionment caused by the war caused the literary success of the Lost Generation but it also destroyed "of those [writers] who fought many died and we shall never know who were the fine writers who would have come out of the war who died in it instead."[157] The premature death of these writers caused Hemingway to doubt that his generation reached its full potential. Perhaps this belief in a higher purpose, even if it was hostile, eventually convinced Hemingway to move away from the Lost Generation to a belief in the healing and meaning of nature.[158]

In another example of a potentially higher cause, albeit an evil one, William March recorded the ironic malice of the war. Two of his characters survive the shelling of the small village of Marigny. After the barrage, the soldiers noticed that only one brick wall remained standing. When Al approached the wall, another shell caused the wall to collapse on him, killing him.[159] Incidents like this convinced soldiers that the war had a deeper, sinister nature.

The First World War continued to influence society after the war was over. Many soldiers and writers returned from the war "under the social spell of it."[160] They could not readjust to civilian society but retained the social interaction of soldiers on leave. Malcolm Cowley, critic and contemporary of the Lost Generation, observed that the war "taught us to assume . . . a spectatorial attitude toward life in general; . . . a bitter

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[157] Hemingway, ed., Men at War, xiii.

[158] Hemingway's novel, The Old Man and the Sea exemplified this idea. The protagonist suffered from nature but nature also sustained him. This relationship between man and nature was the meaning of existence. Ernest Hemingway, The Old Man and the Sea (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952).

[159] March, Company K, 26-7.

[160] Hemingway, Selected Letter, 113.

aloofness in the midst of armies."[161] The war imparted new, impersonal values to society.

The main theme of Hemingway's book The Torrents of Spring was the tension between society, which grew distant after the war, and veterans, whom the war injured. The third part of the book, entitled "Men in War and the Death of Society," involved three veterans. The war rendered one impotent and one a quadruple amputee. The section ended with a man throwing the veterans out of a bar.[162] They wandered around without purpose and wondered, "Was this what [we] had fought the war for? Was this what it was all about? It looked like it."[163] They fought for a society that rejected them.

The Sun Also Rises was Hemingway's best example of the war's effect on post-war society. Hemingway explained in his memoir A Moveable Feast "the story [The Sun Also Rises] was about coming back from the war but there was no mention of war in it."[164] The war dominated all social interaction. Impersonality permeated the book so completely "that eventually its reality becomes the very medium through which the novel's idea is realized."[165] Hemingway affirmed this idea in a letter to his publisher that, "the book to me was that the earth abideth forever—having a great deal of fondness and admiration for the earth and not a hell of a lot for my generation."[166] The impersonal earth, which was the medium of the novel, triumphed over the characters. Perhaps this further reinforced the belief Hemingway later would embrace that the earth, although

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[161] Malcolm Cowley, "Review of 'Death in the Afternoon'" New Republic 73 (November 30, 1933): 76-7.

[162] Hemingway, The Torrents of Spring, 49-67.

[163] The futility contrasts with the importance one veteran placed on the war earlier in the novel; Hemingway, The Torrents of Spring, 3, 29, 74.

[164] Ernest Hemingway, A Moveable Feast (New York: Scribner Classics, 1996), 75.

[165] Hoffman, The Twenties, 81.

[166] Hemingway, Selected Letters, 229.

appearing impersonal, was trying to conquer people and the best response was surrendering to nature.

The failure of personal relationships in The Sun Also Rises centered on the war and the war wound sustained by the protagonist, Jake Barnes. The wound prevented Jake from having a relationship with Lady Brett Ashley.[167] This tension continued throughout the novel and interfered with the relationships of other characters.[168] The war caused them to lose "their original code of values," which they replaced with "a simpler code, essentially that of soldiers on furlough."[169] When Jake first met Georgette, who was a French prostitute, he explained that he received a wound in the war. He imagined that, "We would…have…discussed the war and agreed that it was in reality a calamity for civilization."[170] The book did exactly that. It demonstrated that the war was a calamity for society that affected everyone because the war created an atmosphere of impersonality in postwar society.

The protagonists in Faulkner's Soldiers' Pay, Boyd's In Times of Peace, and March's Company K all experienced frustration trying to readjust to civilian life. In Soldiers' Pay, neighbors greeted Donald Mahon when he returned home but they were "solid business men interested in the war only as a by-product of the rise and fall of Mr. Wilson, and interested in that only as a matter of dollars and cents, while their wives chatted about clothes to each other."[171] The concerns of civilian life were not worthy of the sacrifice Mahon made in the war. Boyd's In Times of Peace ended with Hicks being

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[167] Ernest Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises (New York: Scribner Classics, 1954), 31.

[168] Frederick J. Hoffman, The Twenties: American Writing in the Postwar Decade (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), 81. At the end of the novel, Brett tells Jake, "We could have had such a damned good time together." This implied that the war and Jake's wound prevented normal relationships. Ernest Hemingway, The Sun Also Rises (New York: Scribner Classics, 1954), 222.

[169] Cowley, A Second Flowering, 71.

[170] Ibid., 22.

[171] William Faulkner, Soldiers's Pay (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1956), 149.

wounded at the Bonus March. All for which he had fought turned on him. Hicks reflected, "Back of the guards stood the police, back of the police the politicians, back of the politicians the Libbys, and behind them all the Sacred name of Property."[172] Instead of fighting to maintain that oppressive order, Hicks happily began to fight against it. William March also had a character that actively attempted to reform the social order. In Company K, Private Sylvester Keith founded an organization after the war to prevent future wars "but someone began organizing a company of National Guard in our town about that time and my disciples, anxious to protect their country from the horrors I described, deserted my society and joined in a body."[173] The lure of war was victorious over the efforts of Private Keith.

The writing of Dos Passos shared many themes with Hemingway, yet also had some unique aspects. The impersonality of war and its effect on society concerned both Hemingway and Dos Passos. Dos Passos also addressed his disdain for military discipline and propaganda. He revisited these four themes in all of his war novels.

The war also had a profound effect on John Dos Passos. For five days, Dos Passos experienced the war when his ambulance unit moved to the front lines. This event helped entrench his socialist propensity and developed his disgust of propaganda. Dos Passos's encounter with warfare was the most altering event in his literary life.[174]

Dos Passos published his first novel, One Man's Initiation—1917, in 1920 and the memory of the impersonal nature of war pervaded the book. In one scene, the protagonist, Martin Howe, tried to sleep while German artillery bombarded the woods

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[172] Thomas Boyd, In Times of Peace (New York: Minton Balch & Company, 1935), 309.
[173] March, Company K, 158.
[174] John Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle: Letters and Diaries of John Dos Passos, edited by Townsend Ludington (Boston: Gambit, 1973), 79-80.

where he was lying. "Howe saw the woods as a gambling table on which, throw after throw, scattered the random dice of death."[175] He was not fighting heroically against people; he was fighting against the chance of death.

The impersonal nature of war prevented any reconciliation between the opposing sides due to a complete lack of contact. Howe and one of his friends realized that "we are [much nearer], in state of mind, in everything to the Germans than to anyone else." Howe asked, "Why can't we go over and talk to them?" [176] No communication existed between the opposing sides. The disassociation was so complete that when Howe saw some German prisoners he compared them to "men from the moon" and then realized, "'Why, they're Germans, he [Howe] said to himself, 'I'd quite forgotten they existed.'"[177] Dos Passos noted in a letter to a friend that it was impossible to hate anyone at the front because the enemy was as miserable as he was.[178] Technology stripped the war of a human face and left emptiness in its place.

The technological horror of the First World War appeared in many anti-war books. The narrative The War on All Fronts noted that modern warfare "would be sufficiently hideous" if it only destroyed fortifications. Instead, "it strikes blindly, brutally; it tramples on the innocent and the beautiful."[179] Addressing the human cost in modern warfare, With the Allies focused on the officers who each opposed "his good health, his good breeding, and knowledge against a broken piece of shell or steel bullet, and the shell or bullet won."[180] Another postwar novel, Journey's End, echoes With the

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[175] John Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation—1917 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920), 105.
[176] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 34-5.
[177] Ibid., 92.
[178] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 98.
[179] Richard Harding Davis, The War on All Fronts: With the Allies (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 209.
[180] Ibid., 218.

Allies, "what could a young fellow straight out of school…do against metal that hurtled through the air with the speed of an express train?"[181] Technology made front-line soldiers on either side feel feeble and expendable.

Because the Germans were also miserable, the military structure, which at first offered an alternative to individualism, became the enemy that perpetuated the war and harshly suppressed individuals.[182] Both protagonists of One Man's Initiation—1917 and Three Soldiers joined the military seeking an end to personal decisions and boredom.[183] In One Man's Initiation—1917, Howe regretted his decision to join the army and became shocked at the military's ability to "enslave our minds."[184] Three Soldiers also centered on the oppressive nature of the military. Dos Passos divided the book into six parts that emphasized the oppressive military structure.[185] The first part, "Making the Mould," referred to boot camp where the military made robots from men; the third part, "Machines," was the culmination of that process; the final part, "Under the Wheels," described the domination of the military over the individual.

In Three Soldiers, military oppression destroyed one character named Stockton. The discipline caused him to weaken until he was unable to get out of bed for roll call. Both a sergeant and lieutenant threatened Stockton with a court martial and had him

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[181] R. C. Sherriff and Vernon Bartlett, Journey's End (New York: Grossett and Dunlap, 1930), 298.

[182] The one certainty in Dos Passos's fiction throughout his life was his "intense distaste for institutional authority of any kind as being inimical to personal liberty." "John Dos Passos is Dead at 74," New York Times, September 29, 1970.

[183] Blanche H. Gelfant, "The Search for Identity in the Novels of Dos Passos," PMLA 76 (March 1961), 142.

[184] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 114.

[185] Hoffman, The Twenties, 60.

forcibly removed from the bed. The sergeant discovered that Stockton had died while they threatened him. The sergeant showed no sympathy.[186]

Examples of the stifling military structure abound in other anti-war books. In Through the Wheat, Boyd blamed military hierarchy for the loss of glory and honor in combat. "The grinning weakness which men called authority…turned thoughts of valor into horrible nightmares, the splendor of achievement into debased bickering."[187] By molding individuals into interchangeable parts, predictable, programmed actions replaced valor and achievement. The men in command of this human machine were uncreative and unquestioned. On an order from a captain to execute twenty-two German prisoners, one sergeant inwardly questioned the order but remembered "what my old drill sergeant had told me in boot camp twenty years before. 'Soldiers ain't supposed to think,' he said; 'the theory is if they could think, they wouldn't be soldiers. Soldiers are supposed to do what they're told, and leave thinking to their superior officers.'"[188]

Whereas pro-war authors extolled the virtues of authority in reinforcing traditional values, anti-war authors believed the failed Versailles peace treaty betrayed any faith in hierarchy and projected that belief backward to the war. The failure of this belief in authority to produce positive results reverberated in post-war society. British soldier and writer C. E. Montague speculated in his book Disenchantment, "Great masses of men have become more freely critical of the claims of institutions and political creeds and parties which they used to accept without much scrutiny."[189] Although the Allies won the war, the horrors of the war strengthened the cynicism that grew strong in the

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[186] John Dos Passos, Three Soldiers (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949).
[187] Boyd, Through the Wheat, 4.
[188] March, Company K, 80-1.
[189] C. E. Montague, Disenchantment (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), 70.

1920s and later in the twentieth century. Some used humor to ridicule authority. Harvey Allen compared the different methods the French, British, and Americans used to establish a hierarchical structure. "The French taught war as a science, the British like football coaches; to the Americans war was a business enterprise on a national scale with life insurance, union wages and shower baths for employees. Occasionally one met a genuine soldier lost amid regiments of employees."[190] Although Allen mocked the structure, he also realized that it kept German and Allied troops from communicating and reconciling.

Andrews, one of the protagonists of Three Soldiers, compared taking orders to becoming a robot and sought a way to free everyone from the repression of the military. In his diary, Dos Passos described military service as slavery that debilitated his individualism and creativity.[191] Window washing exemplified the robotic activities the military required. In a letter to a friend, Dos Passos described window washing as a robotic chore that had "a philosophic aloofness from the world" because it had no end.[192] Two of the three main characters in Three Soldiers washed windows for a long period and the characters discovered this mindless activity made them more robotic.[193] Simple, repetitive activities helped change individuals into a malleable mass.

In Three Soldiers, the conditioning of men into drones deprived them of their empathy and caused them to commit atrocities. The army showed a movie depicting

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[190] Allen, Toward the Flame, 183.

[191] Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 122-3, 255, 331; Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 142. Three Soldiers was Dos Passos's first anti-war book that received any mention and its anti-war stance aroused controversy, drawing attention to Dos Passos. "John Dos Passos Dead at 74," New York Times, September 29, 1970.

[192] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 217. Dos Passos also complained about washing windows in his autobiography; John Dos Passos, The Best Times: An Informal Memoir (New York: The New American Library, 1966), 71.

[193] Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 20, 120-1.

Germans killing civilians that trained soldiers to commit atrocities themselves. After watching the movie, one man swore to rape a German woman and another professed a hatred of German "men, women, children, and unborn children."[194] This hatred became reality later in the novel. Chrisfield violently kicked a dead German soldier until he discovered that the German had committed suicide.[195] In One Man's Initiation—1917, one soldier witnessed a friend place a grenade under the pillow of a German prisoner and laughed when the "grenade blew him to hell."[196] The military changed men not only into automatons, but also into relentless killing machines.

William March's Company K had another example of unquestioning soldiers committing atrocities. A captain ordered a squad to execute twenty-two German prisoners with machine guns. Private Charles Gordon participated in the execution. While preparing for it, he noticed one prisoner who was confident that he would not be hurt. This irritated Gordon.

> For some reason I wanted him to be killed instantly. He bent double, clutched his belly with his hands and said, 'Oh!…Oh!' like a boy who has eaten green plums. Then he raised his hand in the air, and I saw that most of his fingers were shot away and were dripping blood like water running out of a leaky faucet. Then he turned around three times and fell on his back, his head lower than his feet, blood flowing from his belly, insistently, like a tide, across his mud-caked tunic: staining his throat and his face. Twice more he jerked his hands upward and twice he made that soft, shocked sound. Then his hand and his eyelids quit twitching. I stood there spraying bullets from side to side in accordance with instructions. 'Everything I was ever taught to believe about mercy, justice, and virtue is a lie,' I thought. 'But the biggest lie of all are the words 'God is Love.' That is really the most terrible lie that man ever thought of.[197]

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[194] Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 27.

[195] When Chrisfield discovered that the German committed suicide, Chrisfield "felt the hatred suddenly ebb out of him." The shock returned a measure of empathy to him; Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 149.

[196] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 54-5.

[197] March, Company K, 86.

The massacre Gordon helped commit caused him to disbelieve in glory, honor, and God. Later, Gordon failed to readjust to civilian life and was executed for killing a police officer. He was unrepentant. Morals no longer existed for him.[198]

The robotic quality instilled in men by the military made the war resemble a slaughter. In One Man's Initiation—1917, Martin Howe and other soldiers visited a schoolmaster and, in his garden, they witnessed a long procession of soldiers and equipment departing for the front. The schoolmaster's wife lamented, "Oh the poor children…they know they are going to death."[199] Even though confronted by death, the soldiers mechanically continued to the front. Dos Passos actually experienced the scene in the book. In a letter to a friend in the summer of 1917, Dos Passos recounted visiting a schoolmaster and his wife when a convoy of soldiers and equipment passed by on the road. He recalled the wife crying out, "The poor little ones, they know they are going to death."[200] She expressed a view that many Europeans held in 1917. The war had become a killing machine and the efficiency of the slaughter was horrifying. [201]

The massive scale of the slaughter suggested an apocalypse. When the Armistice ended the war, an undertaker in Three Soldiers still wanted, "everyone of them bastards…killed." "Them" was intentionally an unclear antecedent suggesting that if the war continued, it would kill everyone.[202] The First World War was particularly destructive. Dos Passos wrote a friend that modern warfare meant death not only to people but also to "the things of the mind, for art, and for everything that is needed in the

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[198] March, Company K, 144-5.

[199] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 29.

[200] This is an extremely tenuous translation of the French dialogue in the letter that read, "Les pauvres petits, Ils savent qu'ils vont à la mort." Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 97.

[201] Cowley, A Second Flowering, 4.

[202] The undertaker represents Death in this scene. The Armistice precipitated the decline in his health and, naturally, he wanted the war to continue. Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 213-4.

world." He also recorded the prospect of apocalypse in his diary. In the entry for April 8, 1918, he wrote that the war would kill everybody.[203] In One Man's Initiation—1917, he returned to this idea. One character, driven to madness, became convinced that the only way to stop the war was to kill everybody. Another man believed that mud would drown everyone and end the war.[204] Although the First World War was not an apocalypse, its brutality and magnitude made Dos Passos question his trust in fundamental values.[205]

Many anti-war books included apocalyptic portrayals of the war, but Faulkner's A Fable is the best. Faulkner foresaw humans becoming better at war until war machines broke from human control. War itself would besiege the human race with heat, asphyxiation, and dismemberment. Eventually humankind would watch the battle end.

> Years, decades then centuries will have elapsed since it last answered his voice; he will crawl shivering out of his cooling burrow to croach among the delicate stalks of his dead antennae like a fairy geometry beneath a clangorous rain of dials and meters and switches and bloodless fragments of metal epidermis, to watch the final two mechanical voices bellowing at each other polysyllabic and verbless patriotic nonsense.[206]

The tragedy, to Faulkner, was that the final battle would not destroy humanity. Instead, humanity would continue and eventually would begin to war again.

More than anything else, propaganda destroyed Dos Passos's belief in traditional values and became a major theme in many of his novels.[207] In One Man's Initiation—1917, the entire history of the world—previously understood in terms of the propaganda

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[203] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 170.
[204] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 41, 56.
[205] Joseph Warren Beach, American Fiction 1920-1940 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 11.
[206] William Faulkner, A Fable (New York: Random House, 1954), 353-354.
[207] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 92.

of progress toward perfection—instead culminated in the war.[208] Propaganda affected both sides. The Germans could not think clearly because they also "were drunk on [lies]."[209] The propaganda war was worse than the actual fighting because it had "depths of vileness and hypocrisy"[210] that corrupted worse than the violence of the war. In a letter to a friend, Dos Passos considered everything written about the war to be lies.[211] In U.S.A.: 1919, Fred Summers explained that the army sent him and his ambulance unit to Italy to "boost their morale."[212] Instead of heroically assisting the Italians, Summers knew the army moved him to Italy for propaganda purposes.

Veterans adjusted to postwar society with difficulty because of the impersonality of the war they experienced. Despite the desire during the war to value civilized life, the war hindered their expectations.[213] In The Best Times, Dos Passos explained that he had difficulty acclimating to society. He proposed joining a monastery instead of subjecting himself to such a "preposterous" society.[214] In The Big Money, Charley was unable to discuss his war experiences with people who had never served in the war.[215] The war created a division between veterans and civilians.

Although the fighting ended, the war continued to dominate U.S.A.: 1919 as veterans fought to assimilate into society.[216] When his girlfriend suggested that the war

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[208] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 25, 102-3, 114-5.

[209] Later in the novel, André Dubois reiterates the same idea of history being a complete lie to convince men to wage the First World War. Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 25, 102-3.

[210] John Dos Passos, U.S.A.: 1919 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), 207.

[211] Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 92.

[212] Dos Passos, U.S.A.: 1919, 217. Dos Passos himself wrote a friend during the war expressing his opinion that his ambulance unit was only a tool of propaganda. Dos Passos, The Fourteenth Chronicle, 115.

[213] Dos Passos, One Man's Initiation, 300; Dos Passos, Three Soldiers, 110.

[214] Dos Passos, The Best Times, 70.

[215] John Dos Passos, The Big Money (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), 16, 33-4.

[216] Malcolm Bradbury, "The Denuded Place," in The First World War in Fiction: A Collection of Critical Essays, edited by Holger Klein (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1976), 206.

was over and he should enjoy himself, one character responded, "War over, my eye."[217] Another character regarded the peace settlement as a massacre.[218] The war submerged into society and waited to reemerge in the Second World War.

Faulkner and Allen observed the forces that seemed to continue the war after it was over and the problem veterans had readjusting to society. In A Fable, one character asked if the war is over. A sergeant-major answered him, "'But not the army,' he said. 'How do you expect peace to put an end to an army when even war cant [sic]?'"[219] Like the character in U.S.A.: 1919, the sergeant-major predicted that another war would ensue. Allen recognized, "Men who have faced death often and habitually can never again have the same attitude towards life. It is hard to be enthusiastic about little things again."[220] Many other authors acknowledged this hard transition.

The First World War profoundly affected the lives and writing of Hemingway and Dos Passos. The war was a theme on which both authors could comment with authority. In their novels, Hemingway and Dos Passos used the impersonal nature of the war as a medium to reject conventional values.

Hemingway and Dos Passos were important to another generation of war writers including Norman Mailer, Joseph Heller, Jim Jones, Irwin Shaw, Albert Camus, and Anton Myrer, authors couching their war experience in terms of honor, glory, and individualism so popular during the First World War.[221] Hemingway and Dos Passos outlined the existential hero that Mailer, Heller, Jones, Shaw, Camus, and Myrer

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[217] Dos Passos, U.S.A.: 1919, 342.
[218] Ibid., 432.
[219] Faulkner, A Fable, 389-90.
[220] Allen, Toward the Flame, 120-1.
[221] Peter G. Jones, War and the Novelist: Appraising the American War Novel (Columbia: University of Missour Press, 1976), 6-9; Gerald E. Critoph, "The American Literary Reaction to World War I" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1957), 389.

embraced, a hero able to endure impersonal forces without ideals to encourage him or her.[222] The new ideas proposed by Hemingway and Dos Passos expanded the cultural possibilities of subsequent writers.

Although Hemingway and Dos Passos were important to subsequent literature and eventually included in the accepted canon of American literature, they are not typical of American war writings during the war and were never as popular in the 1920s as pro-war literature was during the war. Hemingway and Dos Passos reflect the culture of the 1920s, which was very different from the previous decade. The 1920s witnessed a conflict of cultural values, and the subject of the war provided one battleground of this conflict. During the war, most of the reading public readily accepted the truth of honor, glory, and individualism in combat. This knowledge became suspect in the 1920s when anti-war authors questioned it, and diminished from literary circles during and after the Second World War.

[222] Dempsey, "Writers," New York Times, August 2, 1964.

CHAPTER III

PLACING THE LITERATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

Several factors contributed to the popularity of pro-war literature written during the First World War and the inability of subsequent anti-war literature to rival that popularity. First, the immediacy of the war fueled the sales of pro-war literature. The importance of the war in popular memory continued into and throughout the 1920s but lacked the urgency that caused many to buy pro-war novels 1917 and 1918. Second, the Committee on Public Information helped create a pro-war atmosphere that encouraged the sale of pro-war books. Modernists did not have such help. Third, the sale of pro-war books benefited from the political idealism of President Woodrow Wilson. The sales of modernists' books did not resonate with the politics of Presidents Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover. Finally, and most importantly, the breakdown of the cultural consensus after the First World War contributed not only to the formation of a literary niche in which modernist authors could prosper but also led to their marginalization. A few authors and intellectuals, like Theodore Dreiser and Stephen Crane and other poets and artists influenced by Freud and Nietzsche, were unhappy with the prevailing culture before the First World War and the war popularized their movement. As Henry May states, "America had a tradition of tragic views on life from

Jonathan Edwards to Henry Adams. None had been so popular, though."[223] The failure of the idealism after the war convinced modernists that the traditional culture was over. The war, however, did not destroy traditional values and create modernist ones; it ushered in a "cultural war" between traditionalism and modernism. Regarding literary popularity, the different camps of this cultural conflict were not equal. Traditional authors, such as Harold Bell Wright, Gene Stratton Porter, Zane Grey, and Edgar Rice Burroughs, continued to top the best-seller list in the 1920s.[224]

A succession of several events shaped and popularized the radically different views of honor, glory, and individualism from Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeeter to Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos. The war made Hemingway, Dos Passos, and other modernists more aware of intellectual trends, which had started before the war.[225] Several events and developments occurred after the war to bring about this awareness. After the war, political mistakes at home and abroad contributed to a social response, such as the Red Scare, Prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, the fragmentation of culture, and the obsession with entertainment.

The United States government, under the leadership of President Woodrow Wilson, mismanaged the end of the war. Three problems soon emerged. First, the problem with demobilization began to diminish the idealism surrounding the war. Second, many expected the government to enact a social reconstruction after the war to bring more democracy to the country that had fought to ensure democracy abroad. The government ignored attempts at reconstruction and focused all its energy on settling the

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[223] Henry F. May, ed, The Discontent of the Intellectuals: A Problem of the Twenties (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), 44.

[224] Lynn Dumenil, The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 159.

[225] May, Discontent, 13.

peace treaty. Third, when the idealism of Wilson's Fourteen Points failed in Europe and participation in the League of Nations failed in the United States, Americans began questioning the purpose of the war. This doubt about the validity of the war contributed to the loss of cultural consensus, nativism, and consumerism.

The successful use of the draft that created the American Expeditionary Force followed by the difficulties in demobilizing the two million man army, put stress on the federal government just as other post-war issues arose. The draft convinced many soldier-citizens not only that they had an obligation to serve the country but also that their country was responsible for preventing "the war from ruining the lives of those it conscripted."[226] The discontent of those drafted later convinced the government that the draft was a two-way social contract and led to the G. I. Bill after the Second World War.[227] Veterans after the First World War did not have the G. I. Bill to ease the feeling of being underappreciated. This feeling began after the Armistice when Britain, France, and Italy immediately withdrew their ships from servicing American personnel. This left two million American servicemen in Europe without the ships that brought the majority of them to the continent. It took ten months to return all but a small occupation force to the United States. The army discharged many of them before they returned home. By March 1919, 1.6 million soldiers received discharges but only 300,000 had returned to the United States.[228] As they waited in Europe after their discharge, pondering the government's obligation to them, many realized the war and their contributions had become passé in the face of modern developments in communication, science, and

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[226] Jennifer D. Keene, Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2001), 6.

[227] Ibid., 204.

[228] Burl Noggle, Into the Twenties: The United States from Armistice to Normalcy (Urbana: University of Illinios Press, 1974), 14-5.

consumption.[229] Demobilization seemed to drop in priority. The beginnings of the peace conference at Versailles also drew attention from the soldiers. Veterans believed they were responsible for the victory of the United States in the First World War but felt unappreciated by the public interest they received. This was the beginning of the breakdown of the idealism surrounding the war.

The focus of the government on the peace settlement, scientific and economic changes, and demobilization diverted attention from the reconstruction movement that many anticipated would follow the war including the increase in civil liberties and rights for women and African Americans. The government had estimated that the war would take two or three years longer than it did and had no reconstruction policy in place. Administrators hurriedly prepared several proposals for reconstruction but President Wilson rejected a plan for reconstruction before leaving for the peace talks.[230] He believed that the free market would adjust to the demobilization and wanted quickly to remove government interference from the economy as a concession to Republicans critical of his plans.[231] Without his support, eleven resolutions for reconstruction died in Congress, and state and local governments proceeded with the initiative with very little success.[232] The problematic demobilization and failed reconstruction left the Peace Treaty as the only chance for the government to maintain the ideological postwar goals they promised during the war.

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[229] Frederick L. Paxson, Postwar Years: Normalcy, 1918-1923 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), 4.

[230] Neil A. Wynn, From Pogressivism to Prosperity: World War I and American Society (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986), 200.

[231] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 51.

[232] Ibid., 48, 52.

Even during the experiences of demobilization and reconstruction, most Americans rejoiced at the prospect of the peace treaty as a "conclusion to a great and noble venture."[233] The United States and much of the world hoped that the peace would end the war and would end all wars.[234] Wilson idealistically believed that a world safe for democracy would make the world safe for the United States without pragmatic protectionist policies or militarism.[235] This dogmatic idealism turned out to be a mismanagement of America's "perplexing blend of idealism and realism."[236] The peace settlement adopted Wilson's idealistic language while enacting realistic sanctions of protectionist policies and militarism. The United States Senate rejected the League of Nations, the foundation of Wilson's Fourteen Points, on the realistic reasons that it might interfere with immigration policies, the Monroe Doctrine, and defensive armaments.[237] The ideological defeat at Versailles coupled with the Congressional defeat of the Democrats in Washington destroyed the idealism Americans retained toward the war. The letdown persisted twenty years later when, on the verge of the Second World War, seventy percent of Americans thought that American participation in the First World War had been a mistake.[238] During the First World War, supporters of traditional culture believed the war would renew waning, pre-war idealism. Instead, this traditional aspect of culture experienced a setback.[239] The forces that slowly were eroding traditional

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[233] Robert K. Murray, Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), 3.

[234] Eliot Asinof, 1919: America's Loss of Innocence (New York: Donald I. Fine, 1990), 21.

[235] Amos Perlmutter, Making the World Safe for Democracy: A Century of Wilsonianism and its Totalitarian Challengers (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 35.

[236] Thomas Fleming, The Illusion of Victory: America in World War I (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 490.

[237] Paxson, Postwar, 44.

[238] Asinof, 1919: Innocence, 349.

[239] Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time 1912-1917 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 152.

culture thrived on the setback and Hemingway and Dos Passos were two modernist writers who epitomized these forces.

The development of modernism preceded the war, and gained impetus after the war. From the perspective of the post-war 1920s, the First World War seemed to mark a clear disjuncture for many, contributing to the compartmentalizing of history into a nostalgic pre-war world free of complexity and cultural pluralism, a view of society to which many wanted to return but which had never existed. Converse to this, traditional, Victorian culture was strong before the First World War but some intellectuals had begun exploiting its weaknesses. The pre-war intellectual and artistic movement in 1912 anticipated the stronger movement toward modernism in the 1920s. Mostly poetry and art, the innovators took inspiration from European artists and intellectuals such as Freud, Einstein, Nietzsche, Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, and Henri Matisse. A central theme of the new art and philosophy was freedom from traditional mores.[240] The war provided a handy demarcation between older intellectuals who supported the war and those who continued the 1912 movement, even if the 1920s modernists sometimes forgot their origins.[241] Thus, the war "became a key metaphor for major changes transforming modern civilization."[242] Most in the popular culture yearned for return to a fictitious past. Unfortunately, the illusionary "normalcy" had different versions. Consensus melted away after the war, even on the question of what the pre-war United States was like. One example of this failure of consensus was the Congressional effort to create a reconstruction program. Eleven different bills for reconstruction arose in Congress, but none was able to garner support. This fractured effort disabled both political parties, and

[240] May, Discontent, 3-4.
[241] Ibid., 13.
[242] Dumenil, Modern Temper, 11.

contributed to the weakness at the center of the federal government. Given the prevalent confusion in Congress, the power of influence shifted to those with a clear voice in the executive branch. Previously, that voice had belonged to President Wilson, but by 1919 (after Wilson's debilitating stroke), the bully pulpit shifted to A. Mitchell Palmer.[243] The year 1919, supposedly a year of "hopes and promises" became a "futile and tragic year" leading to "despair and irresponsibility."[244] This unhappy ending to events that Wilson and others had made so promising led many to seek hidden, sinister reasons for American participation in the First World War.

The mysterious reason for American entry became propaganda. The concept of a noble mission that guided the United States through the Mexican and Spanish-American wars turned out to be nothing more than a crass effort for securing economic advantage.[245] An "unusual power of imagination" had hidden the trading debt with the Allies and the interests of American arms manufacturers that pushed America into the war, not, as Wilson had expressed, a noble vision of America as the first country to ever cross an ocean to help the right countries win without "hope of gain" or "fear of immediate destruction."[246] As a United States historian and intellectual, Wilson spoke with great authority about America's historical trajectory, but the ease with which the country returned to its traditional roles of isolation and prosperity seemed to belie Wilson's noble vision. Modernists looked at Wilson's vision with skepticism, and maintained that the war was responsible for a conservative backlash, political repression of radicals, and the fragmentation of society. The war betrayed the liberal promise,

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[243] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 84.
[244] Murray, Red Scare, 4-5.
[245] Roderick Nash, The Nervous Generation: American Thought, 1917-1930 (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1970), 34.
[246] Paxson, Postwar, 1.

dividing the nation and spreading disillusionment and cynicism.[247] Propaganda had brought about the war, and the effect of the propaganda remained after the war, most clearly manifested in the Red Scare. Joseph Wood Krutch provides the extreme example of modernist disillusionment. He maintained that science had destroyed God and humans began placing their faith in science. Scientific progress promised to increase human power and wisdom. Unfortunately it only provided power and not wisdom because science was unable to perfect morality, religion, or art.[248] The First World War demonstrated the betrayal of human faith by science and propaganda. Without anything in which to place faith, life to modern existentialists was meaningless.[249]

No event in the 1920s better explains the position of Hemingway, Dos Passos, and other anti-war, modernist writers than the Red Scare. The irrational conservative reaction to the war of the Red Scare justified Hemingway's and Dos Passos's repudiation of certain traditional values. Whereas traditionalists looked back to a prewar America that was good and just, modernists extended their cynical view of America to a past riddled with injustice and intolerance. The Red Scare demonstrated the strain in traditional values that rejected all dissenting views. The war provided the atmosphere in which the hysteria had developed. To many, the Red Scare hysteria ended with the "return to normalcy" in 1920, but to modernists the Red Scare left a legacy of intolerance to which they rebelled throughout the decade.

The Red Scare proved to modernists that popular culture was conservative, and in a sense they were correct. The lack of consensus among intellectuals and the public

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[247] Wynn, From Progressivism to Prosperity, xv.

[248] Joseph Wood Krutch, The Modern Temper: A Study and a Confession (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1956), 43-45.

[249] Ibid., 97.

debate about traditional values caused "the general public to cling to ideals with hysterical intensity."[250] A large number of soldiers joined anti-radical groups during the Red Scare, the largest of which was the American Legion.[251] Veterans joined the groups not only to continue fraternizing, but also to stake a claim in defining what the war had meant. This gave the Scare a militaristic aspect most modernists believed they had fought to end.

Democratic tolerance of minority opinions failed during 1919; the debate was whether the Red Scare had been an aberration, or representative of an endemic American intolerance. Modernists believed the latter. Society labeled dissenters as Bolsheviks with no consideration of what they believed.[252] The Scare persecuted an entire range of those who espoused minority opinions, from peace movements to radical reform groups, treating them as Bolshevik traitors.[253] The influence of popular movements such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, and the American Protective League reached politicians, veterans, newspapers, employers, and organizers, all whom denounced radicalism to garner greater attention.[254] In particular, the threat to free speech galvanized the modernist response to the Red Scare.

Modernists blamed the Red Scare on the atmosphere created by the war. The Red Scare showed the condition of a democracy when "faith and reason are replaced by fear."[255] Modernists considered the pre-war "faith and reason" as destroyed by the war. The cancellation of war debts caused a recession and the government feared the growth

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[250] Nash, Nervous, 4.
[251] Wynn, Progress to Prosperity, 209.
[252] Keene, Doughboys, 161.
[253] Page Smith, "Changes Wrought by the War," The 1910s, John F. Wukovits, ed., America's Decades Series (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000), 227-9.
[254] Murray, Red Scare, 12, 58.
[255] Ibid., ix.

of radicalism during the recession. The government anticipated that this radicalism would come from German or Russian radicals who influenced American soldiers.[256] Modernists considered this suspicion of troops by their own country as betrayal. More visible to modernists was the correlation between the atmosphere created by George Creel and the Committee on Public Relations, the Espionage and Sedition Acts, and the traditionally suspicious nature of Americans.[257] This stifling mood continued throughout the 1920s and convinced Hemingway, Dos Passos, and others that traditional mores were strangling freedom.

Although the hysteria subsided quickly, the Red Scare made many traditional values appear suppressive to Hemingway, Dos Passsos, and others, and the repressive aspects of traditionalism continued into the twenties. "Civil liberties were left prostrate, the labor movement was badly mutilated, and complete antipathy toward reform was enthroned." [258] In this respect, the Red Scare served as the major vehicle on which the American nation "rode from a victorious war to a bankrupted peace."[259] Fervent patriotic organizations persisted through the 1920s like the National Patriotic Council in 1924 and the United States Patriotic Society in 1925. The Ku Klux Klan rose through the early 1920s, and all the nativists supported immigrant restriction.[260] Intolerance and prejudice persisted, represented clearly by the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. Civil liberties diminished in the 1920s attested by the rising number of states requiring loyalty oaths from teachers, and foreign affairs remained stunted partially due to the country's fear of anything

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[256] Keene, Doughboys, 161-2.
[257] Murray, Red Scare, 12, 14-5.
[258] Ibid., 17.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid., 264-5.

foreign and especially Russian.[261] These lingering effects drove Hemingway and other modernists to Paris to escape the influence of traditionalism.[262]

The influence of rural values over a recently urbanized America was another way modernists understood the persistence of traditional values. The 1920 census indicated for the first time that the majority of Americans lived in urban areas with populations of 2,500 people or greater.[263] Cities were the centers of mass culture and mass consumption where automobiles, electric irons, and radios dramatically changed everyday life.[264] Traditionalists and modernists alike speculated on the loss of community that might accompany the rural to urban transition, but modernists were more optimistic about the changes and resented traditionalist attempts to curtail those changes.[265] To modernists, both Prohibition and the Ku Klux Klan were examples of traditionalist attempts to stop the values of the city from becoming national values. The Klan also targeted African Americans and other minority cultures that the Klan feared were rising to positions of influence over the national culture.[266]

Prohibition was a nativist manifestation because the law specifically kept the lower class from alcohol while providing loopholes for rural farmers and the middle and upper classes.[267] Prohibitionists maintained that it was a "new morality," using the

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[261] Murray, Red Scare., 266-7, 269-70, 273.

[262] James R. Mellow, Hemingway: A Life without Consequences (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992), 164. Other factors attracted Americans in general to Paris. The favorable exchange rate, the "assumed cultural poverty" of America, and the artistic tradition associated with Paris.

[263] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 153.

[264] Dumenil, Modern Temper, 11-2.

[265] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 154.

[266] Dumenil, The Modern Temper, 11. Kenneth T. Jackson's reinterpretation of the Klan undermines modernists' perceptions of the origins of the Klan. The modernist belief in the rural nature of the Klan became the traditional interpretation until Jackson demonstrated that urban areas provided the "essential dynamics" of the Klan. Kenneth T. Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), viii.

[267] Dumenil, The Modern Temper, 9.

idealism of the war.[268] This implied that human progress continued and prohibition would cure the corruption of the old morality. The Eighteenth Amendment became the final piece of moral legislation forced by rural America on the city.[269] To modernists Prohibition, along with the Klan, showed that traditionalism still was strong.

The violence of the Klan had its origins in the war. When America entered the war, the Klan developed its agenda. It was to ensure Americanism against "alien enemies, slackers, idlers, strike leaders, and immoral women."[270] The Klan also included African Americans in its list. In 1919, the Klan displayed its violent willingness to ensure Americanism by lynching more African Americans than ever recorded before in American history.[271]

The forces of modernism, its proponents speculated, did not fight hard enough against traditionalism. The fracturing of society was at fault. African Americans and women expected new freedoms in the postwar world and did not support white, male modernists but supported themselves.[272] Modernist writers like Hemingway would not support women's rights because he believed women were responsible in part for the Victorian stuffiness and the "'feminine' genteel order" that had helped to bring on the war.[273] Even certain aspects of modernist culture, such as mass recreation and consumerism, took away attention from the battle against the violent manifestations of the Klan and the Red Scare.

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[268] Andrew Sinclair, Prohibition: The Era of Excesses (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), 4.

[269] Edward Behr, Prohibition: Thirteen Years that Changed the World (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1996), 3 .

[270] David Chalmers, "The Revival of Hate: The Ku Klux Klan Reawakens," The 1910s, John F. Wukovits, ed., America's Decades Series (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 2000), 246.

[271] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 121.

[272] Ibid., 161.

[273] Dumenil, The Modern Temper, 154.

The war temporarily suppressed recreation, which caused it to gain more spectators and more attention after the restrictions were lifted.[274] The content of newspapers changed from "battle lines and casualty lists" to Jack Dempsey, Babe Ruth, and Alcock and Brown.[275] Movie watching drastically increased as church membership and school attendance grew with the population.[276] The availability of automobiles caused a rise in travel and spectator sports experienced the greatest interest of all recreational pursuits.[277] In the assessment of Page Smith, "Dancing was more important than politics, and making money was the most important of all."[278] This obsession with superficial occupations and interests impeded the fight against traditionalists. Few modernist writers foresaw the power recreation and consumption would have in changing the structure of society and failed to write novels centered on the personalities that dominated these activities. Ultimately, consumer society replaced Victorian mores. Instead of work and production, individuals found their self-image in leisure and purchases. This mentality of leisure, consumption, and self-expression conflicted with Victorian notions of work, restraint, and order.[279] Continued industrialization was the real change behind the dislocation of the 1920s, not the war.[280] America only lost the diplomacy of the First World War. Economically, militarily, and socially, the United States markedly advanced.[281] Ironically, both modernists and traditionalists were unhappy with this development. Modern forms of advertising undercut traditionalists' messages; for example Billy Sunday's and Aimee Semple McPherson's radio sermons

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[274] Paxson, Postwar, 75.
[275] Asinof, 1919: Innocence, 12.
[276] Noggle, Into the Twenties, 173.
[277] Ibid., 170-1.
[278] Page Smith, "Changes Wrought," The 1910s, 231.
[279] Dumenil, The Modern Temper, 57.
[280] Wynn, Progressivism to Prosperity, 229.
[281] Page Smith, "Changes Wrought," The 1910s, 232.

employed the medium of the radio, a manifestation of consumer culture. Modernists also suffered from the two-edged sword of modernism. The ad campaigns they used to promote their books closely resembled the propaganda of the First World War and the Red Scare.[282]

It is tempting to say that Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos were completely different from Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter but in fact they shared many characteristics. David Michael Hudson proves Hemingway and Dos Passos used many of the same methods as Empey and Streeter in describing combat. They simply left out the framework of glory and honor that Empey and Streeter used. The topic of individualism was another theme that all four employed. The Lost Generation found itself stuck between the progress and nostalgia of the 1920s. They bemoaned aspects of glory and honor which they considered corrupt and without meaning but they wanted to save individualism from the assault of mass culture and consumerism. They used the war as an event to dismantle glory and honor, which they considered propaganda, and to criticize the erosion of individualism by modern society. Later in life, Hemingway became a traditionalist figure in American history, especially in respect to defining masculine roles. Ironically, he forwarded concepts of courage and heroics albeit in an existential framework. Dos Passos became an example of an increasingly traditional, increasingly conservative literary figure. His concern with the rights of the individual drove him to the political right where he fought to preserve individualism by limiting the role of government in peoples' lives.

The cultural atmosphere of the 1910s and the 1920s was very different and helps explain the popularity of pro-war authors in the 1910s and the emergence and slowly

[282] Nash, Nervous, 51.

rising popularity of the anti-war authors in the 1920s. The propinquity of the war, the government support of the pro-war atmosphere by the Committee on Public Information and the political idealism of President Wilson, and the Victorian cultural consensus bolstered the sales of pro-war literature. Political mistakes with demobilization, domestic reconstruction, and the failure of Wilsonian idealism to secure the peace in Europe in conjunction with the social manifestations of the Red Scare, Prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, the loss of cultural consensus, and the new preoccupation with consumerism and recreation gradually increased the popularity of anti-war literature.

CONCLUSION

In the 1920s, modernist writers challenged the nineteenth-century notions of warfare found in popular, pro-war books written during the First World War. Honor, glory, and individualism pervaded popular war books and modernist authors denied that these concepts existed in modern warfare. Throughout the 1920s, modernist books never rivaled pro-war books in popularity until the publication of All Quiet on the Western Front in 1929. This demonstrates the slow change in values throughout the 1920s and not the sudden end of traditional values after the war that many anti-war authors claimed. This slow change was due to the select audience that modernist books targeted as opposed to the wide audience of popular literature. Bestseller lists demonstrate this transition by chronicling books that resonated with the general reading culture and not how they influenced critics or subsequent authors. Furthermore, bestseller lists better indicate popular cultural trends than advertisements, which often sold modernists novels by marketing them in traditional categories. Both traditional and modernist literatures authoritatively commented on the war. The details of combat in both are similar. Yet, the depictions traditionalists and modernists offered of modern combat differed and these differences were important to later cultural developments. Traditional literature maintained that honor, glory, and individualism remained in modern combat and transmitted these concepts into the modern age through the popular culture they influenced. Modernist literature held that modern combat negated honor, glory, and

individualism and conveyed this idea to their audience, which became increasingly popular.

Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter are two examples of popular, traditionalist writers during the First World War. They recognized the challenge modern warfare placed on glory, honor, and individualism, but believed that traditional ideals endured regardless of the scope or technological nature of modern warfare. Their books, as well as those of other pro-war authors, provided justification and hope for soldiers engaged in the war. This hope and emphasis on traditional values resonated with American society during the war. The wide range of authors who promoted pro-war themes during the war demonstrates the widespread agreement with their ideas. Pro-war authors like N. P. Dawson and Richard Davis used their rhetoric. Even anti-war authors like Harvey Allen and William March conceded that the traditionalist version of the war was almost universal during the war. The fact that a devoted socialist and pacifist like Upton Sinclair echoed Empey's and Streeter's themes proves the widespread acceptance of honor, glory, and individualism during 1917 and 1918.[283]

Although censorship and propaganda abounded in the United States during the First World War, they do not explain fully the popularity of pro-war authors. The initial optimism that accompanies most wars and the belief that the moral superiority of Americans would reform Europe were more important in convincing Americans to enter the war. Optimism and moral rejuvenation also persuaded many European countries to enter the war, but prolonged fighting and unprecedented, massive casualties ended these impulses. The United States did not experience these conditions and retained traditional concepts of war. These views remained unchallenged until the 1920s when the idealism

[283] See Upton Sinclair, 100%: The Story of a Patriot (Pasadena, CA: Upton Sinclair, 1920).

surrounding the war collapsed in response to the failed peace treaty and America's return to isolationism. Yet, even in the 1920s, anti-war books struggled to attain the popularity of earlier pro-war books because Americans never felt the full shock of the destruction of the First World War.

Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and other modernist war writers used their war experiences to argue that the immensity and technology of modern warfare discounted ideas of honor, glory, and individualism, but this interpretation conflicted with many of the contemporary experiences of soldiers. Hemingway and Dos Passos engaged in the war effort with the idealistic beliefs in traditional values surrounding war, but their experiences proved to them that their romanticized values did not exist in modern warfare. Impersonal suffering and the loss of individuality convinced each author of their change of ideals. The literature of Hemingway and Dos Passos was not typical of the literature written during the war. It outlined modernist ideals more accepted in the 1920s. Hemingway's and Dos Passos's books represent the cultural tension between traditional and modernist values in the 1920s and not the experiences of most soldiers during the war.

Hemingway's and Dos Passos's importance to succeeding literature is clear but their influence on contemporary culture after the war easily can be exaggerated. Hemingway's later success with literature like For Whom the Bell Tolls, which sold 800,000 copies in five years, and his popularity as a cultural icon caused a reassessment of his earlier influence.[284] Cultural fractionalizing and other factors caused Hemingway, Dos Passos, and modernism in general to be much less popular in the 1920s than the later

[284] Alice Payne Hackett. Fifty Years of Best Sellers, 1895-1945 (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1945), 108.

reassessment believed. The cynicism toward concepts like glory, honor, and individualism was only then becoming widespread and took time to reach and eventually surpass the level of recognition and acceptance that pro-war authors had enjoyed in the previous decade.

Empey and Streeter disagreed with Hemingway and Dos Passos on several different themes. Empey portrayed combat as heroic fighting and a defense of civilization. Hemingway depicted combat as impersonal and destructive of society. Streeter believed the war was against the Germans, revered the military structure, treated apocalyptic worries with dark humor, regarded newspapers and propaganda as true, and thought soldiers would transition to civilians without a problem. Dos Passos represented the war as a fight against technology, abhorred the military structure, dreaded the apocalyptic nature of the war, believed all information was propaganda, and understood that soldiers would have problems readjusting to society.

An examination of the different cultural atmospheres during the war and afterward reveal the reasons pro-war literature outsold anti-war literature. Although the popularity of pro-war literature mainly derived from the initial enthusiasm of the war and from a sense of moral righteousness, the cultural consensus, the political climate, and the immediacy of the war also contributed to the sales of pro-war books. The cultural fragmentation of the 1920s, the hostile political atmosphere, and the growing distance from the First World War contributed to the inability of modernist war literature to rival the popularity of pro-war literature. The cynicism in the 1920s, however, increasingly contributed to the popularization of anti-war literature. In part, the modernists' skepticism predated the war and then grew with the increasing cultural fragmentation of

the 1920s. Ironically, these forces of fragmentation that gave modernist war literature its force also limited the boundaries of its influence.

The change between the mood in which pro-war authors wrote and the atmosphere in which anti-war authors wrote reveals not only the events that began to popularize the modernist trends but also shows the continued strength of traditional values. Problems with demobilization, reconstruction, the peace settlement, the Red Scare, Prohibition, the Ku Klux Klan, and cultural fragmentation changed the mood in America among intellectuals from idealism to cynicism. These events provide a cultural context for a comparison of themes between Empey, Streeter, Hemingway and Dos Passos.

These events help explain the thematic differences between the themes in Empey's, Streeter's, Hemingway's, and Dos Passos's books. The popularity of Hemingway's rejection of the themes of heroic fighting and the defense of civilization, which appeared in Empey's works, came after the peace settlement failed to end all wars. Politicians could use those themes again to justify the next war, which Hemingway believed would come. Similarily, Dos Passos rejected Streeter's rendering of the war as against the Germans, the reverence for the military structure, the humorous portrayal of apocalyptic themes, the valuing of traditional sources of information, and the belief that soldiers would return unchanged by war. By describing the war as a struggle against technology that turned war into organized slaughter, Dos Passos discounted the possibility of progress that convinced many that the First World War was a transition to a peaceful world. Dos Passos was hostile to Streeter's belief in authority, considering the peace settlement the ultimate betrayal by authority. Individuals had to question authority,

because authority was responsible for the closest event to apocalypse that had ever happened. Finally, Dos Passos criticized newspapers and the government for using propaganda to sway soldiers and civilians. To Dos Passos, this led them into a war in which they should not have participated. Propaganda also contributed to the Red Scare, which left a legacy of diminished free speech and other civil rights. People could easily manipulate society and the only remedy was individual action.

In his article, "Warfare and Teaching," Michael J. Salevouris advocates personal war narratives as a tool in the classroom to make students aware of the personal experience of war. Hemingway and Dos Passos are examples he uses of narratives to employ in the classroom because of their anti-war themes. Regardless of these themes, he realizes that some students will find war thrilling no matter how brutal the account they read. He concludes the article with his belief that on "the accurate remembrance of the experience of war rests our hope for peace."[285] Teaching students the horrors of war to convince them to never participate in it is worthwhile, but Hemingway and Dos Passos do not provide an "accurate remembrance." Instead, their books represent a partial and personal view, much influenced by historical hindsight. Empey and Streeter capture the positive feeling that most soldiers had during the First World War. The cynicism and disillusionment of Hemingway and Dos Passos describe the intellectual feelings of the 1920s. In teaching history, assigning Empey or Streeter during the First World War and Hemingway or Dos Passos during the 1920s would help correct a historical myopia that has persisted too long.

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[285] Michael J. Salevouris, "Warfare and the Teaching of History," The History Teacher (August 1989): 341-55.

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Vita

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Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: HONOR, GLORY, AND INDIVIDUALISM: PLACING THE AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

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Title of Study: HONOR, GLORY, AND INDIVIDUALISM: PLACING THE AMERICAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN A CULTURAL CONTEXT

Pages in Study: 89 Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study is to compare the thematic differences between the popular, pro-war literature written during the First World War with the less popular, anti-war literature written during the 1920s. This study focuses on the literature of popular pro-war authors Arthur Guy Empey and Edward Streeter and the literature of modernist, anti-war authors Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos. Bestseller lists reveal that the anti-war books of Hemingway and Dos Passos in the 1920s never rivaled the popularity of Empey and Streeter, yet Hemingway's and Dos Passos's books preoccupy secondary sources concerned with literature and the First World War.

Findings and Conclusions: While agreeing on many of the details of combat during the war, the authors regarded concepts of honor, glory, and individualism very differently. The different cultural atmospheres in America between the First World War and the 1920s explain the conflicting themes in pro-war and anti-war literature and the failure of anti-war literature to garner the popularity of its predecessors. Hemingway's and Dos Passos's subsequent popularity in American culture caused scholars to overemphasize the importance of Hemingway and Dos Passos in the 1920s and ignore the preceding war literature.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: _____